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According to usage preserved during many ages amongst the greater number of modern nations, kings have taken for their chief standard the religious banner of the Saint in whose intercession they had most faith. Saint Martin, one of the first Apostles of the Gauls, and the first patron of its dawning monarchy, was consequently chosen by the kings of the Franks as their patron, and his cope formed their standard.

This cope, which was less, without doubt, the garment of the Saint than the banner of his Abbey, was painted blue, a color which, according to the rites of the Church, was specially adopted by Saints who were confessors. The standard being thus consecrated, the kings considered it a duty of religion to carry it at the head of their armies; blue became therefore the national color of France under the first race. It continued thus up to the accession of the new dynasty of the Carlovingians, when a change was considered necessary both in the national standard and in its color.

For the *Cope of Saint Martin*, the color of which was always preserved in the royal arms, they substituted the Banner of Saint Denis, a patron chosen through the devotion of the new kings. This standard of the Carlovingians is no other than that which has been so celebrated in history under the name of the Oriflamme. This banner, to which historians for a long time gave the title of *Vexillum Sancti Dyonisii*, was, as we know,

* For the First and Second Papers of this series, see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. VI., No. 23. p. 439; No. 24. p. 647.

composed of red silk, without ornament of gold or silver, "de cendal roujoyant et simple, sans pourtraicture d'aucune affaire," writes Guillaume Guyart in his *Royal Lignage*.

Red, which the church devoted to her martyrs, became thus in its turn the color of the Kings of France : they bore it on their coat of arms during the period of the Holy Wars ; to the end of the fourteenth century they were still faithful to this glorious livery. "Du Guesclin," writes M. Rey, "carried the Red Cross in 1380 against the White Cross of the English in Poitou." But when the Oriflamme ceased to appear at the head of the French army after the defeat at Agincourt, when above all the king of England, Henry VI., became master of Paris and of the Abbey of Saint Denis, and had taken the title of King of France, and hoisted with this title the national standard, France was obliged to abdicate a color that had become antagonistic. Red disappeared from their flags, and, by an odd interchange, it was the white, abandoned by the English, that took its place.

The pious devotion which Charles the Seventh, and his son Louis the Ninth, offered to the Blessed Virgin, was perhaps one of the causes which induced them to select this color, and which preserved it on their flags as an immaculate symbol of the protection of the Virgin, which the vows of the two kings, Charles VII. and Louis XIII. had invoked on France. White was not, however, always, even during the time of the last of the Valois and of the Bourbons, the exclusive color of France. Thus we know that, during the religious wars, Charles IX., and Henry III. gave their soldiers red scarfs and standards, whilst the King of Navarre and the Calvinistic troops hoisted the white banner. The tricolor, adopted in France during the Revolution, was merely by accident chosen by the kings, if not as a standard, at least for a livery. Francis I. Henry II., Francis II., and Henry III. having given those colors to their pages, at a period when partisan costumes were more in vogue than ostentatious dress. Under Henri Quatre, the three colors were still preserved in the uniform of the halberdiers, and the costume of the king's footmen ; and it was not in this instance a capricious choice for Henri Quatre, as the tricolor thus adopted by his household, had become really the national livery of France.

Towards the end of his reign, Holland, having accomplished the crisis of its nationality, demanded from Henry the right

to assume the French colors, to which he consented, and the standard he sent as a proof of his satisfaction to the Stadtholder of Amsterdam was a flag with three colors. Since then Holland has had no other.

At the period of the marriage of Louis XIV., the royal livery presented the singular appearance of a square draught board with the tricolor interwoven through it. The costume borne since this time by the king's people, and in which we always discover a red ground with white and blue lace, is but a souvenir of this tricolor livery.

Here we may note a stranger fact. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, nearly one hundred years before the Revolution, the French soldiers bore for a time the three colors; this was at the period of the triple alliance between the kings of France and Spain and the Elector of Bavaria. When the three armies were being combined, they agreed to give the soldiers a cockade in which, as an emblem of the union of the three people they reproduced the color of each. Thus the white of France, the red of Spain, found itself fatally blended with the blue, the national color, of Bavaria.

We would not, however, wish to attribute to these facts, more casual than premeditated, the origin of the standard and tricolor cockade adopted during the Revolution. In 1789, green, popularised by Camille Desmoulins at the Palais-Royal, was about to become the national emblem; but on recollecting that it was the color of the livery of the Count D'Artois, the most unpopular of the princes, they sought another cockade. It was then that they endeavored to appropriate the colors of the city of Paris; the red and blue, already celebrated in more than one popular émeute, though both were borrowed from the heraldry of the ancient kings, and were the same that Étienne Marcel had hoisted in 1458.

The new standard of the people soon re-united white to the two former colors; this had been the choice of the national guard, still faithful to royalty and its emblems. It was, however, some months after the taking of the Bastille, that the tricolor cockade was definitely adopted. Bailly and Lafayette offered it to Louis XVI., in the grand municipal hall of the Hotel de Ville. The Convention supported this choice of colors, and consecrated it, even in the Assembly, by the following decree:—

“That the national flag shall be formed of three national

colors, arranged in three equal strips, in such a manner as that the blue shall be attached to the staff, the white in the centre, and the red floating in the air."

We see that the disposition adopted at the present day in the arrangement of the colors, is the only good one, the only historical one. The motion of M. de Caussidière, tending to overturn this order after February, far from being revolutionary, was in flagrant contradiction to the revolutionists of the Convention.

Several decrees, amongst others, the law of the 30th of June, 1791, on the Republican flag, and that of the 14th of October, 1791, on the flags of the National Guard, sanctioned still and at all times, according to the arrangement before described of the three colors of this flag. But what tells more for their glorification, are the innumerable victories and the three revolutions by which they are consecrated. A patriot would not ask for them under any other title. If the archaeologist, indulging his love of ancient origins, does not feel satisfied, and demands more real antiquity, for a standard of a nation old as France, we would reply to him, that the tricolor flag was alone worthy to wave its pennons over the soil of centralised France, composed altogether of the parcellings and the ruins of ancient Gaul. Only, in effect, strange fatality! they re-unite on the ground of the banner the three colors adopted, nearly eighteen centuries back, by the three great Gallic nations: the blue of Celtic Gaul, the white of Belgic Gaul, and the red of Aquitania.

We will here subjoin some details relative to the *Oriflamme* and to *Scarfs*.

At first the Counts de Vexin, who, as head vassals to the Abbey of Saint Denis, had alone the right to take from the abbatial altar, and display at the head of the *Oriflamme*, the monk's banner. When Louis VI. had become Count de Vexin, he used the privilege which this title gave him over the Holy Standard, and made it the banner of the Kings of France. Every time that he appeared at the head of the armies, the *Oriflamme* was borne by them.

To finish all that has been stated in our quotation from the *Royaux Lignages* cited above, we will repeat with André Duchesne, that the *Oriflamme* was "a vermillion banner bespangled with golden lilies," and he adds that the banner, or rather the pennon of red silk, was terminated by three pend-

ants ornamented with green tassels without gold fringe, and that the shaft was of gilt wood or only whitened. However, the Oriflamme was renewed age after age, its form being each time modified.

In an ancient inventory of the treasures of Saint Denis drawn up in 1470, and which by the real fact of the description given in it, would serve to give the lie to those who pretend that this standard was taken at Agincourt in 1415, the old and abandoned Oriflamme is thus described :—" A standard of sandal-wood, very thick, split through the centre, enclosing a flag staff in a case of copper gilt, and having a rather long iron, pointed at the end."

When the king set out to join the army he went himself to receive on his knees the Oriflamme from the hands of the Abbé of Saint Denis, and then confided it to the care of one of his bravest barons. Sometimes, according to Galand, he carried it himself around his neck, without displaying it. On returning from the campaign, they carried back the sacred palladium to Saint Denis with the same pomp. We have read in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Impériale, having for a title, *le Jardin des Nobles*, by Pierre le Gros, and bearing the No. 6853, the description of the ceremonial observed at Saint Denis on taking the Oriflamme.

We now come to speak of the *Scarfs*. These were at first a chivalric device. Those of the knights who were most valiant had the colors most esteemed by their ladies. Frequently the lady herself presented a scarf as a token to her knight; it then became a *gage*, and, according to a chivalric rule already in use amongst the Germans, as M. Dureau de la Malle relates, they kept it till some more fortunate champion had gained a victory over them in the tourney, or even until the enterprise prescribed by the lady to her knight was accomplished.

When the Orders of Chivalry were established, the Scarf, by its form and color, served as a distinctive emblem between themselves; as it was also a characteristic badge, both of the chiefs of the army and of the party. The Scarf was for them and for their soldiers what the cockade is for us. The Crusader's scarf was white, and they wore it cross-wise, as they continued to do up to the seventeenth century; it was this oblique position of the scarf that originated the term *prendre en écharpe*, applied to an oblique attack.

Between the war of the Armagnacs and the Orléanists, the Scarf of the former was red, and that of the latter a simple band of white linen. Some historians, and amongst others Paradin, thought that the custom of wearing white scarfs in the royal armies commenced with Charles VII. and is derived thence. Up to the reign of Henry II., the different corps were distinguished amongst themselves by the color of their regimental surtouts; but from that time it was the Scarf only that made the difference.

Besides the National Scarf which they began to attach to their standard or flag staff, each corps had also their own particular Uniform Scarf, the colors chosen always according to the fancy of the commanding officer.

During the party wars that followed this reign, the colors of the Scarfs were even more variable. Those of the Huguenots being red; that of the Leaguers black, in consequence of the death of Guise, but it was changed to green when the assassination of Henry III. permitted them to change this symbol into a symbol of hope.

During the Fronde, Mazarine's Scarf was green, that of the Condé was a light bay. Then, in place of saying as at present, *changer de cocarde*, they said *changer d'écharpe*, a saying still perpetuated by La Fontaine, and frequently used in the pamphlets of the time of Henri Quatre. It was not until 1692, after the battle of Steinkirk, that the Scarf having become a cravat was replaced by the cockade as the national device of the French army.

As *National Emblems* we find in France the *Cock*, which has, at least, the pretension of being *Gallic*, and the *Eagle* which can be no other than Roman in its origin.

The Cock forms no part in the gallic monuments, nor even on strange monuments bearing any reference to these people, neither have the authors who have written on the usages and husbandry of Gaul even mentioned it.

It has been found only amongst the barbarians who, on ravaging Gaul, renewed its population, its customs, and by that means imposed on them one of their devices. The only barbarians amongst whom the cock has been met with as an emblem, were the Goths, and we know that they were also the only ones who indulged themselves by a hasty invasion on the Gauls, without, however, being able to establish a long residence amongst them.

In the middle ages, the same absence of the national bird is observable. It does not even appear amongst these symbolic animals which adorned, encircled by a motto, the personal coats of arms of the French kings.

Philippe-Auguste had chosen *Lions*.

Louis VIII., *Wild Boars*.

Saint Louis, *Dragons*.

Philip the Hardy, *Eagles*.

Charles le Bel, *Leopards*.

King John, *Swans*.

Charles V., *Grey Hounds and Dolphins*.

Charles VII. and Charles VIII., *Winged Stags*.

Louis XII., *Sea Porcupine*.

Francis I., *Salamander*.

Nobody selected the Cock.

In the seventeenth century the Cock appeared on some medals. In 1665, le Quesnoy having been delivered, some medals were struck on which were to be seen the city at the bottom, and in the foreground the lion fleeing (this was the *Lion of Spain*), and a Cock in pursuit. This evidently represented France as the lion portrayed Spain. The French not having it amongst their national ensignes, determined to latinize the name, and discovering that *Gallus* signified at the same time *Gaulois* and *Cog*, they adopted the cock to represent the Gauls. One thing contributed to make them choose this allegory : this was the belief, as related by Pliny, that the cry of the cock made the lion flee; this notion caused them to place round their medals this legend : *Cantax, fugat*.

Hence the cock has been adopted as a device. In 1679, he re-appeared on another medal, surmounting a globe, on which was written *Luccia* : it was represented with spread wings with these words : *Gallus protector sub umbrâ alarum*.

On a medal relative to the junction of Prince Eugene and of Marlborough, which caused the scattering of the French army in 1706, may be seen France represented by a Cock seeking with avidity a bait by which it is immediately secured. Amongst the Dutch principally was this symbol spread, being represented in various medals and in different forms, the Batavian or Belgic Lion following the French cock. On one of the medals we have these words : *Nunc tu Galle jugis, dum leo Belga fremit*. On a medal of 1712, we see the Cock demanding

peace from the Batavian Lion and the English Leopard, and meeting a refusal. Finally, on a medal of 1760, it is the Imperial Eagle who tears the Gallic Cock and plucks its feathers.

"In fact," it is related in a curious article from which we have derived much information for this brief sketch, "the Cock assumed to be Gallic is formed of the French Revolution, as it is from that era alone its origin can be dated as a national emblem."

"In effect it originated in 1789, with the National Guard. Whilst they deliberated on the choice of an emblem they never dreamed that the Cock was Gallic, they only remembered that it was the Bird of the God Mars, and this was sufficient to induce them to adopt it; yet, during a long period of French history it was not employed. Its image is only associated with the noblest pages in the annals of republicanism. It came with the glory and disappeared before slavery; the faggot, égalité and the bonnet rouge of sad memory soon replaced it. In all the long roll of constitutions it was but seldom exhibited until the year 1792, and we believe that before 1793 it was almost entirely abandoned."

The Eagle has been symbolized in the armories of all great warriors of every nation, it had consequently the right of place in the armories of France.

In all researches, whether of mythology or of history, the Eagle is discoverable everywhere. He embraces each fabulous trait within the folds of his extensive wings, always sacred, always venerated, even dreaded, for he carried the thunderbolt. But it was specially as a protecting bird he appeared, protecting and saving being the noblest rights of power and strength. He saved Helen, when the knives of the priests were raised against her as their victim; he saved Valeria whom they placed before the altar for immolation. Thus, strong and immortal he was above all the enemy of death, the winged symbol of that existence of which he was the prototype.

To behold him hovering over a funeral pile, was a token of deification and immortality: he came to re-gather the souls of heroes whose glory should never die, or rather he was the type of the spirit who re-ascended with them to the bosom of the Gods. It was the ancient belief that the moment the pyre was lighted an eagle was set loose who discharged in his

flight torrents of flame and smoke, as the soul became released from the clouds of death. There could be no apotheosis or deification of which the eagle was not minister. To immortalize the type of the divine honors rendered to Julius Cæsar, they had engraven on rings, of which only one has been preserved, the figure of an eagle raising the thunderbolt, his eye fixed on a star, and bearing round his neck the name of Julius.

It is the eagle above all, which has been considered the bird of victory and of power. The Romans were not the first to conceive this idea. Long before it appeared on the summit of their standards he had been regarded as one who could pierce the clouds, looking fixedly at the sun, and hold the thunderbolt, meet emblem of sovereignty and of glory.

"In Egypt," writes a French author, "he was the symbol of the Nile, the river god, and on some monuments we recognize him in his soaring flight analogous to the *winged sphere*, another emblem of the power adored by the Egyptians. Among the Persians, Mithridates, wishing to re-appear under a visible form, took the figure of an eagle, and it was a similar type carved in gold, that Cyrus placed at the summit of his standards. Ezechiel caught a glimpse through the shadowing of his visions of the eagle, when he nominated the sovereign princes under the name of the victorious bird. But why then do we not see it likewise a symbol of deliverance for his nation, since with the eagle hovering over Babylon, liberty returned to the Jewish people, as more than twenty centuries later it revived for us under our imperial eagle, under the wings of whose beneficent protection we calmly repose."

The Romans had early adopted it. At first, they wreathed the sceptre of their kings with it; then, the kings being banished, they ornamented with it the sceptres of their hero chiefs, and it was the only standard of their legions. Under the republic *The Roman Eagle* was composed of wood, then of silver with a golden thunderbolt in his claws. Cæsar the First wished to have it altogether gold, but he removed the thunderbolt on which the bird was perched. To mark his indefatigable activity and his unceasing aspirations towards new conquests, Cæsar had the Eagle always represented with spread wings. Each Legion had its golden eagle set on the point of the lance. They guarded it with the most religious veneration, they swore by it as by a divinity, and these oaths were held the most sacred. The warrior bird still maintained its char-

acter as patron, the guilty soldier about to be struck by the battle axe of the centurions, the enemy menaced with death, in order to be spared, came to place himself under the protection of the eagle, holding in his embraces the lance of the standard bearer. On days of triumph they exhibited the eagle with all the coquetry of victory; they covered it with laurel crowns and garlands of flowers. When a legion was encamped, they placed the eagle in the centre of that quarter, and if it happened that two legions were encamped together, they placed then on the borders of the two camps a double eagle with heads and wings reversed. This explains, without any manner of doubt, the double eagle which we see on the column of Antoninus, and which it would be well to guard against considering as the prototype of that more recently adopted by the first Byzantine Emperors as an emblem of their double empire of the East and of the West.

On days of defeat, the eagle was never permitted to fall into the hands of the enemy; when the standard-bearer saw the commencement of the rout, he broke his lance in two, and concealed in the ground the eagle and the fragment which it surmounted. It was thus it happened at the fatal combat of Trasimenus, and we are indebted to a similar precaution of a standard-bearer for the only eagle of the legion which has been preserved. It was found in Germany, on the lands of the Count D'Erlach; it is of gilt bronze, thirteen inches high, and does not weigh less than twenty-pounds. During an attack of the Germans, the legion, which is believed to have been the twenty-second, having had to fly, the standard-bearer before escaping had doubtless concealed in the ground the eagle of which he had the charge.

Thus, the enemies of Rome, notwithstanding their victories, had not the gratification of parading the noblest insignia of their conquests. Varus, nevertheless, experienced the dishonor of beholding his legions destroyed and of losing his eagles. It is a tradition amongst the people of the north, that the troops of Arminius having conquered bore away two of them: the first, which was black, that is to say bronze, was given to the Germans, the other white, that is silver, was left to the Sarmatian auxiliaries; and it is added that the black eagle which figures in the arms of the empire, and the white eagle on the escutcheon of Poland, had no other origin.

For our part we give no credit to this legend, and for many

reasons. It is true, however, that the empire which bears at the present day the double eagle on its coat of arms, had for a long period the single eagle. But, though unwilling to offend against tradition—this is not the eagle of Varus. It is a souvenir of the Roman Cæsars which the German Cæsars had taken. But they did not retain it long. Was it not the successors of Charlemagne, who, having taken it for their imperial standard, had a fragment of it borne every day to the throne of Paleologues of Constantinople, who labored to make the people believe by this double faced eagle that they still held the double crown of the East and of the West? Otho the Fourth caused it to be engraven on his regal seal, and in the fifteenth century Sigismund, more daring, had it made altogether the ground of the escutcheon of the empire.

The Russians, who were a more formidable power, became jealous of this emblem, and the Czar Ivan the Third, who coming to espouse the daughter of Michael Paleologues, conceived he had a right in consequence of his alliance to assume the same standard, ordered a double eagle to be engraven on the coin, in all points equal to that of the German and Grecian Emperors. But instead of having the *wings ascending*, as the eagle of the Cæsars, it had the *wings lowered*. Ivan had no sooner been apprised of the difference existing between the Muscovite eagle and that of the Cæsars, than he caused the designers and engravers of the monies to be executed. The Russian eagle remained with the wings lowered, which, however, did not prevent its overtaking and even distancing the German eagle whose wings were spread.

We give, finally, the following legend for what it is worth, and we also give these predictions, which some even amongst our heraldists seem to conceive reasonable, owing to the position of the French Imperial eagle. It was, say they, *twisted*, that is to say, having the head leaning towards the left side, which is the symbol of *forfeiture*. Now, the eagle which surmounts the French flag carries his head to the right. The Psalmist has said of the Eagle that he is like the Phoenix, he has the gift of renewing his life, and, by a series of successive renovations, augments it in duration a hundred fold. This is, however, but a magnificent metaphor, and the King Prophet, in speaking thus, has undoubtedly wished to make nothing more than a beautiful allegory. We find in the fifteenth century a learned Italian, named Panciroli, who

vouches for the truth of this noble image of the Psalms; he has even undertaken to point out the means by which the Eagle has accomplished the revival of his early youth. We doubt very much if science would admit the proofs he has advanced; but in requital, as an admirer of the present French ruler would say, thanks to the solemn day of the 10th of May, 1852, this gift of regeneration possessed by the eagles has been acknowledged as a historical fact.

We shall now present a short sketch on historical Devices, or Mottoes. The Device, we are aware, is a sort of metaphorical figure, by the assistance of which one object is represented by another to which it bears a resemblance; a thought by a figure; the life of a man, his origin, his noble deeds, by a thought or by an image. The Ancients made use of Devices. Their kings and their chiefs bore them on their shields and on their standards, but frequently they were not merely emblems, but a legend. Thus, at the siege of Thebes, the sooth-sayer, Amphiaraus, bore a dragon on his shield, Perseus a gorgon, Capaneus a hydra, and Polynices a Sphinx, as symbolical of the manner in which his father Œdipus had arrived at power.

In Virgil, all the companions of Æneas had also their devices, but they were not always merely simple emblems only explained by legends. Very soon, in fact, the device was modelled in a clearer form. The symbol was accompanied by an inscription. Augustus, for example, had engraven on his monies an anchor entangled with a dolphin, with these words: *Festina lente*; and Vespasian had represented a butterfly and a crab, or better still, a Palm-tree laden with fruit, and bearing for an inscription this single word, *Mature*. Cæsar had two, having first taken a device without an emblem; he then adopted his famous *Veni, Vidi, Vici*.

It was in the Middle Ages that the science of Devices became more extensive and more perfect, thanks to the Tournaments, the Carousals, and all the fêtes of chivalry which rendered necessary the use of these gallant and martial emblems. Then they commenced to be distinguished in four different ways: the Devices were symbolised in imitation of *Moorish Arabesques* by the colors, or the mixture of colors, and of which the *lacs d'amour*, which encircle at the present day the escutcheon of the Kings of Sardinia, are a last memorial; then the Devices only included simple words, and were designated on that account *âmes sans corps*; afterwards the devices having, on the contrary, a figure

without words, were named *corps sans âme*; finally, those which had at the same time *corps*, that is to say a material representation of the idea, the design of the symbol; and *âme*, that is, say the legend, the inscription, the word which animated the object, *motto* in Italian.

The devices having but a legend without the allegorical figure, should not be confounded with the *war cry* of *defiance*, *invocation*, or of *accession*; they were most frequently altogether distinct from them; on this point we could furnish some rare exceptions; the Montmorency, for example, the Counts de Chartres, and the Molac of Bretagne, who took their war cry for a device, and reciprocally. It was necessary also to distinguish sentences placed on the shields or on pennants from the inscriptions on the arms. These inscriptions on the coat-of-arms were often hereditary, whilst the Device, on the contrary, comprised almost always an allusion to the character of those who adopted it, or an event in his life which was for the most part personal. The inscription on the arms was for the race, the device for the man. Most frequently they were but a single word, bearing the most perfect resemblance to those who had selected them. Such was the device of Saint Francis de Paul, *Charitas*, and that also of St. Charles Borromeo, *Humilitas*. The devices containing inscriptions are the only ones employed at the present day. As for those bearing the figure without the words, mute devices which should only rank amongst the emblems, they have not been much used since the ancients. We know but of few other examples to cite, save the *Cest ailé*, which, in 1580, according to Juvénal des Ursins, Charles VI. made the supporters of his arms; the *compass*, which according to the laconic usage of the Spanish, formed the device of the Duc d'Albe, and finally the two AAs: in a circle, a kind of heraldic rebuss, signifying *chacun a son tour*, and well worthy the ambitious Guise, who had adopted it for his emblem or symbol. The Devices which reunited at the same time the legend and the inscription were much longer in use.

The most stringent rules were adopted in their composition adhering one to the figure, *le corps*, the other to the words, *l'âme*. Thus it was necessary to, have the Device composed of body and of soul in such affinity, one with the other, that the soul always elucidated the body; the legend should be concise, slightly diverted, according to *Ménage*, without any evasion, and easily understood,

stalks and broom pods, enamelled and intertwined with golden fleurs-de-lis, with the device : *Exaltat humiles*.

The decoration of the order of the Star, founded by King John, which became at a later period one of the privileges of the Patrole, was composed of a golden star with five rays, supported by a collar with three chains of gold, interlaced with golden roses enamelled alternately in white and red.

The Knights of the *Porcupine*, instituted by the Duke of Orleans, father of Louis XII., was distinguished by the ermine mantle and a chain of gold, from which was suspended a Porcupine of the same metal, with this motto : *Cominus et Eminus*. A collar composed of shells intertwined with a gold chain, to which was suspended a medal representing the Archangel St. Michael, was the decoration of the famous order of *Saint Michel* founded by Louis XI. That of *Saint Esprit*, instituted by Henri III., had for a decoration a cross of gold with eight points ornamented with golden fleurs-de-lis, with a dove on one side, and on the other the image of Saint Michael. The ribbon was celestial blue, watered. Another founded by Henri III. under the title of *Charité Chrétienne*, in favor of soldiers maimed in the service of the State, had for an ensign a mantle having embroidered on the left side a cross of gold, with these words : *Pour avoir fidèlement servi*. The order of *Sainte-Louis*, instituted by Louis XIV. in 1693, thus indicated : *Ludovicus Magnus instituit* 1693, written in letters of gold on the azure border of his cross, had for a motto these words : *Bellica virtutis premium*, which plainly marked the purely military character of his institution. The cross of Saint Louis, which should be, according to an edict of the month of April, 1719, decreed to none but Catholic officers ; and it was in order to repair this too exclusive ordonnance that Louis XV. founded, in favor of officers who were not Catholics, the special order of the *Mérite Militaire*. It had for a distinctive mark a gold cross with eight points suspended to a dark blue ribbon, and bearing on one side an unsheathed sword, with these words : *Pro virtute bellicâ*, and on the other a laurel crown, and the legend : *Ludovicus XV. instituit* 1739.

The order of the *Legion of Honor*, which replaced all the others, had at first for a decoration a star enamelled in white, with five double rays, a crown of oak and laurel, in the middle of which was, on one side, the effigy of

des Français ; and on the other side the eagle armed with the thunderbolt, and the device, *Honneur et Patrie*. At the period of the Restoration, the cross preserved the motto ; its form and attributes were alone modified. Thus they replaced the effigy of Henri IV. by that of Napoleon, and substituted the Imperial Eagle for the fleurs de lis, which were themselves replaced in 1830 by a silver ground ornamented with two tricolor banners. This cross, attached to a red-watered ribbon, was in silver for the knights and in gold for the other members. The officers wore it at their button-hole, with a rosette of ribbon ; the *commandeurs*, who were called *commandants* under the Empire, wore it as a collar with a little larger ribbon than the officers ; the *higher rank of officers* bore on the right side of their coats a plate in silver as large as seven centimetres, two millimetres ; as for the *grands croix*, (*grands cordons* under the Empire), their decoration consisted in a large red-watered ribbon placed saltier-wise (in the form of Saint Andrew's Cross), and supporting the cross, and a large silver plate of ten centimetres bearing four colors or banners at its angles, and attached to the left side of the dress.

Amongst the principal odd decorations, we will cite : in ENGLAND, that of the Order of the *Garter*, which consists, 1st., in a garter of dark blue velvet embroidered in gold, with the device : *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, and attached over the left knee with a little golden buckle ; 2nd, in a medallion of gold with the effigy of St. George, suspended by a large dark blue ribbon ; 3rd and lastly, in a silver star embroidered on the mantle on the left side of the breast. The order of the *Thistle*, which was at first peculiar to the Scotch, had for a device a golden medal representing on one side St. Andrew with the cross of his martyrdom, and on the other a thistle with this legend : *Nemo me impunè lacescit*.

The order of *Bath*, which comprises only thirty-six knights, is distinguished by a red-watered ribbon from which is suspended a medal with the following inscription : *Tres in uno*, in allusion to the three theological virtues ; this symbol was better represented by the three crowns which upheld the celestial blue scarf of the old knights.

In Russia, the order of *Saint Andrew*, which is obtained at the same time as the degree of Lieutenant-General, has for a decoration a gold cross bearing at its angles the four initials of this device :

Sanctus Andreas Patronus Russia ; on the reverse may be read in Russian language : *For the faith and fidelity*.

The order of *Saint Catherine* was given but to ladies of the highest rank ; the distinctive marks were, a plate with these words in the Russian language : *For the country*, and a cross bearing this inscription : *Æquat mænia comparis*.

The order of *Saint Wladimir* had for an ensign a plate bearing this inscription round the shield : *Utilite, Honneur, Gloire* ; and in the centre four Russian letters which signified *Saint Prince Wladimir semblable aux apôtres*.

In Austria, the order of the *Golden Fleece* was distinguished by a decoration surmounted by a stone in blue enamel, with these words ; *Pretium laboris non vile* ; and by these chivalrous words embroidered on the extreme edge of the mantle of the order : *Je l'ay empris*.

A gold cross bearing on its shield the initials of this device : *Sancto Stephano Regi Apostolico*, and the legend : *Publicum, Meritorum pretium*, is the distinctive mark of the order of *Saint Etienne*.

As to that of *Leopold*, he had for a legend, on the front of his cross : *Integritati et merito*, and this motto, which was that of Leopold I : *Opes regum corda subditorum*.

The order of the *Iron Crown*, had for a decoration a crown surmounted by a double eagle, and furthermore, for knights of the first class, a star with four rays embroidered on the left side of the dress, bearing in the centre the iron crown and the legend : *Avita et Aucta*.

IN SPAIN, the order of *Charles III.* bore on the shield of his great cross the image of the Blessed Virgin, and on the cross of the simple knights, a C interlacing the cipher III., and this device : *Virtuti et merito*.

The knights of the first and second class of the order of *Saint Ferdinand* bore a cross with this legend around the shield : *El rey y la patria*, whilst those of the third class had this device, *Al merito militar*.

As to the military order of *Saint Herménégilde*, the honorary signs of which are the cross and plate, with this inscription around the shield : *Premio à la constancia militar*.

IN PORTUGAL the Order of *Christ*, instituted as a continuation of the Templars, recalled in fact by its ensigns, the costume of the Knights Templar. Each member wore a long robe of white wool, and on the breast a red patriarchal cross, with another cross in silver.

The Order of the *Tower*, and that of the *Sword*, were distinguished by a cross and a medal, both bearing on their front the

bust of the reigning King, and on the reverse this inscription: *Valore e lealdade*, (valour and fidelity).

In PRUSSIA, the Order of the *Red Eagle* had for a device: *Sincere est Constantia*; and since 1814 they have substituted for the golden medal, its ancient decoration, a silver cross suspended to a white ribbon embroidered in orange.

The Order of the *Iron Cross* had for its principal attributes a silver cross and a ribbon, sometimes black embroidered in white, and sometimes white embroidered in black.

In the KINGDOM OF NAPLES, the Order of *Saint Ferdinand*, and of merit, bore on the escutcheon of the cross the inscription:—*Fidei et merito*; that of *Saint Georges de la Réunion* marked its great cross by this inscription: *In hoc signo vinces*. Finally, the Order of Francis I., of which a gold medal for the Commanders and a silver medal for the Knights were the distinctive emblems, had these words for a legend: *De rege optimo merito*.

In the STATES OF THE CHURCH the celebrated Order of the *Gold Spur* recalled by the cross of its Knights that of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem, the spur suspended between the two lower points, being the only distinction. The new Order of *Saint Gregory* had for a signal an octagonal cross enamelled in red; on the shield was the effigy of Gregory the Great, and on the reverse the following device: *Pro Deo et principe*, with this inscription: *Gregorius XVI., P. M., anno 1*; the ribbon is red and yellow.

In SWEDEN the Order of *Wasa* bore on the oval medallion, in which the decoration was set, the symbolical sheaf, (*Wasa* en Suédois), and this inscription: *Gustaf den tredie*, instiktare, 1770. The Order of *L'Etoile polaire* had for the motto of its decoration, these words: *Nescit occasum*.

The Order of the *Seraphim* had for an insignia, a cross suspended to a blue ribbon, and presenting on its surface the letters I. H. S. (*Jesus Hominum Salvator*), whilst on the reverse were the initials of these words: *Fridericus rex Sueda*.

In DENMARK the knights of the Order of the *Elephant* or of *Holy Mary*, bore a collar composed of several elephants, interwoven with Towers, and to which is suspended a golden elephant enamelled in white, the back laden with a silver castle built of sand (noir), on a raised terrace enamelled with flowers, a mantle of velvet striped with white satin, bearing, embroidered in gold, on the left side, a cross encircled with rays, is the ceremonial dress. Finally, in BELGIUM, where we

have but the Order of *Leopold*, the decoration consists in a cross enamelled in white, of which a crown of laurel and of oak reunite the rays. The shield enamelled in black with a red border between two circles of gold, bearing on its face the cipher of the king, and on the back the coat-of-arms, with the device: *L'union fait la force*. A last word, apropos of a chivalric ensign, which played a prominent part in the middle ages. It is the *l'emprise*. By this word, which is nothing more than an abbreviation of *d'enterprise*, consecrated both in the Italian *impresa*, and the Spanish *empresas*, by which was designated in the middle ages, these adventures which the knights bound themselves by oaths to perform either in honor of, or to give pleasure to, their ladies. The valiant knight who undertook an *emprise* bore the *ensign* on his arms. This was a ring, a bracelet, a manacle, chains, or other symbols attached to the hands by their mistress herself. Of this they were not to be dispossessed, until after the lapse of one or several years, according to the conditions of the oath, and never without having accomplished the feat of arms which was the object of this chivalreous vow. If after bearing it for some time, the knight met some other valiant knight, who offered to *cross a lance* with him, and strip him of his *emprise*, that is to say, bear off the gage that he bore, this would be to him a serious disgrace.

We see in Monstrelet a squire of Aragon who having challenged some English Knights, and who carried on his right leg *un tronçon de grève*, never resigned this *emprise* till he was released from it by one of the knights. Sometimes several knights engaged to run the same venture and take the same *emprise*. We see in 1414, the Duke de Bourbon, and sixteen of his Lords, Knights, and Squires, made a vow to carry during two years, every Sunday on their left leg, a manacle in gold for the knights, and in silver for the squires, until they had found an equal number of valiant knights to combat. Whilst the knight bore the *emprise* he was inviolable and sacred. The squire who was devoted to his service was obliged to take an oath not to touch the *emprise*, *et soy agenomillant bien bas*. To take away the *emprise*, it was necessary the permission of the Lord of the Court where it had been found should be obtained.

VERSIFIED WORKS.—The mania of versification has been at times so great amongst some writers completely devoid of

imagination, that sooner than relinquish this style of writing they have even transformed prose works into verse, and were not content to versify literary works;* they versified works on history, law, theology, science, and of the monastic rules. Thus in the third century Richard D'Annebaut, an Anglo-Norman poet, versified the *Institutes of Justinian*, and Nicholas Dourbault published in 1280 *la Coutume de Normandie*, in metre of eight syllables. The Old and New Testaments have been versified very many times.

Much later a Spaniard versified the treatise *Adversus omnes hereses* of the Archbishop of Compostello, Castro, who died in 1568. The celebrated Italian lawyer, Gennaro, who died in 1761, translated the Digest in Latin verse. Garnier Deschènes is author of *la Coutume de Paris* put into French verse 1768, in duodecimo, a work which passed through three editions. A lawyer, Flacon, published in Paris in 1805, *le Code civil, mis en vers*.

In retaliation, some writers of the latter Empire amused themselves by putting Æsop's fables into prose, Babrius having versified them. In the latter ages of latinity they did likewise with the fables of Phèdrus. We are not aware whether it was the same motives that inspired a Protestant minister, Ducommun, who had put into prose the fables of la Motte, in giving as a reason that all did not like verse, and that besides prose seemed better adapted than poetry to the simple and natural style of fables.

The technical works in verse are sufficiently numerous. Among the treatises on Grammar, that most known is *le Jardin des Racines grecques*, of Lancelot, preceded by this advice to the reader :

"Toi qui cheries la docte Grèce

Où jadis fleurit la sagesse.

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Entre en ce jardin non de fleurs

Qui n'ont que de vaines couleurs,

* The *Festin de Pierré*, of Molière, has been put into verse by Th. Corneille; the *Précieuses Ridicules*, by Somaize. *Telemachus* has been put into verse in almost all European languages. The following is a specimen of Pelletier's style, who towards the end of the last century rhymed the seventh book of this last work :—

"Mais quel est ce Mentor? Par sa simplicité

Sans peine on le croirait né dans l'obscurité :

Mais attentivement quand on le considère,

Il semble d'un mortel bien surpasser la sphère."

Mais de *racines* nourrissantes
Qui rendent les âmes savantes."

The elegance of the versification of the *Jardin des Racines Grecques* has been at least equalled, if not surpassed, in *la Géométrie en vers techniques*, published in Paris, 1801, in octavo.

"L'Angle dont le sommet à la courbe se rend,
A moitié des degrés de l'arcque qu'il comprend ;
Lorsqu'il est au dehors, le cas devient complexe,
Du concave moitié moins moitié du convexe.

* * * * *

Le triangle rectangle et son hypoténuse
Ont des propriétés que pas un ne récuse ;
La perpendiculaire allant à l'angle droit,
De nous le démontrer aura bientôt le droit."

We do not know if it was in the same work that this definition of parallels which we had formerly read appears :

"A l'abri de l'envie, en compagnes fidèles,
On voit marcher de front deux lignes parallèles."

If not found there, it certainly deserved to be there. Amongst the most recent works, we must not forget *la Géographie de la France, in technical verse, divided into Kingdoms, with notes written in the style of inscriptions*, by Balestrier. We regret not knowing this work, the poetry of which would afford strange specimens.

FECUNDITY OF WRITERS.—There are some writers, according to Vigneul Marville, who have extreme difficulty in beginning, but when that point is once achieved, and the way open, they go on rapidly. The first lines of the history of M. de Thou cost him more trouble than all the rest, but that difficulty once surmounted he sped on with great rapidity. Others have great facility in writing, but take a long time to polish their works. In this category we may class Horace amongst the Romans, M. de Rabutin with ourselves ; such in fact are the greater number of prudent people, who, born writers, follow at first the impulse of nature, which subsequently requires both correction and finish. Others, in fine, but that is their misfortune, write in a hurried manner, and do not revise their works. M. de Saumaise was of this description : a dangerous character which uniformly suffers ; but which serves no point either as a model or example to any one. "Fabius Léonida, an Italian poet, dwelt a long time on his works ; and retouched

them more than ten times in order to give them the perfection he was desirous they should possess. Pierre Mafée, who has written so well in Latin, composed only fourteen or fifteen lines a day. Paulus Emilius Sanctorius, who had undertaken to write a Latin history of his time, was so long polishing what he did, that another would in less time have written a history of the whole world. M. de Vaugelas was thirty years engaged in the translation of Quintus Curtius, changing and correcting it unceasingly.* M. Habert, of the Academy, author of the *Temple de la mort*, which is one of the most beautiful pieces of French poetry, changed and rechanged during three years the metre of this work, in order that it might attain the beauty, polish, and elegance which he ambitioned. It was not without much vigilance and very hard labor that Malherbe produced his divine poetry. M. de Balzac passed days and nights arranging his thoughts to attain that perspicuity of style and choice of words for which we admire him at the present day.

The manuscripts of Ariosto are full of erasures. This may be seen in the autograph manuscript preserved at Florence, the celebrated stanza in which he described a tempest, written in sixteen different ways.

Petrarch re-made one of his verses forty-six times.

The manuscripts of Tasso are illegible in consequence of all the corrections.

Pascal re-made as often as sixteen times one of his *Provinciales*.

Buffon re-copied eleven times the manuscript of the *Epoques de la nature*.

Buoquet, an erudite Frenchman of the eighteenth century, re-read fifty times, and copied himself fourteen times one of his works, *Sur la Justice*.

In the dedication of the first book of the *Silves*, addressed to Stella, the author dwelt with complacency on the rapidity with which he had composed these poems, "a rapidity," writes he, "which was not to me without pleasure; none had cost me more than two days; some even of the most imaginative but one day. I feared much that they would not carry with them the proofs

* Volture said to him on this subject, "you will never finish it, for whilst you are polishing one part, our language will undergo a change; you will then be obliged to do all the other parts over again:" *Altera lingua subit* (application of the epigram of Martial on the laziness of a barber: *Altera barba subit*).

which I advanced. The lines on the colossal statue of Domitian, for which the Emperor had had the extreme condescension to solicit my muse, I had to deliver the next day, which was the inauguration. . . . The epithalamium which you have commanded, you know should be an affair of two days. Assuredly it is a great undertaking, seeing that there are in the piece two hundred and seventy-two hexameters."

Gaspar Barthius, a German savant, died in 1587, "was not more than sixteen years of age," said Baillet, "when he composed a treatise or a dissertation in form of a letter on the manner of reading with profit the authors of the Latin language, commencing from Ennius to the end of the Roman Empire, and continuing from the decline of the language up to the critics of these latter times who have re-established the ancient authors. It was a composition which the author assures us cost him but the labor of one day of four and twenty hours."*

Dumoulin, a French author of the sixteenth century, took two months to translate in seven thousand Latin verses *la Semaine* of Dubartas.

The Italian Ferreri composed, in three days, a poem in Latin (*Lugdunense somnium*) of a thousand hexameter verses on Leo X.

L'Eloge de la folie was a labor of only seven days to Erasmus.

Chapman, an English poet, died 1634, translated in four months the twelve last books of the Iliad.

Guillard Danville, gendarme of the Queen, author of *la Chasteté*, a heroi-comical poem, (1624, in duodecimo), took care to apprise his readers that he commenced this work during an official voyage across Styria, and concluded it on repairing to Bavaria in France on the king's service. He boasted of having composed more than 900 verses in twelve days, without infringing in the least on his other avocations. This was not bad for a gendarme.

Voltaire, at the age of sixty-nine, in 1763, composed the tragedy of *Olympie*. "It was the work of six days," wrote he to one of his friends, whose opinion he wished to have on the merit of this piece. "The author should not have taken his rest on the seventh," replied his friend. "He would have repented of his work," replied Voltaire. Some time after, he returned the piece with several corrections.

* Baillet, *Vies des enfants celebres*, p 296.

Mary Darby, a celebrated English actress, who died in 1800, composed in twelve hours, a poem, comprising three hundred and fifty verses. It is but just to say that the greater number of these works written thus hurriedly, lived but as short a time as was taken to compose them.

Two theologians of the fourth century, Didymus and Theodorus, have left, the former six thousand, the latter ten thousand volumes, or we had better say, one six thousand, and the other ten thousand treatises.

The works of Alfred the Great (died 1280,) published in 1654, formed twenty-one volumes in folio. The *Speculum Majus*, of Vincent de Beauvais, were composed in ten volumes in folio.

The Chronicle of Horneck, a German historian of the thirteenth century, contained eighty-three thousand verses. The style of this Chronicler was equally good as that of Hennin, author of a poem in a hundred songs. Soyouthi, an Arabic author of the fifteenth century, has left more than sixty works on all subjects. The celebrated *Meistersänger* Hans-Sachse, who died in 1576, has left between all his writings, 26 comedies, and 27 tragedies sacred, and 52 comedies, and 28 tragedies profane; 64 farces of the Carnival; 59 fables; 116 allegorical tales; 197 comic tales, and 307 poems, sacred and profane. He had besides translated and put into verse several portions of the Bible.

Macedo, a Portuguese Franciscan of the seventeenth century, is author of 53 panegyrics, 60 discourses, 32 prayers, 123 elegies, 115 epitaphs, 212 dedicatory epistles, 700 letters, 2,600 epic poems, 500 elegies, 110 odes, 3,000 epigrams, 4 latin comedies, 2 tragedies, and one satire in Spanish.

Alexander Hardy was the most prolific author that ever labored in France for the theatre. He composed 600 pieces. This was nothing, however, in comparason to the 1,800 pieces in verse by Lopez de Vega, who, besides, composed 21 volumes in quarto, of poetry, and several minor copies of verses.

Pryme, an English lawyer and scholar of the seventeenth century, has left more than 200 works, forming 40 volumes in folio and in quarto.

We have preserved at the Bodlyan library, at Oxford, 122 volumes in folio, writings from the hand of Dodsworth, an English Antiquarian of the seventeenth century.

The German Moser, a compiler of the last century, has left 480 works, 17 of which are still unpublished, 16 are disputed; these would form in all a total of 700 volumes, whereof there are 71 in folio, without including 84 volumes of re-prints, or new editions of his works, nor 4 volumes of which he was only editor, nor 24 dissertations or articles which he had furnished for three periodical compilations, nor 26 numbers of weekly notices of literary news from Suabia.

Another German, Krunitz, who died in 1796, composed by himself an encyclopedia which, at the period of his death, formed 72 huge volumes in octavo.

The author of *Manon Lescaut*, the Abbé Prevost, wrote more than 170 volumes.

The principal works of Restif de la Bretonne formed 146 volumes in duodecimo.

The Journalist, Fréron, is author of 250 volumes. They attribute to Figueiredo, a Portuguese savant of the eighteenth century, 169 works, 68 of which have been printed; to Madame Le-prince Beaumont, who died at the age of seventy, 70 volumes; to Ducray-Dumesnil, 95; to a German romance writer, Lafontaine, descendant of the French refugees, 75 romances in 210 volumes.

The catalogue of the works of Gail make 500 pages in quarto.

The manuscripts of the learned botanist, Adanson, on Natural History, were composed of 120 volumes, and of 75,000 representations.

Dingé, a French writer, rather unknown, (died in 1832) has left autograph manuscripts which weigh 400 kilogrammes.

The Chinese authors have not been, as far as we can perceive, less prolific than ours. In the last century, the Emperor Kiang-Loung, wished to make choice of some of the chefs-d'œuvres of Chinese literature; this selection could not contain fewer than 180,000 volumes. In this collection are noted three works written by Europeans.

LE JOURNAL DE SAVANTS.—The weekly sheet, founded in 1665, by M. de Sallo, minister in the Parliament of Paris, under the title of *Journal des Savants*, deserves particular attention, as having been the first model of literary Periodical Reviews. M. de Sallo, to preserve the liberty of his opinions, concealed himself under the signature of Hédouville. Entrenched behind this

nom-de-plume he hurled his judgments on the men most remarkable for their writings at that period; and, according to a custom which can be traced sufficiently high, he did not spare the modesty of his collaborateurs, as we may perceive by the extravagant praises he lavishes on M. Chapelain, one of his co-partners in the compilation of the Journal. Notwithstanding the reserve and gravity of M. de Sallo, he was not able to guard himself from occasional ebullitions of satire, as has been thus expressed by La Fontaine :—

‘Tout faiseur de journal doit tribut au malin.

But the republic of letters, little accustomed at the time to this supremacy in journalism, rebelled against this new species of censorship, which, springing from private authority, set itself up as a supreme arbiter of the sciences of literature and of the arts. Against this modern Procrustes, who in his paper commenced the occupation, since brought to perfection, of mangling, mutilating and disfiguring all those who had had the misfortune of displeasing him, Charles Patin, on whom they had made a very lively attack, the author of *l'Introduction à l'histoire par les médailles*, and several others whose self love had been wounded, coalesced to extinguish the journal guilty of hurting their literary vanity.

They found this a difficult matter to accomplish, as Guy Patin has thus written :—“M. de Colbert took under his protection the authors of this journal; and if my son had defended himself they say he would have been sent to the Bastille : it was consequently better not to write.”

But on the occasion of some books having been condemned by the court of Rome, there escaped from M. de Sallo some sallies contrary to the edict of the inquisitors, and in favour of the liberties of the Gallican Church. Some, to whom this innovation of journalism was not agreeable, and who detested M. de Sallo and his friends in their capacity of a parliamentary faction and of Gallicans suspected of Jansenism, used their influence with the Pope's Nuncio, and obtained an order for the suspension of the journal. Chapelain, well known for the wariness of his disposition, and with which Balzac had reproached him, and who was much more reserved towards the powers than Balzac, had as we know the best income of all the Beaux Esprits, wrote on this subject in a letter of 1685 :—

"The complaints of Rome on the liberty of our *Journal des Savants* has caused the suspension of its publication.—M. de Sallo, who is its founder, would sooner abandon altogether his charge than submit to the scrutiny of a censor. The English, in imitation of us, have commenced one in their language. They are learned, rare and free, and much that is good may be expected; besides, not being obliged to observe the same rules as we are, we may indulge a hope that it will be more lasting and not less bold than ours has been."

When the publication of the *Journal des Savants* was resumed in 1674 the direction of it was confided to the Abbé Gallois. This Abbe was a partisan of the new philosophy then very strongly attacked by zealous disciples of the old. These latter presented a petition to the Parliament of Paris, in which they moved that the Professors of the University should be obliged by a decree to teach nothing but what was conformable to the doctrine of Aristotle; on the other side it was said, ironically, if these strange regulations were not adopted it was necessary to return thanks on the part of the burlesque decree of Boileau, and on that of the polemic ingenuity sustained by the *Journals des Savants*.

The Journal was afterwards directed by M. de la Roque; then by the President Cousin, who re-united with the functions of the journalist that of censor; then in fine, and in the following century, by a succession of savants, amongst whom we distinguish Fontenelle, Vertot, Saurin, Terrasson, Trublet, Desfontaines, Burette, Duresnel, Montcrif, de Guignes, Clairant, Dupuy, Delalande, and others.*

* The old *Journal des Savants* made, up to 1792, eleven hundred volumes in quarto. This Journal had been resumed in September, 1816, under the direction of M. Dannon, afterwards under that of M. Lebrun, and continues up to this day at the rate of one volume, in quarto, annually.

ART. II.—BALDWIN, FIRST FRENCH EMPEROR
OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

Baudoin IX. Comte de Flandre, premier empereur Romain de Constantinople. Drame historique en cinq Actes, precede de considerations historiques, politiques, et litteraires d'une interessante actualite. Par Julien le Rousseau. Paris, 1856.

The late Turkish war brought forward new objects of interest to recreate the European mind. French and English soldiers stood side by side, mirabile dictu! on a soil where western warriors had not trod in arms since the Crusades. New books of travel, and new sketches replaced the hack-nied scenes of France, Italy, the Rhine. Ottoman and Byzantine historians led the reader into paths less trite than those of the Occidental nations: names, that though historic, were unfamiliar, came into notice, or returned to memory: there were fresh themes for poets, and might have been for dramatists, if the drama still maintained the position that once it held: there were, indeed, two or three attempts to find subjects for the stage, amid all this novelty, but the attempts were not successful. Of one of them, however, we would write, because the choice of the subject was well made, but badly wrought out; exactly reversing the old saying, "*materiem superabit opus.*" A Frenchman, rejoicing in the cognomen of Le Rousseau (what might be his affinity with Jean Jacques we know not) was struck with the fact of Baldwin of Flanders and Hainault, a liege man of the king of France, the Suzerain of his territory, having been raised to the Imperial throne of Constantinople by French arms and French influence; and having founded a dynasty, (short-lived enough, be it owned) of French emperors. There was interest in this to Gallic ears: after the lapse of centuries there was another French army in Constantinople: what *had* been might be again: at all events it was *pour la gloire de la belle France* to recall that event; and Le Rousseau accordingly indited a Tragedy entitled, "*Baldwin The IX, Count of Flanders, first Roman Emperor of Constantinople.*" A true tragic poet could find situations of deep pathos and strong emotion in the strange story of Baldwin and his family; a story which is replete with Terror and Pity, these legitimate elements of Tragedy, according to the ancient canon of criticism. Among all the passages of mediæval history that have perplexed alike both cotemporaries and posterity, there are none more dark, more fearful,

more mysterious, than those connected with Baldwin and his children. That the reader may form his own estimate of the means afforded by them for the construction of an effective tragedy, we will enter upon a succinct narrative of circumstances, many of which lie removed from the high road, and beaten tracks of every-day readings.

Baldwin the Ninth Count of Flanders of that name, was the son of Baldwin, surnamed the Courageous, Count of Hainault, and of Margaret, Countess of Flanders. He was early trained to arms by his father, whom he accompanied at the age of thirteen in a successful campaign against Jacques D'Avènes,* a noble of Hainault, from whom they conquered Condé. The son of d'Avènes was afterwards closely and unhappily connected with the family of the Count of Flanders. At seventeen, Baldwin distinguished himself at the battle of Neuville, by which victory he recovered some disputed territories from his father's uncle, the then Count of Namur. He was still but a stripling when he received the honor of knighthood from the royal hands of Philip Augustus of France.

On the death of his mother, in 1194, he succeeded to her dominions as Baldwin IX. of Flanders; and in the following year he succeeded his father as Baldwin VI. of Hainault. On his accession he did homage at Metz to the Emperor of Germany, Henry VI. for the fiefs he possessed under the empire, and afterwards rendered fealty for Flanders to Philip Augustus, who was his brother-in-law, as well as his Suzerain, having been married to Isabella of Hainault, Baldwin's sister, (who had died in 1190). Baldwin, however, soon made war upon Philip, to recover Artois, which had been detached from Flanders, as a marriage portion for Isabella, contrary (as Baldwin asserted) to the constitution of his states. The Count was victorious, and his success against so great a monarch as Philip Augustus, together with the wisdom he evinced in politics, and the renown of his valour in boyhood, won for him that high consideration which eventuated in his elevation to the Imperial dignity.

Pope Innocent III. anxious to recover Jerusalem, which had again fallen into the hands of the Infidels, commissioned

* The fortified town of Avènes, or Avesnes, on the river Hevre in Hainault, gave the title of Count.

Foulque, Curé of Neuilly-en-Buë to preach a new Crusade. A brilliant tournament was held in 1199, at Ecry-sur-Aisne, in Champagne; thither Foulque repaired, and preached to the noble assembly with so much unction, that knights, princes, all were moved even to tears, and assumed the Cross. Among them were Baldwin, Henry of Hainault, Count of Saorbruck, Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, Louis, Count of Blois, Hugh, Count de St. Pol, the Count of Champagne, and Simon de Montfort, too well remembered (or too evil) in the history of the Albigenses. The Marquis of Montferrat was nominated leader of the expedition. But the influence of Baldwin was, on all occasions, predominant.

The Count of Flanders was married to Mary of Champagne, and had two daughters, Jane and Margaret. When about to leave home for the East, he committed the care of his dominions, and the guardianship of his children, then very young, to his brother, Philip, Count of Namur, conjointly with Bouchard d'Avènes, the son of that Jaques d'Avènes upon whom Baldwin VIII. had formerly made war (as before mentioned). Bouchard had left his own country, and fixed his residence at the court of Baldwin IX. with whom he became an especial favorite, from his great abilities, and his pleasing manners. Little did the unfortunate Bouchard foresee the miseries that would be heaped upon him by those two young girls, the children of his friend. Their mother, carried away by the vehement eloquence of Foulque de Neuilly, had resolved upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but she did not set out with her husband; she waited for a fleet commanded by John de Nêse, which was to sail from one of the Flemish ports.

The rendezvous of the soldiers of the Cross, of the different nations, was at Venice, where they were to be provided with shipping and provisions on payment of 85,000 marks of silver. But the Crusaders, on their arrival, found that all the money they could possibly raise, was much below the amount required. After much bargaining with the Venetians, the latter proposed that to make amends for the sum deficient, the Crusaders, before proceeding to Palestine, should assault and recover for Venice, the City of Zara, in Illyria, which had revolted to the Hungarians. Several of the Crusader-chiefs refused to turn aside from their original mission to fight in an inferior cause, and they quitted Venice, to continue their route to the Holy Land. But Baldwin, fearing that without the aid

of the Venetians the whole expedition would fail, agreed to the proposal, and influenced many of his brother-leaders.

The Doge of Venice at that time was the aged and heroic man celebrated by Lord Byron in the eighth Canto of *Childe Harold* —

“Oh for one hour of blind old Dandolo!”

Henry Dandolo was then beyond 90 years old, and was nearly blind, scarcely distinguishing more than light from darkness, in consequence of the cruelty of Emanuel Comnenus, former Emperor of Constantinople, to whom he had been sent ambassador from Venice 50 years before, and who had caused a sheet of hot copper to be applied to his eyes, in revenge for Dandolo's firmness in defending the interests of his country. Dandolo, notwithstanding his defective sight, and his extreme age, still preserved wonderful strength of mind and body; he, too, assumed the cross, deputing his son to act as Doge in his absence, and accompanied the Expedition, which sailed from Venice in October 1202; and arriving at Zara, besieged and took the place, where the Chiefs resolved to winter.

At Zara they were visited by Envoys, whose embassy caused another departure from the first plan of the Crusades. The Greek Emperor Isaac Angelus, of the Imperial House of Comnenus, had been dethroned, imprisoned, and deprived of sight by an ungrateful brother named Alexius, to whom he had given many proofs of affection. The unhappy Isaac had a son, also named Alexius, who escaping from the power of his unnatural uncle, exerted himself to seek aid for his father. He sent letters to the confederates at Zara, entreating them to hasten to Constantinople in order to restore Isaac to his throne; and promising, in recompense, to give a sum of 200,000 marks among the knights and soldiers; to assist them with a Greek Army in conquering Egypt, a country they much wished to acquire; and, to establish the Roman Church, and the Pope's supremacy in the Eastern Empire. Notwithstanding these tempting offers, some of the leaders protested against a second postponement of their design: but they were over-ruled by Baldwin, who was desirous of procuring for France (whose troops he led) the advantage of a close connexion with Constantinople, the key of the East. Montferrat and Dandolo acceded to Baldwin's wishes; and early in 1203 the French and Venetians sailed with 500 ships to Corfu, where they were joined by Prince Alexius, and, in the month of May, they proceeded to Constantinople with an army of about 20,000 men.

The city was in a state of confusion, full of factions, religious and political ; and the people were utterly degraded and corrupt, and feared while they hated the cruel and despotic usurper. They were dismayed by the appearance of the brave and hardy warriors of the West, whom they called "men of bronze," and "exterminating angels," and firmly believed that each one was able to tear up a full grown oak by the roots. The fervent exhortations, however, of a few intrepid spirits, availed to shame, or stimulate, the Greeks into some show of resistance to the foreigners.

The siege commenced on the 1st of July, 1203. Baldwin led the van with the French, crossed the Bosphorus, and attacked the city from Galata: the panic stricken Greeks soon fled and the French standard was planted by two brothers of a noble and historic house, Antoine and Quesnes de Bethune; the latter was a wise statesman, a brave soldier, one of the best of the then French poets, and direct ancestor of the renowned Sully, minister of Henry IV. of France. The Venetian fleet forced its way into the harbour ; "blind old Dandolo" standing on the prow of his vessel in full armour, holding his drawn sword, insisted upon going on shore. A kind of drawbridge was contrived, to pass from the yards of the ship to the walls of the city, and along this the valiant old man groped his way, and entered a victor into Constantinople, where, half a century before, he had been treated with so much inhumanity. Numbers crowded after him; they planted the great standard of St. Mark, and took twenty-five of the one hundred and ten towers that ought to have vigorously opposed them. The terrified Greeks revolted against the usurper, who made his escape in a boat ; Isaac Angelus was restored, and his son associated with him in the Empire as Alexius IV.

The latter was anxious to fulfil his promises to his allies, but the treasury was empty, and though he melted and coined all the church plate, the money produced was much below the sum promised ; and the Crusaders encamped without the walls till they should receive full payment. The Greeks abhorred the strangers; frequent brawls ensued, in one of which the city was fired, and a large part of it consumed. Alexius became an object of hatred to his own subjects for having introduced the foreigners, and especially for endeavouring to subvert the Greek Church, and establish that of Rome. Meantime the unhappy Alexius was treated by his

allies with great indignity, on account of his involuntary breach of contract, and he was often compelled to attend their carousals clad, as in mockery, in his imperial robes, but with his crown replaced by the tarry woollen cap of a Venetian sailor, and in this guise he was expected to endure patiently rude taunts and practical jokes.

He had a relative, who was his confidant and his chamberlain, named Alexius Ducas, and surnamed Murzuffle, a man with enormous shaggy eye-brows, and a fierce countenance; this traitor seeing that his master was hated by the Greeks, and scorned by the foreigners, thought to take advantage of the circumstances to elevate himself upon the young Emperor's ruin : he seized and strangled him ; the old and infirm Isaac died of grief, and Murzuffle reigned as Alexius V.

But the Crusaders, determined to avenge their protege and invested Constantinople, which now made a much more obstinate defence than before. But after a siege of three months it was taken by storm, and exposed to horrors too dreadful for detail. The terrible carnage was at length checked, though with great difficulty, by Montferrat and Baldwin : but rapine and violence still rioted in every quarter, till exhausted by excess ; a great part of the city was burned ; and noble libraries and beautiful works of art were destroyed—and in the midst of groans, shrieks, flames, ruins, and seas of blood, the French officers and the Greek ladies (all of whom must have lost some friend or near relative), assembled and danced together in the great church of St. Sophia ;—has this revolting instance of levity a parallel ? *we* cannot remember one.

Murzuffle had escaped in the first confusion, but was taken, and put to death by being flung headlong from a pillar 147 feet high. The Latin princes then decided that the Byzantine sceptre had been so disgraced by the many atrocities of its Greek possessors (a series of the most weak and wicked monarchs, with *very few* exceptions, ever known) that it was expedient to transfer it to other than native hands, and to choose a foreign Emperor. Twelve electors were nominated, six French and six Venetian. Their votes were given for Dandolo ; but he declined the imperial dignity, as inconsistent with the duty he owed to his country, a Republic, whose chief magistrate he was. The electors, then, in consideration of the valor, wisdom, and many virtues of the Count of Flanders and Hainault, unanimously elevated him to the vacant throne

as Baldwin I., on the 16th of May, 1204 ; and he was crowned in the Church of St. Sophia by Thomas Morosini, the newly created Venetian Patriarch of Constantinople, a Prelate of the Church of Rome.

But the Crusaders, instead of establishing a firm and powerful state, to resist aggressions on the peace of Europe from the North and from the East, committed the error of dismembering the Greek Empire, and of thus rendering its sovereign not only useless as an ally to the Western Powers, but even a burden to them when their policy required he should be supported against an enemy. The confederates assigned to Baldwin the city of Constantinople, and one-third of the Empire, dividing among themselves the remaining share ; the most valuable portions of which were afterwards acquired for Venice by the address of Dandolo.

The Emperor Baldwin, with power thus circumscribed at his outset, was unable, notwithstanding his abilities and courage, to reform the inveterate abuses among the natives of his dominions, or to defend his throne against external enemies. The exiled Princes of the Imperial Houses of Comnenus established principalities for themselves in Asia Minor, and were, of course, his mortal foes. Great disorders reigned in Constantinople ; the Latins were insolent and exacting ; the Greeks were discontented and turbulent, incensed at their subjection to an alien Prince, and their enforced union with the Church of Rome : thus the new Emperor's prospects were but gloomy.

A few months after Baldwin's coronation, he was visited by a domestic bereavement. His wife, who was destined never to share her husband's throne, had embarked for Palestine in the fleet of John de Nêsle : the voyage was long and stormy, and she suffered so much from terror, sea-sickness, and hardships, that soon after landing at St. Jean d'Acre, she expired of exhaustion, on the 24th of August, 1204 ; leaving her daughters motherless at an age when they most needed maternal care ; if they had been blest with that care, training them in womanly feeling and filial piety, the dark stains that sully the memories of Jane and Margaret of Flanders, would, in all probability, never have existed.

At this period the Bulgarians were a nation as powerful as courage and energy could make them. Their sovereign, Joannice, had revolted from Isaac Angelus, and established

a kingdom. He was a member of the Roman communion, and, corresponded with Pope Innocent the Third, became desirous to form relations with the Latin Prince established at Constantinople, as being of his own creed. But his overtures were unwisely checked by a haughty intimation of Baldwin's ministers, that he (Joannice) must commence by doing homage to the new emperor, as a vassal of the empire from which the Bulgarian kingdom had been dismembered. The pride of Joannice was wounded, and he at once entered into correspondence with the disaffected Greeks. An extensive conspiracy against Baldwin sprang up, not only on the European, but also upon the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. Henry of Hainault, Baldwin's brother, was sent with the flower of the army into Asia Minor, to meet the conspirators. Immediately on his quitting Europe, the Greeks of Thrace (now Romania) rose in arms, and massacred most of the French and Venetians in that country; and Joannice seized the opportunity of the panic among the foreigners to cross the Hæmus mountains (the Balkan) with an immense force.

Baldwin saw the necessity of making head at once against the Bulgarians, though his means were inadequate to the emergency. He marched towards Adrianople, but with too small an army, for the best part of his forces had accompanied his brother. He (Baldwin) was met at a place called the Plains of Orestes by overwhelming hordes of Bulgarians; and his few troops were surrounded and cut to pieces, April 15, 1205. With this defeat the mysterious and tragical circumstances of Baldwin's story commence.

At first the Emperor was supposed to have been killed; but his body not being found, and enquiries being instituted, it was ascertained that he had been taken prisoner, and conveyed by the order of Joannice to a castle which some call Cernoa, and others Ternobia, and was kept there in a rigorous confinement. In the following year Pope Innocent wrote to Joannice, entreating the release of his illustrious captive: but the Bulgarian curtly replied, that he could not grant the request, "as Baldwin had paid the debt of nature;" but he said nothing whatever of the time, place, or manner of the alleged death; and this circumstance, combined with others, confirmed many persons in the belief that the Emperor was still alive, but in a secret dungeon. A prevalent rumour affirmed, that the Queen of Bulgaria had become enamored of

Baldwin's handsome person and noble bearing, and had offered him liberty on the condition that he should murder Joannice, and marry her. But Baldwin's generous nature revolted from this proposal, and the Queen, in all "the fury of a woman scorned," had accused him to her husband as the author of the wicked scheme; and at her instigation Joannice had (as some said) put his victim to death by tortures which he scrupled to avow to Pope Innocent; or, as was more generally believed, had by a refinement of cruelty spared his prisoner's life in order to render it a burden by sufferings; and had astutely asserted him to be dead, to retain him the more securely in his power. But we must leave Baldwin for a while, and return to Constantinople.

On the Emperor's disappearance his brother Henry was called to the tottering throne. He was a wise and courageous Prince, but was much harassed by the turbulent Greeks; and died in 1217, with strong evidences of having been poisoned. Peter de Courtenaye,* who had married Yolande, Baldwin's sister, succeeded. In an expedition against Thessalonica he was invited to a banquet, under pretext of treating for peace, by Theodore Angelus, Prince of Epirus, and was never heard of more. His son and successor, Robert, died from grief and anxiety. He was succeeded by his brother, Baldwin II., who was dethroned and expelled by Michael Palæologus, of an old Byzantine family. These Emperors were all victims of the false policy of dismembering the Empire; all succumbed to their difficulties; surrounded by enemies, crippled at home, and ill supported abroad. Thus France lost an advantageous position in the East. After a period of 57 years the French-Flemish dynasty, which began with a Baldwin, ended with a Baldwin. The native Greek princes returned to reign as badly as ever, till the last Palæologus yielded to the then martial and vigorous Turks in 1453, and the Byzantine Empire, which had commenced with Constantine the Great, terminated with Constantine Palæologus Dracoses.

We must now revert to the family which Baldwin I. had left in Flanders.

On the report of this Emperor's death, Philip Augustus of France required that the eldest daughter, Jane, should be sent to Paris to be educated under his auspices, both as a

* Marquis de Namur, and Count of Nevers, Auxerre, and Tonnerre.

vassal of France, and as the niece of his first wife, Isabella. The younger daughter, Margaret, remained in Flanders, under the guardianship of Bouchard d'Avènes.

When Jane was of an age to marry, Philip Augustus espoused her, in 1211, without consulting her inclinations, to Fernando, second son of Sancho I. of Portugal, who, ruling over Flanders and Hainault in right of his wife, is called by French and English historians, Ferrand, Count of Flanders. Philip, to repay himself for his care of the young heiress, took possession of part of her territories; an encroachment which her husband resented on the first opportunity. Otho, Emperor of Germany, being at war with King Philip, raised against the latter a formidable confederation of jealous princes and discontented vassals. Ferrand joined the League, and brought a large body of Flemings to fight for Otho at the great battle of Bouvines,* (27th July, 1214) where Otho and his allies were signally defeated, and Ferrand (with many other persons of distinction) was taken prisoner by Philip, and kept in close confinement. The ill-starred Portuguese would, however, have been liberated on terms, if his wife would have agreed to ransom him. But Jane was ambitious, selfish, and unfeeling, and of morals far from correct: she determined to rule her inheritance by her own sole will; and rejoicing to be freed from her husband's interference with her sway, and his surveillance over her conduct, she peremptorily refused to pay his ransom, and left him to languish for many years in a painful captivity. Her government was so tyrannical and oppressive that she was detested by the Flemings, who deeply lamented the loss of their revered Count, her father.

In the month of April, 1225, just twenty years after the defeat of Baldwin in the battle near Adrianople, a remarkable looking old man appeared in Flanders, grave and majestic in his air, and seemingly more worn by grief and hardships than even by age. He was clad in an Armenian robe of scarlet; he leaned upon a large staff, and his snowy beard hung down to his girdle. He declared himself to be Baldwin, Count of Flanders, Emperor of Constantinople, who having been falsely reputed dead, had at length found means to escape from his Bulgarian prison, and had come to claim the love and loyalty of his natural subjects. The Flemings flocked round him with alacrity, and all who remembered their lost Count affirmed

* A village of Flanders, near Tournay.

that the stranger resembled him so exactly in voice, features, and manner, that they were fully convinced of his identity with their long regretted Baldwin. The nobles put to him many searching questions, and his answers displayed an intimate acquaintance with the history of the country, and with the pedigree, heraldry, &c., of every high family in Flanders and Hainault. The aristocracy, the citizens, the populace all avowed their full persuasion of his truth, and paid him the homage due to their hereditary Count.

But the Countess Jane repudiated his pretensions with passionate indignation, denouncing him as a shameless impostor. He requested to see her, declaring that he would be able, in a personal interview, to convince her of his being her father. Yet she positively refused ever to admit him into her presence; a circumstance which was interpreted to her disadvantage. It was argued, that if her heart owned one touch of nature, she would have been anxious to look upon one who so closely resembled the parent that she had not seen since her childhood, or if she had any sense of justice, she would have permitted the man whom she stigmatized an opportunity of justifying himself (if he *could* do so) but it seemed as though she *feared* to see him, lest she might be in danger of conviction, contrary to her stubborn resolution of holding fast the dominion which could not be hers if her father was still living. It was her *interest* to prejudge and condemn the stranger; it was said that she, who was cruel to a husband for the sake of power, could also be unnatural to a parent. But her councillors, for the sake of some pretence of justice, advised her to permit them to investigate the case, and they accordingly invited the stranger to appear before them.

He came, dignified, calm, and collected, though they interrogated him in a harsh and menacing manner, on the particulars of his alleged escape, and on his reasons for re-appearing in Flanders, rather than in the Greek capital. He rebuked them for their discourtesies, and proceeded to relate that he had been imprisoned for many years, in a close and secret dungeon, by the Bulgarian King; but at length, his guards relaxing their vigilance, he found means to elude them. But while making his way through the country, he was unfortunately taken by a band of marauders, who did not suspect him to be more than an ordinary person. He was brought by them into Syria, sold as a slave, and employed in the most irksome toils.

During a truce between the Christians and the Saracens, some German merchants were travelling in Syria, and halted to refresh themselves near the place where he was at work. Hearing them converse in German, he approached, and accosting them in the same language, related to them his misfortunes. Touched with compassion they purchased him from his master (who was ignorant of his rank); they brought him to Europe, and he hastened at once to his native land. To have gone to Constantinople would (he said) have been injurious to his interests. His brother Henry, and his brother-in-law, Peter de Courtenay, were both dead, and their successor would not readily acknowledge claims that would take the sceptre from his hand. Besides, a journey to Constantinople would be replete with danger from the enmity of the Greeks. He preferred, therefore, repairing to Flanders, and appealing to the fidelity of his native subjects, and the filial instincts of his child.

The stranger was still speaking with energy, when the Grand Treasurer, as though dreading the effect of his words upon the hearers, abruptly dissolved the council, affirming that it was not lawful to debate or decide upon a case of so much moment, without first ascertaining the will and pleasure of the Countess.

The nobles and people of Flanders and Hainault, however, almost unanimously declared in favour of the stranger, and the then King of England, Henry III., felt so certain of his being truly the imperial Baldwin, that he sent him a letter, congratulating him on his restoration to liberty, and sympathizing with his sorrows. Thus powerfully supported, the stranger determined on compelling the Countess Jane to give him the audience that she so obstinately and so suspiciously refused; and arriving with a large body of followers, at Quesnoy, where Jane then was, he very nearly succeeded in taking her by surprise, but she effected her escape, and fled to claim the assistance of the King of France, Louis VIII., who being the son of Isabella of Hainault, first wife of Philip Augustus, was cousin-german to Jane. But the Flemings conceived an additional disgust to the Countess, for appealing to a monarch, who, like his father, held her husband, Ferrand, in fetters.

Louis cited the supposed Baldwin to appear before him at Compeigne; and he granted him a safe-conduct, for coming and returning. The stranger obeyed the summons, as emanating from the feudal Suzerain to whom the counts of Flanders owed

fealty ; and he presented himself at the appointed place with the same composed and noble mien, as when he appeared before the Flemish Council. It was the interests of King Louis that Flanders should be subject to a passion-led woman, rather than to an approved statesman and warrior such as Baldwin (supposing that *he* survived in the person of the stranger) ; it was, therefore, only natural that *he*, too, should be determined to pre-judge and condemn the candidate.

The French King and his councillors assumed a menacing and yet a mocking tone, to disconcert and confuse the feeble attenuated old man ; disregarding the intimate knowledge of all Flemish affairs of state, &c., displayed by the mysterious personage, Louis announced that he would limit his investigation to three questions, viz., 1st., in what place did Baldwin, Count of Flanders, do homage to Philip Augustus for his fiefs ? 2dly., in what place, and at what time, did he receive knighthood ? 3dly., in what place and on what day was he married to Mary of Champagne ?

On these three questions hung the fate of the old man : and they were questions on which Baldwin might have hesitated. In how many brilliant scenes had the Count of Flanders been a chief actor from his youth ! he had been a knight in many tournaments, a General in many battles, a Prince in many Courts and Councils ; he had been a feudal hereditary ruler, and an elected Emperor ; he had *done* homage as the former, he had *received* it as the latter : he had twice done homage for his fiefs, in 1195 to the Emperor Henry at Metz, and to Philip Augustus at Compeigne : after a lapse of thirty years (ten of them years of pomp, and important occupations, and twenty years of solitude and suffering) his memory might hesitate to distinguish at once between the places and the times of those acts—and if he *were* Baldwin (which we ourselves verily believe), he had endured imprisonment and slavery, he had suffered intensely in mind and body. As he was of advanced age it was quite natural that when he was suddenly questioned on the pomps of his youth, on his investitures, his knighthood, and his marriage, his memory* should become bewildered by the phantasmagoria of half faded and mingling

* The lapses of Recollection are many and capricious ; we knew a man of extraordinary learning, sound judgment, and powerful memory, who lived nearly 40 years in affectionate union with a beloved wife, but never could remember *what* season of the year they were married.

scenes and events that those questions called forth—he hesitated—he tried to arrange his recollections—but the look of triumph in the King's countenance, and the malicious sneers of the prejudiced councillors, increased (as they intended) his embarrassment. He acknowledged the confusion of his ideas, and accounted for it; and requested a delay of three days, to give him time for reflection, and for the uninterrupted exertions of memory. But Louis would grant no delay, listen to no reasoning, and pronouncing the stranger a self-convicted impostor, dismissed the assembly in an ebullition of rage.

We may here remark, with regard to the mysterious stranger, that many highly respectable and authentic foreign historians have recorded their belief that he was, in truth, the man he professed to be. Among these authors are Sismondi (*Histoire des Français*) Michelet (*Histoire de France*), and Michaud (*Histoire des Croisades*). On the other side, among those who believe him an impostor, are De Rocolles (*Histoire des Imposteurs Insignes*), Moreri (*Dictionnaire Historique*), and the author of *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*. But we think the evidence in favor of the stranger preponderates, when we remember that he was acknowledged by the nobles and people of his native states, and by a king who had no interest to bias him either way, Henry III. of England.

To resume. Though Louis the Eighth pronounced the stranger a deceiver, yet respecting the royal safe-conduct he had given him when summoned to Compeigne, he did not issue orders to arrest him, but commanded him to quit France, within three days, on pain of death. The adherents of the unfortunate man, disappointed by the issue of the conference, alarmed at the hostility of the French King, and the fury of their own Countess, abandoned *him* whom they still firmly believed to be their rightful lord. Thus forsaken, he retired to Valenciennes, and attempted to pass in the disguise of a trader through Burgundy; but he was recognised by a Burgundian gentleman, named Erard Castenac, who getting him into his power by affecting sympathy, sold him for 4000 marks of silver to the unfeeling Countess Jane. She caused her captive to be put to the most excruciating tortures, in the agony of which he was compelled to sign a ready-prepared confession to the effect, that he was a native of Champagne, that his real name was Bertrand de Rains: that he had lived for some time in a forest near Valenciennes, as a hermit; and knowing that the

discontented Flemings lamented the loss of their Count Baldwin, and arguing the possibility of his being still alive, he was strack with the idea of personating him, and to that end took pains to acquire adequate information on all necessary points; and when an opportunity that appeared favourable arrived, he discovered himself as the revered and regretted Baldwin.

When Jane had extorted his signature to this prepared confession, she ordered her miserable captive to be tied upon a horse, and paraded, with every mark of contempt, through the principal towns of Flanders and Hainault, preceded by a crier proclaiming the alleged imposture and confession: and not satisfied with this punishment, she caused him to be publicly hanged on a gibbet at Lisle. It is recorded, that after the execution, the hard-hearted, unwomanly Countess received an undeniable proof that her victim was indeed her own unhappy father. When at the foot of the gibbet he entreated a trust-worthy person to remind her of a secret known only to her father, her mother, and her nurse; and the two latter had been dead for many years, and certainly never revealed it to others. It is added that the Countess was seized with a deep remorse; and as an act of expiation, she founded at Lisle, for the repose of the sufferer's soul, an hospital, called "the Hospital of the Countess;" and she directed a gibbet to be represented in its escutcheon, on the windows, the walls, and all the furniture, hangings, &c. This singular circumstance confirmed the Flemings in their belief that the Countess was a parricide.

Among the dark destinies of illustrious persons recorded by history, there is none more miserable than that of Baldwin (admitting that the stranger was he). To fall from a throne to a dungeon, to exchange complaisant courtiers for barbarous persecutors is not without parallel—but after years of suffering and captivity, to hasten home, full of affection and hope, trusting in the love of children, and the fidelity of friends, to find his most implacable enemy in his own first-born; to be denied her presence after a lengthened separation; to be refused even the chance of recognition, to be tortured on the rack, exposed to public shame, hanged like a common felon by the sentence of his own child, the daughter whom he had dreamed would have healed his wounded heart—the imagination shudders in trying to realize the dreadful picture!

We must now refer to the younger sister of the Countess Jane, Margaret, whom her father had left under the guardianship of her uncle, Philip, Count of Namur, and of Bouchard d' Avènes.

When Margaret grew up, Bouchard was still in the prime of life, and was handsome, graceful, and accomplished; he had conciliated the Countess Jane by his political services; he had won the heart of her sister by his personal advantages, and by his abilities he had gained the respect of the people. Encouraged by his popularity, by the favours of the Countess, and by his own noble birth, he asked, and obtained, the hand of Margaret in marriage. They had two sons, John d' Avènes and Baldwin. In some time after the birth of these children, (and before the appearance of the ill-fated stranger) the Countess Jane discovered that Bouchard had formerly been educated for the priesthood, had received the tonsure, and had been Archdeacon of Orleans, but on coming into Flanders he had concealed these facts, and had consequently married without obtaining the necessary dispensation from his vows of celibacy. Jane was incensed at the insult offered by Bouchard to an illustrious house by contracting an informal marriage with one of its daughters, and her wounded pride inspired her with a deadly hatred of her brother-in-law. Instead of using her interest to procure a dispensation for him from Rome, and a ratification of her sister's marriage, she exerted herself to ruin him, and to separate him from his wife for ever. She took measures to arrest him; but he avoided her snares, and hastened to Rome, to seek from the Pope absolution for his fault, and the confirmation of his marriage. The Pope refused the boons, pronounced him divorced, and enjoined him, as a penance, and under pain of excommunication, to repair to Palestine, there to fight against the Saracens during a certain number of years, and at the expiration of the period (if he survived) to retire to a monastery for life. Bouchard was obliged to submit, and proceeded to the Holy Land; where he performed many gallant exploits in battle, seeking every opportunity of distinguishing himself, in the hope that he might thus earn the indulgence of the Pontiff (who was especially interested in the Holy Wars), and might be permitted to rejoin his wife and family.

The time of his ordeal passed; covered with well merited laurels he returned to Europe bearing letters of the strongest recommendation from many leaders and nobles addressed to the

principal Cardinals, entreating their favour and interest for him. He reached Flanders in safety, and found means, despite the Countess Jane, to visit his wife and children. In this interview he felt so deeply the influence of the domestic affections, that he declared he would be torn to pieces before he would consent to relinquish them for a cloister. With renewed eagerness he set out for Rome, to urge his suit, and had the happiness to find the Pope propitiously disposed to him, for the sake of his military prowess. He at length obtained absolution, and the promise of a dispensation to confirm his marriage, and, full of hope and joy, he speeded back to Flanders.

But alas ! for human hope and human joy ! the Countess Jane was resolved that the half severed bonds between d'Avènes and his wife should never be re-united. She envenomed Margaret's feelings against him by exaggerating what she termed his treachery to a young and noble maiden, and inspired her with an abhorrence of her once beloved Bouchard, an abhorrence of such an unnatural description, that Margaret extended it even to her innocent children because they were *his*. In this perverted state of mind, she acquiesced in the designs of the Countess to destroy her husband. The latter, on his journey to Flanders, was seized by the myrmidons of Jane, and was seen no more. The mode of his death was never clearly ascertained ; but it was generally believed that he was hanged in his dungeon by the order of his savage sister-in-law, whose inhuman conduct was subsequently remembered to her prejudice on the execution of *him* who had asserted himself to be her father.

Margaret contracted a second alliance, taking for her husband a Burgundian named William de Dampierre, a knight of noble lineage. The offspring of this marriage consisted of three sons, William who died at an early age childless, though married ; Guy, and John. The small share of regard she testified for anyone was now wholly reserved for her second family ; the blameless sons of the wretched Bouchard she spurned and ill-treated for the sake of their father. From a feeling of pity, Florent the Fourth, Count of Holland, took the eldest, John d'Avènes, and brought him up in a manner suitable to his birth ; the younger son, Baldwin, less fortunate, remained within the shadow of his mother's frown.

In 1243 Margaret buried her second husband, and in the following year her sister, who dying childless was succeeded

by Margaret as Countess of Flanders and Hainault:* she associated her son, Guy de Dampierre, with her in the government, regardless of the claims of her elder children, the two d'Avènes. Her sway was still more tyrannical than that of her sister Jane, and was still more detested by the Flemings. She was so dark, stern, and unbending, so wholly without evidence of ordinary human feeling, that she was called by her subjects "The Black Lady".† She chose to consider her children by Bouchard as illegitimate; and delighted in sowing dissension between them and the Dampierres. Her unnatural conduct brought many calamities upon her country; the jarring pretensions of her sons created factions, and fostered party feeling.

Some powerful interposition was necessary. In 1249 the Pope (Innocent III.) sent his Commissioners, the Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, and the Abbot of Leté, to enquire into the case of the d'Avènes. After long deliberations, these ecclesiastics decided, that although the marriage of Bouchard d'Avènes with Margaret of Flanders, was irregular for want of a dispensation, yet, as it had been solemnized with all the due rites of the Church, the children of that union were legitimate. This verdict gave position to the young men. The eldest, John D'Avènes, received from his patron, Florent, Count of Holland, the hand of his daughter Adalais (or Alix), and the King of France, Louis the IX (St. Louis,) decreed as Suzerain of Flanders, that John d'Avènes should succeed his mother as Count of Hainault; and that Flanders should be the heritage of Guy de Dampierre: a provision was also made for Baldwin d'Avènes.

In 1253, Guy and John de Dampierre attempted, at their mother's instigation, to wrest part of Zealand from the Count of Holland, whom she hated for his kindness to John d'Avènes. In a battle fought at West Kapellen, in Zealand, between the Dampierres on one side, and the Count of Holland and his son-in-law on the other, the Flemings were defeated with an immense loss, and the two Dampierres were among the prisoners. John D'Avènes wrote to his mother, imploring her to listen to the long unheeded voice of nature, and to let the captivity of

* On the death of the unfortunate Ferrand, Jane had married Thomas of Savoy (son of Thomas 1st, Count of Savoy) called Count of Flanders while his wife lived.

† She is the subject of one of T. C. Grattan's "Legends of the Rhine," called the Curse of the Black Lady, in which her hatred of her first husband is ascribed (by the license of fiction) to jealousy.

her younger sons have a softening effect upon her heart. To his earnest and tender appeal she wrote in reply, "that he was welcome to be the hangman of his two brothers, and that he might, if he chose, boil the one, roast the other, and eat them both!" It seems incredible, yet it is gravely affirmed by a respectable historian, the continuator of Matthew Paris, that this atrocious language was used by a lady of high rank, a mother,—Margaret, Countess of Flanders.

After existing as the bane of her family and her country, (which she involved in a war with England) the "black lady" died in 1279, and was succeeded (as arranged) in Flanders by Guy de Dampierre, and in Hainault, by John d'Avènes. The latter left four sons, of whom John, the eldest, succeeded his father; the other three devoted themselves to the priesthood; William became Bishop of Cambray, Bouchard, Bishop of Metz, and Guy, Bishop of Utrecht. It is to be remarked that Bouchard d'Avènes and his evil-minded wife Margaret, were direct ancestors of an amiable and beloved Queen of England, Philippa of Hainault (wife of Edward III), who was fourth in descent (through John d'Avènes and Adalais of Holland) from that unhappily wedded pair.*

The tragical story of Baldwin and his children surpasses in gloom even that of King Lear and his daughters: it is of the same dark cast as "the old tales of Thebes and Pelops' line," whose guilt and anguish the Ancients ascribed to the decrees of inexorable Nemesis. The dramatic material begins at Baldwin's defeat and fate; but Le Rousseau has unwisely "commenced at the commencement," at the preaching of the Crusade by Foulque de Neuilly; and all the details drag their "slow length along" through a period of twenty-six years: these are the transactions at Venice, the reigns of Isaac Angelus, Alexius, and Murzufle, the two sieges of Constantinople, the election of Baldwin, &c., &c., down to the execution of Bertrand de Bains, whom Le Rousseau, like ourselves, believes to have been Baldwin. It is a mere chronicle in dialogue, divided into five parts, we cannot call them acts when there is no acting; it is in prose, prosy; no striking point is made, no situation well wrought out; there is nothing

* The descent runs thus: John, eldest son of Bouchard and Margaret, was succeeded by his eldest son John, whose second son, William (heir on the death of his elder brother) was father of Queen Philippa.

of solemnity, energy, or pathos. It is impracticable (we should say) for the theatre: the spectator could not follow the thread of the narrative from scene to scene and from place to place, nor could he distinguish between all the personages, French, Flemish, Venetians, Greeks, and Bulgarians that encumber the stage. It is as difficult to be read as to be performed; the attention is worn out before the interest commences. Among the dramatis personæ we have the Countess Jane, who might have been made interesting by the tempest of conflicting feelings; but she is commonplace—the Queen of Bulgaria, without the fire that might have given force to the scene, she is tame enough, and imbued with French sentimentality; and Mary of Champagne, the wife of Baldwin, appears, towards the conclusion, merely to rave in madness, and to recognize Baldwin when her testimony is unavailing. We have looked all through this so-called drama in search of one scene, one passage to transcribe, but we can find none that we could think the reader would care to see.

The “First French Emperor of Constantinople” has been unfortunate in France: Nepomucene Lemer cier essayed a tragedy on the same subject, and the representation was attempted at two theatres in Paris, but it proved wholly unsuccessful. We have not seen or read it; but Le Rousseau speaks of it very disparagingly in the preface to his “Baldwin:” if Lemer cier’s drama be more *effete* than Le Rousseau’s, it must, indeed, be a “Curiosity of Literature.”

ART. III.—SUICIDE; ITS MOTIVES AND MYSTERIES.

Recherches sur les Opinions et la Législation en Matière de Mort Volontaire Pendant le Moyen Age. Par M. H. Bourquelot. Paris: 1840.

Few events ever caused so much astonishment and dismay as the suicide of John Sadleir—his extensive engagements in vast concerns, his position in society, his intelligence, influence, and reputed fortune, made such an event, of all events, the most unlooked for. The details which throw light on the dreadful catastrophe are as astounding as the act itself. The most cautious never dreamed that the apparent favorite of fortune, whose name was considered a guarantee for the success of any project, would involve establishments, undertakings, and a host of individuals, in irretrievable ruin. In almost every suicide, however abhorrent the act, there is something to elicit a touch of sympathy—"the scowl of an un pitying world," may have driven a youthful aspirant to desperation—broken vows may have bereft a trusting husband of self-control, or a sudden bereavement quite upset reason—but in Sadleir's case, we can trace no higher feeling than an inordinate thirst of gain, which stopped at nothing for its gratification. The attempt of his friends to procure a verdict of insanity, utterly failed—the intense agony of his letters, and his expressions of remorse, which were brought forward to prove it,—and which could not indeed be read without pity—are in truth an evidence of his sanity—with all the consequences of his frauds, at length staring him in the face—the ruin of so many, some among them his own personal friends—could any but a madman have expressed himself but in terms of the greatest agony and remorse—in the contemplation of his guilty career, and its guilty termination, we can well conceive that his passionate anguish for the wrongs which he had inflicted, was the only source of consolation remaining for those to whom he was dear. Dr. Prichard in his *Treatise on Disorders of the Nervous System*, observes that "disappointments in the pursuit of wealth, in this country, where commercial enterprises engage so many individuals in hazardous pursuits, are among the most frequent causes of insanity;" but here is a much more startling result, and the speculator may well pause over the course which, step by step, led to such a fatal conclusion and wide-spread ruin—

and may well call to mind the words of holy writ, "he who maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent, for they who will be rich, fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition."

Great difference of opinion exists among high medical authorities on the question, whether the mere act of self-destruction is in itself a proof of insanity. Men of great celebrity in the profession have taken the negative side of the question, while others of equal weight take a different view. Juries are almost always on the side of the latter ; the law, as it now stands, naturally gives a bias to the feelings of those who sit in judgment. Compassion for the survivors makes them catch at every incident which can be construed into insanity, and avail themselves of every doubt which can be thrown on the adequacy of the motive, to account for the act.

It is little more than three and thirty years since, when by custom strong as law, the body of the suicide was treated with marked indignity ; it was not admitted into consecrated ground, but was buried at the meeting of cross roads, and a stake was run through the body. Near Boston, in Lincolnshire, a very ancient hawthorn tree is still pointed out ; it is a tradition in the neighbourhood, that it sprung from the stake driven through the body of a man who had destroyed himself more than a hundred years since. The unconsecrated grave is duly strewn with the blossoms which are shed over it like pitying tears. Reasons have been assigned for the rude interment of suicides in former days ; where cross roads met, a crucifix was generally erected, that the pious wayfarer from every direction might offer up his devotions at the holy shrine ; and the dead who were excluded from consecrated ground, were laid where they might rest under the shadow of the cross. The stake was run through the body, to prevent its rising to haunt the scenes of its former troubles. A person of the name of Griffiths was the last who was buried in this way, for in the same year, 1823, the legislature interfered to put a stop to the barbarous mode of interment. A law was passed, which enacted, that "*for the future it should not be lawful for every coroner having authority to hold inquests, to issue any warrant, or other process for directing the remains of persons against whom a verdict of *felo de se* should have been had, to be interred in any public highway, but that directions should be given for the*

private interment of such persons felo de se in the Church-yard or other burial ground of the parish or places in which the remains of such persons might, by the laws or customs of England, be interred, if the verdict of felo de se had not been found against them ; such interment to be made within twenty-four hours from the finding of the inquest, and to take place between the hours of nine and twelve at night." The act, however, gave no authority for the performance of the rites of burial. In the Roman Catholic Church, in the sixth century, it was ordered "that no commemoration should be made in the Eucharist for such as committed self-murder." This law continued till the Reformation, when it was admitted into the statute law of England by parliamentary authority, with the confiscation of lands and goods. Suicide was denounced as a crime by the Greek and Roman philosophers, and the offending hand was buried apart from the rest of the body. The Athenian laws made the condemned criminals their own executioners, thus sentencing them to commit suicide. In the city of Marseilles, the crime of suicide was tolerated, for we find by a passage in Montaigne's Essays, that "in former times there was kept in the city of Marseilles, a poison prepared out of hemlock at the public charge, for those who had a mind to hasten their end, having first, before the six hundred which were their senate, given an account of the reasons and motives of their design, and it was not otherwise lawful than by leave from the magistrate, and upon just occasion to do violence to themselves ; the same law was also in use in other places." The first instance of suicide recorded in the Jewish history is that of Samson ; the next is that of Saul, which took place 1055 years before the birth of Christ. His suicide, as we know, was very remarkable. He was a man of impetuous passions, under no self-control, and at the moment when he put an end to himself, he was distracted by the disastrous circumstances in which he found himself—the loss of his sons, and the dread of falling into the hands of his enemies made him anticipate the stroke of death, which from the mortal wounds he had received must soon have fallen upon him. The earliest account of suicide given in Roman history, occurred in the reign of Tarquin the First, when the soldiers, ordered to make common sewers, conceiving themselves disgraced, declared that they would not live, and so killed themselves ; afterwards Cato and other illustrious men put an end to their own existence. In scenes

of excitement and of seclusion we find that suicide was equally prevalent. In the romantic adventures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with all their pomp of jousts and tournaments, we find scattered mournful tales of "*brave knights and ladies fair*," who died for love by their own hand ; and in the retirement of the monastery, that peace of mind which its remoteness from the world and its vain concerns seemed to promise, was not always found, for the number of monks who destroyed themselves is stated to have been considerable. *Tædium vitæ*, or weariness of life, is in most cases brought on by disappointment, sorrow, or despair, but not unfrequently from disgust of the world and an excess of its pleasures. This unhappy state of mind has never been more accurately described than by Seneca, for it was not only a common malady in his days, but it frequently ended in suicide; "full of heaviness and disgust," are his words, "languishing and discontented, dissatisfied with the past, and without hope in the future, indifferent to what they had done or what they had to do, men plunge into solitude without finding the peace of mind they seek ; they try all kinds of distraction, they bustle about, they travel from place to place, they supplant one emotion by another, they go from sight to sight, from pleasure to pleasure, ever wishing to fly from themselves, and ever finding themselves tied to the same insufferable companion." He says again, "the evil which torments us, springs not from the place we live in, but abides within us ; we are too weak to bear with anything, we are unable to endure pain, incapable of enjoying pleasure, impatient of everything, and tired of all. How many call out for death, when after having tried every change, they still experience the same sensations and cannot rouse a novel feeling. The world, their fortune, and life itself becomes a burden to them—in the midst of their revellings, they exclaim, what ! the same thing, always the same !" This exactly accords with what St. Chrysostom says on the subject ; he speaks of the utter want of all interest and energy, the depression, or rather the annihilation of spirit which accompanies it ; the monotony of which the wretched sufferer from *tædium vitæ* complains may well bring to mind the words of the preacher, "all is vanity and vexation of spirit, there is nothing new under the sun." It is well known that the action of the mind frequently disturbs the bodily functions, and that they, by reaction on the mind, occasion maladies which are known as mental diseases. The medical observer is aware that symptoms may

be aggravated or induced by the thoughts of the patient being directed to them. He appreciates the power of the will, for he often calls on his patient to exert it, as the only remedy he can point out for the mysterious disorders which baffle his skill, and which he designates *nervous affections*. He can cite marvels which have been produced by the attention being suddenly engrossed by some exciting cause—how the lame and decrepid have been restored in a moment to the active use of their limbs till an impending danger has been averted ;—he can set a just value on occupation, for he knows that whatever withdraws the mind from being exclusively engaged on bodily ailments, or the troubles of life, whatever, in fact compels attention, has the most salutary effect. It has been happily ordered that the affairs of life furnish occupation for the highest and the lowest, and he who voluntarily retires from taking part in its transactions, fails in his allotted duty. It has been well observed by Bacon, that “ in the theatre of man’s life, God and angels only should be lookers on.” A philosopher preserved his reason while in prison, where he was denied the use of books and writing implements, by working out mathematical problems on the floor of his cell with an iron skewer which he had concealed in his clothes ; another declared that he could not have supported existence while in his sick chamber and enjoined perfect stillness, if he had not beguiled the time by reckoning the tiles on the opposite houses. Self-control, habitually exercised, is necessary for the regulation of the will and for the right direction of the attention ; for if unchecked by it, evil passions will gain an ascendancy over the will and the power of attention, irritability will increase in intensity by unrestrained indulgence, and act upon the brain till it becomes diseased. There are even instances where the foundation of a nervous complaint was laid before the birth of its victim, from want of the exercise of self-control in the mother ; by giving way to unreasonable emotions of terror and of passionate feeling, she may entail lasting suffering upon her offspring. Self-control is then necessary for the healthy condition of the brain and for the happiness of families. The means of our well-being are placed largely with ourselves ; we are furnished with restraining faculties for every temptation, with a sustaining help for every trial. To the neglect of the great power of self-control may be traced many of the sad and appalling events which are of such frequent occurrence. It may be doubted whether that power is so often *utterly lost*, as supposed ; it is sometimes found where most unlooked for. We could cite instances where lunatics, under a

searching examination in our courts of law, have exercised such self-control as to betray no proof of insanity—where no ingenuity of the most expert lawyer could surprise them into a discovery of the illusions and hallucinations which haunted them. We are endowed with a mysterious command over our thoughts, by which we can direct them to a subject which it is expedient that we should consider, and withdraw them in great measure from what is distasteful. But this command depends chiefly on self-control; if it be discarded, then one fixed idea may take possession of the mind, and may lead to most disastrous consequences. This is a marked feature in almost every case of insanity, and is observed in most cases of suicide. Medical superintendents in lunatic asylums are so fully aware that a fixed idea belongs to most cases of the malady which they are appointed to treat, that their first care on the arrival of a patient is to elicit what his fixed idea is, and when it is ascertained, to endeavour to withdraw his mind from it, by every means that can be devised. The fixed idea brings on the reverie which engenders hallucinations and illusions, and oftentimes an utter repugnance to exertion. There have been instances where suicide has been prevented by a sudden turn which has arrested the attention. Pinel mentions the case of a man who had left his house one night with a determination to drown himself; on his way he was attacked by robbers, and having made a vigorous resistance, the intention of suicide was totally dissipated. Dr. Burrows records a similar case—that of a woman who went out with the like intent, and was interrupted by something falling on her head; she changed her mind, and instead of going to the water returned home. But a more interesting account of revulsion of feeling, was given by a Piedmontese nobleman, and may be found in a note in Rogers's poem of *Italy*. He was hurrying along the streets, to throw himself into the river; "I felt a sudden check," said he, "and on turning round beheld a little boy; 'there are six of us,' said he, 'we are dying for want of food;'" the nobleman followed the child to his miserable home, and relieved the starving family; "their burst of gratitude," added he, "overcame me, and went as a cordial to my heart; fool that I was, to think of leaving a world where such pleasure was to be had so cheaply."

Poor Cowper under his attacks of despondency made several attempts to destroy himself. One night, when suffering from deep depression, he called a hackney coach from the stand, and told

the driver to leave him at the Tower stairs; the coachman drove towards the city; two hours passed, and he was still driving about the streets; at last he stopped, but it was at Cowper's door. When expostulated with, he could offer no explanation, but said that though he had been in the habit of going to the Tower frequently during the week, he was ashamed to say, that he had tried in vain that evening to find the place. Cowper got out of the carriage and hastened to the retirement of his chamber; there, on his knees, he offered up a prayer of thanksgiving for the divine interposition in his favour.

Chateaubriand was diverted from his purpose of self-destruction, while making the attempt; its failure confirmed his belief in fatalism; and so he concluded that his hour was not yet come; He speaks of the dread which he had of his father, and tells how when under his eyes, he sat motionless; "a cold perspiration," he goes on to say, "broke on my brow, the last ray of reason fled—I had a gun, the worn out trigger of which often went off unexpectedly; I loaded this gun with three balls, and went to a spot at a considerable distance from the great mall; I cocked the gun, put the end of the barrel into my mouth; I struck the butt end against the ground; I repeated the attempt several times, but unsuccessfully; the appearance of a game-keeper interrupted me in my design. Supposing that my hour was not yet come, I deferred the execution of my project to another day; that day never came."

Suicide has not only been prevented, but it has been accelerated by accidental circumstances; two years have not yet run their course, since M. Gerard de Nerval perished by his own hand—his loss was deeply regretted in the literary world of Paris; he was a man of considerable talent and information; he was a welcome contributor to reviews; an unfinished piece, intended for the *Revue Parisienne*, was actually found in his pocket after his death,—the string by which he hanged himself to a door in the *Place de Chatelet*, was a piece of strong tape, apparently an apron string. It is supposed that the accidental circumstance of his having picked it up, suggested the fatal act; he was at the time suffering from a nervous affection. Sir Charles Bell mentions the case of a barber, a steady industrious man, who was one day shaving a customer,—one of the surgeons of the Middlesex hospital. The conversation turned on a recently attempted suicide; the Surgeon observed that the man had mistaken the right

place for cutting the throat ; the barber asked where the cut should have been made ; the Surgeon said it should have been made at the carotid artery, and showed exactly where it was situated. The barber listened attentively ; in a few minutes the surgeon heard a noise at the back of the shop, and on reaching the spot, he found that the barber had cut his own throat, exactly in the manner which had been explained, and with the razor he had just used in shaving the surgeon. The power of sudden impulse points out strongly the necessity for the habitual exercise of self-control, and teaches that it is not only requisite in the trying emergencies of life, but in its daily occurrences.

The inquests on suicides are truly a melancholy study, but it is not without its use ; it exhibits in stern reality the fatal effects of want of self-control, and a lamentable deficiency of trust in Divine Providence, and it may suggest to such as would recoil with horror from *the crime for which there is no repentance*, that there is something to be answered for, by those who by over severity, neglect, or want of sympathy and tenderness, may have had some share, although it may be a remote one, in the fatal catastrophe. Who can say the guilt of the poor negro, torn from home and all that he loves, who escapes from captivity by death, is not shared, nay more than shared, by his ruthless task-master ?—Horror, dismay, and constant dread, during the reign of Robespierre, made life insupportable to many in France who died by their own hands. Was not the tyrant answerable for the catastrophe ? The comparative rarity of suicides in lunatic asylums since the humane mode of treatment has been introduced, proves that they had been much more frequently the result of despair than of insanity. Must not the memory of the boy, who hanged himself in the curtain, because his mother scolded him over much, have haunted her, as if she had been accessory to the crime ?—The weariness of life frequently arises from a constitutional melancholy, which if not combated by religion and by reason, will take such hold upon the mind, that no argument or variety can dissipate it. It is not unfrequently found where all outward circumstances are eminently calculated to dispel it. “ I feel a horror of the world ”—it is thus one writes to the friends he is about voluntarily to leave ; “ ennui consumes my existence ; my good friends, I bid you adieu, for I am resolved to die.”

Among the many interesting cases recorded in the *Journal of Psychological Medicine*,* is that of a gentleman, not more than twenty-five years of age, who possessed every worldly advantage, and who was surrounded by a family by whom he was tenderly beloved. He betrayed an unhappy disposition from his infancy; though taciturn, gloomy and sad, he could not say why he was so; pressed to partake in the amusements of his friends, he would seldom join in them; he invariably treated his family with a reserve which no kindness on their part could overcome; an exclusive idea had probably long taken possession of his mind; at last, for three or four weeks it was observed that he seemed to take great interest in fashioning a plank of wood, about which he employed himself. When asked for what he was preparing it, he replied that they would see for what it was intended, when it was finished. One morning, having made his usual enquiries about his father's health, and having taken his breakfast, he retired to his own room, from which he never again came out alive; he was found quite dead in the strange wooden construction about which he had been engaged. It is accurately described in the journal, in which we met with the details of the event. A fire-arm was fixed before him, a plank fastened to the wall behind him to deaden the balls, and a basket of bran beneath him to receive his blood; he had written several sentences with a pencil on the walls, and on a small casket containing some letters referring to the fatal design, which there is every reason to think he had contemplated for a long time. The time which he had spent in making his preparations, the methodical manner in which they were completed, proved that the plan had been conceived long before. One of the letters found in the casket runs thus,—“I am going to heaven with my mother and Eugene D——, that is, if those who destroy themselves are admitted to the celestial habitations. No one on earth can address a reproach to me, touching my honor, probity and conscience. I die satisfied on these three points. I regret that my death is useless to my parents and my country.” He had written on the panel, “The apparatus for my end is completed. Adieu, father, brother, relations and friends—if it be God's will we shall meet again in the next world; in my left hand I hold the weapon which is about to

* Edited by Doctor Winslow.

send me there. Adieu, adieu, adieu; pray God for the repose of my soul." A few words were written alluding to the plank and the basket of bran: "by that contrivance the trace of my blood will not stain the floor, and the impression of the four bullets about to traverse my body, will be marked only on this plank; it is already sufficient that my father's house should be the scene of my death." Such precautions had he taken to spare his family the pain of seeing the marks of the fatal catastrophe, while with a strange inconsistency he was about to plunge them in irreparable misery; he left a few lines to the painter who had recently taken his likeness; "when you receive this letter, I shall live only in the picture which you have so ably executed; my eyes will be veiled, and my image alone can recall to my poor father, what they formerly were. On the point of quitting life, I must set aside the painful thought that I am saying an eternal adieu to my dear relations. More fortunate than they, nothing but the separation is terrible to me; my resolve accomplished, all will be annihilated—imagination, organs; and I shall be inaccessible to all temptations; but that is not enough; egotism never had a place in my heart, and the intoxicating anticipation of the repose which I shall enjoy in death, does not blind me to the afflicting position in which I leave my father and brother; may they find in the features so faithfully copied by you, some consolation for their own sorrow; by two o'clock to-morrow morning I shall have yielded up my soul to God, unless some unforeseen obstacle prevent it." In his letter to his father he speaks of the ennui which embittered his life as beyond endurance, "and in the conflict," he adds, "I should certainly become a prey to insanity." It is curious to observe in almost all the documents left by suicides, how assured they feel, not only of repose but of an immediate translation to a celestial abode.

It is remarkable that suicides in lunatic asylums leave no writing after them, while those who are at large invariably do; in letters, pieces of poetry, or narrative, they reveal their feelings and their motives. In speaking of writing, it is a remarkable fact, as stated by that experienced and accurate observer, Doctor Conolly, that insanity is easily detected in the writing of the lunatic, not only in the style, but even in the handwriting: those who may have the power of concealing their insanity in a court of justice, under the most searching cross-examination, will, nevertheless, betray it in their writing.

This observation points out a test by which a question of great importance might be ascertained. The most extraordinary details ever written under such disastrous circumstances, are those which have been given by a subaltern in the Artillery, who put an end to his existence by lighting charcoal and blowing it with his mouth. He began by mentioning his intention of "employing the few minutes that remained" to him in describing the sensations attendant on self-asphyxiation, and the duration of the sufferings. "If that," he goes on to say, "is of any utility, my death will have been in some degree serviceable. If I come to an abrupt conclusion, it will not be owing to any pusillanimity on my part, but to the inability to continue, or that I have preferred to accelerate the catastrophe." For upwards of an hour and five minutes, he gave a regular account, at intervals of three or four minutes, of the pulsation and progress of suffocation ; the broken sentence marked the precise moment when insensibility occurred. The account is given at length in the *Journal of Psychological Medicine*. A case analogous to this is mentioned by Montaigne in his *Essays*, which occurred in the Isle of Cea in Negropont, where the same permission was given by law to suicide as in Marseilles. When Sextus Pompeius had touched there, in his expedition to Asia, he was invited by a woman of great quality to her death. She had explained to her citizens her reasons for having resolved to die. Having taken the bowl of poison in presence of her relations and friends, she described minutely the gradual effects which it produced, from time to time as they occurred. She announced the progress of the cold, which by degrees seized different parts of her body ; as soon as it reached her heart, she called upon her daughters to close her eyes.

Among strange documents, written just before the act of suicide, we have been struck by one which appeared in the journals of the day, and found a place in Dodsley's *Annual Register*, January 20, 1767. A gentleman named Davies poisoned himself at the Angel Inn, Islington. He wrote a card a few hours before his death in these words—"Descended from an ancient and honorable family, I have for fifteen years past suffered more indigence than ever gentleman before submitted to. Neglected by my acquaintance, traduced by my enemies, and insulted by the vulgar, I am so reduced, worn down and tired, that I have nothing left but that lasting repose, the joint and dernier inheritance of all.

Of laudanum an ample dose
Must all my present ills compose,
But the best laudanum of all
I want—not resolution, but a ball.

Advertise this.

T. D."

In the last letters of many suicides there is a degree of levity which may be assumed as a proof of courage, but they cannot be read without a shock to the feelings. A student writes thus to a medical friend, just before the dreadful act—"I afford you an admirable opportunity of pursuing your phrenological studies, as I am now about to suffocate myself. You will even render me a great service, for in case of resurrection, I shall be curious to know whether I had the bump of suicide." We may indeed hope that the verdict of insanity in this case admitted of no doubt. For years the design of suicide may be entertained without the least betrayal that can lead to suspicion; indeed it is remarked that those who threaten to destroy themselves rarely carry their threat into execution, while those who are really bent on suicide take every precaution to elude suspicion. Hamlet's meditation on suicide was when he thought himself alone—the moment he perceived Ophelia he ceased to speak on the subject; so well was every state of mind understood by Shakespeare. Our thoughts and our feelings are so exclusively our own, that even those who love us best know them but in part.

"Nor can the tenderest heart and next our own,
Know half the reason why we smile or sigh."

Various documents found after the death of suicides prove that self-destruction has been contemplated for a length of time before it was accomplished; a number of those may be found in the *Journal of Psychological Medicine*, a publication to which we have already referred, and from which we have derived much valuable information. The following passage occurs in one of the numbers:—"I have had so little enjoyment of life that I quit it without regret. I have entertained the idea for the last three years." Another passage runs thus:—"I am certain I shall be easier with five or six feet of clay over my body than if I was erect. I had always determined never to go beyond thirty-two years of age, unless my fortune improved; my long fixed resolution does not fail." He goes on to bear testimony in his own favor, which is frequently the case with

those unhappy persons : " I never committed any action with which my conscience reproaches me ; I firmly believe I shall be happier in another world." He then makes a request, which indeed shows the same recklessness about the feelings of his friends which his determination evinced—" The last service I ask you to render me is to assure yourselves that I am really dead. I have no fear but that I shall finish it, yet it would be very miserable to awake up and find myself between five boards : the way to satisfy yourselves is to open the four veins. You may easily see I do not kill myself in despair, for my writing clearly shows that my hand does not tremble."

We have been often struck by the deliberate and elaborate manner in which some suicides have been effected. That of Villeneuve was very remarkable ; we give it in the words of Napoleon, as recorded by O'Meara—" Villeneuve," said he, " when taken prisoner and brought to London, was so much grieved at his defeat that he studied anatomy, on purpose to destroy himself. For this purpose he bought some anatomical plates of the heart, and compared them with his own body, in order to ascertain the exact situation of that organ ; on his arrival in France, I ordered that he should remain at Rennes, and not proceed to Paris. Villeneuve, afraid of being tried by a court martial for disobedience of orders, and consequently losing the fleet,—for I had ordered him not to sail, or to engage the English,—determined to destroy himself, and accordingly took the plates of the heart and compared them with his breast, and exactly in the centre of the plate he made a mark with a large pin, then fixed the pin as near as he could judge in the same spot in his own breast, and shoved it in to the head, penetrated the heart, and expired. When the room was opened he was found dead, the pin in his breast, and a mark in the plate corresponding with the wound in the breast."

The great determination of purpose is often apparent in the deliberate manner in which it is accomplished. An inquest was held on the body of Elizabeth Trout, of Little Sheffield, Yorkshire, as recorded in Dodsley's Annual Register for 1806 ; in a fit of despair she made her way to a pond with the intention of drowning herself ; the pond was frozen, but she was not to be deterred from her purpose. With a stick she made a hole in the thick ice, sufficiently wide to admit her head, which she was thus enabled to thrust under water ; the rest of her body was perfectly dry, when she was found We

read of another, who was suspected of an intention to destroy herself. She was carefully watched, her windows were nailed down, and everything removed from the room with which it was thought she could injure herself; for still greater security an attendant slept in the bed with her,—who one night was awakened from a slumber by a sound in the chamber; she missed the young lady from her side, and jumping out of bed, she found that she had stolen to a drawer at the far end of the room and got at a pair of scissors with which she contrived to cut her throat. Nothing can be more strange than the expedients resorted to, to insure death. There are instances of persons lying down on the rail-roads, that a passing train might crush them to death. A workman threw himself under the wheels of a cart filled with paving stones; it passed over him, and he exclaimed bitterly, "I wished to be killed and I am only wounded—if I could get up, I would go and drown myself." In a few moments he was dead—the injuries received were mortal. In September, 1820, as we find noticed in Dodsley's Annual Register, a well dressed man, along with a number of persons, was looking at a bear and other animals, which were being shown in the *Jardin de Roi*. The man suddenly threw himself into such a position as to come in contact with the bear, which sprang upon him and killed him; there is also a notice in the same journal, of another remarkable suicide which took place within that year. M. Fabricious, the director of the theatre at Magdeburg, undertook to discharge the pistol through the grating of the prison, by which the Marquis Posa in Schiller's *Don Carlos* is killed on the stage. At the very moment of that part of the representation, he shot himself through the heart and fell according to the directions for the part of Posa, without uttering a syllable. At a meeting of the Humane Society in 1846, a curious instance of attempted suicide was reported by M. Malier. A woman left her house one frosty night, determined to drown herself; the ice was so thick, that she could find no place where she could effect her purpose, so she placed her head under a spout, from which the icicles were thawing, and there remained till she was in such a state of insensibility, that the most powerful stimulants did not restore suspended animation, till two hours had elapsed. Some have been actually known to commit murder that their lives might be forfeited to the law—a horror of the crime of self-destruction,

prevented their committing a more direct suicide. There are instances of suicides having occurred so unaccountably as to leave but little doubt, that they were the result of sudden impulse ; there is much in many of them that is mysterious, cases where no possible motive can be conceived, and no symptom of insanity proved. Among those who have failed in the attempt and recovered, or who have lingered for awhile before death ensued, some have declared their inability to account for it, but described it as originating from an impulse which they could neither understand or resist—often saying that the devil had been inciting them to the deed for a length of time. Doctor Eades deposed on the inquest held on the body of Koley, an hotel-keeper in Dublin, who had stabbed himself in three places on the 20th of April, 1846, that “on his being placed on the sofa, he declared he had stabbed himself ; he described the manner of having done it ; he said he must have been insane at the time, and expressed much contrition for what he had done ; said the devil had been tempting him to do the deed, and had eventually overcome him, and expressed the greatest desire to recover, both for the sake of his soul, and on account of his family.”

Many similar cases are recorded ; Carmiel speaks of the female demonolators of Northern Germany, who were frequently brought before the magistrates “bruised and wounded by themselves as if they were possessed.” They asserted vehemently, that it was Satan, who in revenge for their confession, did the mischief. Symptoms of a disordered state, they conceived to be tokens of Satanic power, and to escape from the torture and the stake which they anticipated, they sought a refuge in self-inflicted death, by throwing themselves into rivers and wells, or “hanging themselves to the bars of their prisons with shreds torn from their garments.” A man condemned to the stake, made use of a piece of old rag fastened to a bone stuck in the wall, to hang himself ; his knees nearly touched the ground, but he contrived to effect his purpose. Though we ascribe cases to insanity, there is undoubtedly something awfully mysterious about many of them. We are not among those who conceive a belief in evil influences a mere idle superstition. We are assured in the word which cannot err, that we have such to contend with, and that they are certainly among the trials of the present state of existence. Undoubtedly, many of the fatal acts, which appear the result

of sudden impulse, may have been prompted by a fixed idea, which may have possessed the mind for a length of time, so silently and unsuspectedly, that even after the melancholy catastrophe its existence was not suspected.

Among cases of apparently sudden impulse, we found a remarkable one, cited in some of the medical journals ; it is that of a gentleman who occupied a high place in society ; he was in affluent circumstances, had a happy home, and enjoyed the affection and respect of all his friends and relations, and no one could be in his company without feeling enlivened by his wit and vivacity. He was one day entertaining a company of his chosen friends and companions, and was observed to be in his usual cheerful spirits ; he rose from the head of his table and went into his own room, took out a razor and cut his throat ; his friends were in the act of drinking his health, when the alarm was given. A man who went out to his morning work as it was supposed, proceeded to Virginia water, into which he threw himself from off the high bridge near the black nest entrance to the royal property ; his death might have been conceived to have been accidental, but for the writing which he had traced on the wall, "*Good bye all.*" The promptings to suicide have originated from such trifling causes in many instances, that it is difficult to conceive how they could have produced such a fatal effect ; it has indeed been truly said by Butler, "the greatest evils in life have had their rise from somewhat which was thought of too little importance to be attended to." In the public journals for the year 1782, we are told that Mr. Edward Chamberlayne, who was universally esteemed for his high character and great erudition, was appointed one of the joint secretaries to the treasury that year, but his death soon followed his appointment. An excess of diffidence attended his acceptance of the office ; he was visited by a friend who remonstrated with him on the absurdity of his misgivings, and asked him to take a walk in the park where they might talk the matter over. Mr. Chamberlayne went up for his hat and cane, but took the opportunity to throw himself out of the window, in such a position as to insure his falling on his head ; his death was instantaneous. Several cases of suicide from trivial causes are mentioned by Doctor J. G. Millingen in his entertaining work on "*The Curiosities of Medicine.*" He tells us that a German student destroyed himself because he had a club foot ; a youth

put an end to his existence, because he was not allowed to wear his Sunday clothes—another because he was conscious of being too fond of gossiping. A workman, enraged with his brother for taking some of his fried potatoes and throwing them into the fire, in his anger rushed to strike him, but being withheld and prevented, he suddenly ran off and threw himself into the canal St. Martin and was drowned. “A piece of good news which I heard since I had resolved to die, would have made me renounce my project, if I had not already dispatched a letter announcing my suicide”—was the explanation left by a suicide. A young lady killed herself because her lover made it a point that she should not go to a ball to which she had been invited; a few lines left on her dressing table declared her reason for the rash act. Those about to commit suicide almost invariably contrive to be alone, they lock themselves up, they send those who are with them out of the way; they seek some secluded spot secure from interruption; but there are instances where the fatal act has taken place in the presence of others. A remarkable case is recorded in Dodsley’s Annual Register for 1773. As the regiment of the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel was on its march, a captain made his company halt, and draw up around him; the grenadiers loved him as their father, because he treated them as his children. He made a short speech to them on their situation, and earnestly entreated them always to do their duty. Having said this, he distributed all the money he had among them, then drew a pistol from the holster of his saddle and discharged it into his breast, and fell down dead in the midst of his soldiers; no reason was alleged for the act. An instance similar in some particulars, we have often heard from the brother officers of a young man who fell by his own hand. He was a subaltern in the Tyrone militia at the time of the insurrection in Ireland in the year 1798. At the hard fought battle of Ross, he was desperately wounded, and unable to move with the troops who were rapidly retreating. He was fondly beloved by his men who gathered about him; he implored them to leave him, and quit the field with the retiring army. When he saw that his entreaties were vain, and knew that in a few moments his faithful adherents would be surrounded, he drew out his pistol and shot himself through the heart. This act of self-destruction may certainly rank as a sacrifice and not as a suicide—the good of others was its sole object; none of the selfish feelings which induce

an escape from troubles, or harassing thoughts by suicide, mingled with this act. Not only have there been instances where suicide has been committed in the presence of others, but there have been cases where there has been companionships in the crime. Husbands and wives reduced by want have been found lying dead side by side, having determined to destroy themselves together; still more dreadful, the husband and the parent has imbrued his hands in the blood of those dearest to him, before he has destroyed himself. Lovers about to be parted, have had recourse to charcoal, determined that even death shall not divide them, or have been found drowned in some river, locked in each other's arms. A remarkable case where suicide was planned and carried into effect with a companion, may be found in Dodsley's Annual Register for 1818. Two brothers, John and Lancelot Young-husband, were respectable farmers, living near Alnwick at Hickley Grange; the elder was near seventy years of age, the younger sixty. They had been remarkable from their earliest childhood for their strong attachment to each other. There was such an agreement in their thoughts and feelings, that they were never known to have had a difference of opinion. Between nine and ten o'clock on the 10th of November, one of them was giving directions to a boy, who was ploughing in one of the fields, when the other came over and said to his brother, are you ready? he answered in the affirmative, and they left the field together. They were missed at dinner, but it was conjectured that they were delayed by farming business, but when the shades of evening came on, some alarm was felt at their continued absence, and a servant was sent in the direction where they had been seen walking. In some time they were found lying near a ditch, but a few yards asunder, each with his throat cut, and a razor near his body; a watch was found near one of them, from which it was inferred that they had determined to die at the same moment. There was not the least appearance of a struggle, or any room for suspicion that they had fallen by any hands but their own. An inquest was held that night, and a verdict of *felo de se* was found; an attempt to prove insanity had utterly failed; the bodies were buried at midnight, in the cross roads near the church. The act appeared to have been for some time premeditated, as a hair-dresser identified the razors, as the same which had been brought to him on the Saturday

before to be sharpened. In the annals of passing events, in the Annual Register for 1825, we met with the following extraordinary detail :—"A Hanoverian gentleman and his five daughters resided at Berne, where they were visited by a young Englishman who fell in love with one of the sisters. One fine summer evening when the young ladies were taking the air in their carriage in the avenues of Engi, the young man and a friend drove up in his cabriolet. In a short time he proposed that one of the ladies should change places with his companion, and the object of his affections accordingly took her seat in the cabriolet beside him. The sisters expected to find them on their return home—but when time passed, and they did not come, the elder sister became alarmed, and the police were informed of the elopement. Next day news was received that the fugitives were traced to Friburg. The eldest sister, who was of an impetuous temper, set off with one of her sisters to reach them; she told the two whom she was leaving, that if she did not return by a certain hour they were to consider it a proof that their family was dishonoured. She then made them all join in a solemn oath, that if such were the case, and that she did not appear at the appointed hour, that they would put an end to their existence. On reaching Friburg, the sisters found all their efforts to induce the girl to return home unavailing, and they resolved to redeem their pledge; they, therefore, hastened to the banks of the river to drown themselves, but the courage of the younger failing, she cried out, "kill me, sister, for I can never throw myself into the river." The eldest drew out a dagger and was about to dispatch her, when a peasant came up and interfered to prevent her; she then sent a message in all haste to absolve her sisters at home from their oath; it was too late; they had made all necessary preparations for their father's comfort, and then dressed themselves in their best clothes, a care which suicides almost always take. On reaching the banks of the Aar, they fastened themselves together with a shawl and threw themselves into the river, in which position they were found some hours after.

The directions left by suicides who have died together, are generally to the effect that they may not be separated in the grave. There is sometimes an entreaty that they may be wrapped in the same shroud. A young woman deserted by her lover still hopes to touch his heart by her melancholy

fate and her last wish. She conjures him to follow her, and to be laid in the grave by her side. "Carry this garland to our child's grave," were the words addressed to her lover by an unhappy girl; "it is the last prayer of one who loves you better than life itself." "Do not reproach the author of my death," is the last request of a forsaken one about to drown herself. On the 20th of last November, when the letters of a young girl were read on whose body an inquest had been held, there was not a dry eye in the court, and her poor sister fainted away. Her innocence had never been doubted, and she had borne an excellent character; to hide her shame she had committed suicide. In her letter to her mother she speaks of her case as being a fearful one, and begs of her not to fret; in speaking of him she had loved too well, she says, "I beg you will not scold my dear Harry; write to him and he will pay my funeral expenses; pray don't wrong him for my sake, don't scold him, I would not die happy if I thought you would do so. I am not yet nineteen years of age, do not forget my birth day, the 20th of December." The will of another at once betrays the cause of her suicide. She bequeaths all she dies possessed of, to her brother, *that he may not follow her example, but be able to marry the person he loves.* Another, in all the bitterness of her feelings, desires that her faithless lover may be assured that *he shall be haunted by her ghost.* The most extraordinary direction perhaps ever given was that of a French gentleman to his servant; he left a positive order that he should get a candle made of his fat, and take it lighted to his mistress that she might read by its blaze the lines written to her by him just before his suicide: a record of this curious case may be found in Dodsley's Annual Register for 1818. The tenderness with which the tokens of other days are cherished to the last, appears in the directions left by the unhappy beings; the request that some trinket—a ring, a bracelet, or some other token of affection—may be buried with them, is often the last wish expressed in writing. "We have eight letters on this subject," are the words in one of the numbers of the Journal of Psychological Medicine. "I pray to be buried with the hair that is round my neck," writes one; "it is my mother's." It has been remarked that in general, those who have lingered after they have inflicted the death wound are most anxious to recover; we could mention several instances. Early one morning, some years since, the

dead body of a man was found in the Phoenix Park ; the instrument with which he had cut his throat was by his side ; his pockets were unrifled, and it was evident that the wound which had deprived him of life, had been inflicted by himself, and also that he would have lived, if he could. The wound was stuffed with the grass with which he had striven to staunch the blood, and which he must have clutched from the ground where he lay ; whether the removal of some pressure on the brain by the flow of blood, or some sudden turn of the mind brought the late repentance, it would be impossible to say. Providential aid may be at hand to avert the very ills, which the suicide hastens to escape. It is now many years since the Rev. Mr. H——, who was rector of a parish in the neighbourhood of Dublin, was involved in some pecuniary difficulties ; he lost his patience, and probably his brain became disturbed. He and his daughter sat together alone ; one day after dinner he told her to take a turn in the garden ; she went out by the glass door which led from the room ; she was not long absent ; when she returned, she found her father quite dead, suspended from a rail over the door case, which she recollected to have seen him hammering in that morning, as she then supposed for a picture. His last sermon had been on the shortness of life. Soon after the melancholy event, news arrived of the death of Lord M——y, and of the munificent legacy bequeathed in his will to Mr. H—— ; a legacy far more than would have met all his difficulties.

Epidemic suicide is not rare ; indeed in turning over the daily journals, we are struck by the numbers which occur about the same time and even in the same manner. Plutarch speaks of an intense propensity to suicide which raged among the Milesian virgins, from which the agonized entreaties of their friends could not dissuade them ; a decree was at length passed, that the body of any young maiden who destroyed herself, should be drawn naked throught the streets ; this at once put a stop to the dreadful practice.

Suicide by fire is rare ; Montaigne gives an account of a remarkable one, in one of his essays ; it was probably in imitation of Empedocles, who threw himself into the Crater of Etna, that two were committed within a short time of each other,—an Englishman threw himself into the Crater of Mount Vesuvius, and a German not long after, threw himself into a furnace. It is indeed a strange circumstance in the history of

suicide, that there should sometimes be a fashion in the mode of its perpetration. When Elizabeth Moyes, a handsome girl of five-and-twenty, determined to kill herself to avoid going to service, which she thought would be a degradation, though the exigencies of her father's circumstances made him consider it imperative, the death she fixed on was one which required great resolution, perhaps she adopted it for its singularity; strange, that her courage should not have wavered as she ascended the long winding stairs which led to the top of the monument, from which she flung herself, and was instantly killed. Her remarkable suicide seemed the signal for others, and her example was speedily followed; it was found necessary to place a strong iron railing round the top, to guard against the repetition of such a dreadful act. A veteran at the Hotel des Invalides some years since, was found suspended from a door in one of the corridors; life was quite extinct. No suicide had taken place in the establishment for two years, but within one fortnight five invalides hung themselves from the same cross bar, and the passage had to be shut up. Towards the close of the Empire of Napoleon the First, a man threw himself off the top of the column in the Place Vendome, and was dashed to pieces. A week had scarcely elapsed before four others destroyed themselves in the same way. The interference of the police became necessary, and entrance to the column was prohibited. A man who hanged himself had no motive for the deed, but the desire to die as he had seen a melefactor to whose execution he had been brought in his childhood; the wish to imitate him had haunted him all his days. Doctor Duncan, in his interesting volume, "The Popular Errors on Insanity," suggests an explanation of those remarkable cases; he supposes that from excited curiosity, the scene where the catastrophe occurred, is visited, that there imagination supplies the motives and sensations which may have led to the fatal act; and the visionary so far realises all that is passing in his mind, as to conceive himself in the same situation and actuated by the same feelings; then "*the fatal plunge is taken and all is over.*" This view of the subject agrees with Adam Smith's observations on our sympathy with others; it arises, he says, from our imagining ourselves in the same situation in which they are placed; it is this, he thinks, which makes us shrink and draw back our leg or arm when we see a stroke aimed and ready to fall upon the

leg or arm of another. "The mob," he goes on to say, "when they are gazing at a dancer on the slack rope, naturally writhe and twist and balance their own bodies, as they see him do, and as they feel that they themselves must do in his situation." Boerhaave, in his academical lectures on diseases of the nerves, mentions a remarkable case of imitative sympathy; it was that of a young man, "addicted from his infancy, to so great a degree of sympathy, that he would immediately imitate all motions made by others, insomuch that when he walked the streets, he was obliged to look on the ground, to sit in company with his eyes shut, or to turn his face from his companions; if he saw a man shaking his head, that moment he would shake his own head; if he saw him laugh or smile, he would laugh or smile with him; if any one uncovered his head, he would do the same: if one danced, he would get up and dance along with him; in short, whatever he saw, he would mimic it immediately in spite of himself; if his companions laid fast hold of him and tied his arms, and he then saw any one gesticulating and playing antics, he struggled hard to get loose, and felt within him the strongest motions which he was not able to conquer; if asked what he was doing, he said he knew not, but was so accustomed from his youth, and begged to be left alone, because his head ached from such motions, and he was greatly disturbed in mind, and withal as much fatigued as if he had done them of his own accord." In referring to those extraordinary cases, we must perceive that actions may be prompted by a wonderful and mysterious influence; and that sympathy, one of the noblest and most useful attributes of our nature, may, if yielded to the uncontrolled command of the imagination, become the very instrument of what is most hurtful and calamitous.

The different modes of suicide, when not merely determined by imitation, are said to vary according to the motives which prompt them. Poison is often resorted to in jealousy, drowning in disappointed love and broken faith, shooting in anger and rejected love, while in pecuniary despair, hanging and cutting the throat are the usual modes of accomplishing the fatal act. According to the statistics of suicides, we find the cases in which females preponderate are, "crossed in love," "jealousy," "misery;" and "fanaticism:" the number of males is greater in "loss of reputation," "revenge," "reverse of fortune," "disappointed ambition," "mischconduct," and "domestic chagrin;" in "mortified

pride" the numbers are equal. We frequently meet a notice of a suicide in the public papers, without any details of the sad tragedy, which terminated so fatally; to one of the melancholy causes enumerated in the statistics, the catastrophe might be traced. Many of the wretched creatures who wander through the streets, homeless and friendless, are melancholy examples of destitute loneliness, they learn to look upon the grave as their only resource. We read in the papers from time to time that the body of one of those outcasts has been brought from the river Thames, to *the dead house*, where it has lain probably unclaimed and unacknowledged till borne away in the obscurity of night to be laid in its last resting place on earth. The addresses which are found in "The Times" every day, to unfaithful or unhappy fugitives, suggest the idea of untimely death; many among those objects of anxiety may have passed "the bourn from which no traveller returns." One such address appeared some years ago; an unhappy father implored the return of his son in the most endearing terms; he had punished the boy in hot anger, for some trifling fault, and in dread and misery he had absconded. He was sought for every where but could not be traced, and month after month passed away. At length one day when a trial of great interest was going on, the father saw his son at some distance in the midst of a crowded court; he beckoned to him with encouraging looks, but the boy shook his head mournfully; he then held up an orange, and made signs of a warm welcome, but his child again shook his head with an expression of sadness that went to his father's heart; he tried to reach him, but he had mingled with the throng and was no where to be found; they never met again.

Among the evil passions, jealousy has had its host of victims. We met with an account in Dodsley's Annual Register, of the wife of a gipsey ratcatcher, who was encamped with her husband and another person in a lane, just above Springfield village, in the year 1824; in a fit of jealousy she swallowed some of the poison prepared for the destruction of the vermin; she told the surgeon that she had not intended to kill herself, but had taken the poison to alarm her husband and to excite his affection; an antidote was administered and she recovered. The surgeon went to see her the next day, but the encampment had broken up; after much enquiry, the strolling party was traced to a barn on the road to Waltham; here again, incited by jealousy, she took another dose of the poison and died. The

sed effects of an unconfiding disposition, was never more strikingly exemplified than in Count Octave de Segure. It is detailed in the Memoirs of the Empress Josephine ;—married to the woman with whom he was passionately in love, and who was equally attached to him, nothing appeared wanting to his happiness, but unfortunately he mistrusted his wife's affection. The idea that he was no longer beloved, made him miserable. The fixed idea made him at length resolve to quit her, and for fourteen years he abandoned her, his parents, and his children. He served as a common Hussar in the campaign in Germany, and distinguished himself so much, that he was raised to the rank of a Lieutenant. Heart yearnings after his home, and those he loved, at last induced him to return ; he announced his intention in a letter to his wife, and assured her that he would make up for all that had been suffered on his account, by the most devoted attachment. He did return, but the joy of the meeting was of short duration. His mistrust revived, and he again hurried from those who loved him best, but never more to come back. He had thrown himself into the river, and was drowned. This is no solitary instance of an abandonment of home, from a morbid misgiving respecting the affections of those whose love is most coveted. Such cases are ascribed by Doctor Prichard, in his admirable *Treatise on Insanity*, to "an excess of tenderness." One of the most melancholy cases of which we have ever heard, is mentioned in the *Journal of Psychological Medicine* ; it is that of a gentleman who had suffered great anxiety in consequence of pecuniary losses. He manifested symptoms which caused in his family great uneasiness, and they feared that they might be the forerunner of mental derangement. He disappeared one day, and was sought for every where, but was nowhere to be found. Month after month passed on, and still no tidings of him reached his unhappy wife ; half-a-year had gone by in this cruel suspense, when one beautiful moonlight night, as she was sitting meditating mournfully, at her door, she saw the figure of a man advancing with stealthy steps, along by the trees which skirted the path to the house. She watched the movements of the stranger as he sometimes paused with folded arms, and looked at the moon, and sometimes wistfully at the house, and up at the tall trees ; he came a little nearer, and her lost husband stood before her ; but alas ! he was a lunatic. In the middle of the night she heard a footstep

approach the door of the room where she slept ; it opened and her husband entered ; he looked silently and sadly round the room, and then drew a chair to the bedside and sat down. In her terror the wife lost all presence of mind and was unable to speak or stir. In a few minutes she perceived him looking fixedly at something which he held in his hand. It was a large carving knife. An attempt to snatch it, or to escape from the apartment, would have been attended with immediate danger, so she resolved to remain quite still, unless obliged to struggle for her life. The looks with which he regarded her and the weapon which he held, were very terrible. In a few minutes, however, the expression of his countenance changed ; he smiled and looked at her with all the fond tenderness of happier days, and said in the most pathetic tone—*Poor Sally—Poor Sally—Dear Sally!* He then rose and left the room. His wife immediately fastened and bolted the door ; he soon returned and tried to force in, but finding his attempts unavailing, he went to his own room. When morning dawned, he was again missed. A neighbouring pond was dragged and his dead body was discovered.

No trial is greater than the discovery of faithlessness in the one who has been loved and trusted. It has, perhaps, occasioned the greatest number of suicides. It is more utterly devoid of consolation than any other. To those who outlive a fond companion, the remembrance of the tenderness and affection which made a happy home, is the most precious consolation. But the recollection of every endearment adds a pang to the deserted one. Doctor Winslow mentions the case of a man who married at the age of nineteen, but soon after went out of his mind, on finding that his wife was unfaithful to him. In this unhappy state, he was the inmate of a lunatic asylum for thirty years. His mother, who had desired all along to watch over him herself, succeeded at the end of that time, in gaining permission to take him home, for no apprehension of danger in his removal was then entertained. She tended him in the melancholy fits of depression to which he had been subject ever since his misfortune. In one of these attacks, when he had been about two years at home, he cut his throat. The loss of blood was as great as was consistent with life. He recovered, and still more surprising, he recovered his reason. The case was reported, fifteen years after, and he had continued well up to that time. He must

have been soothed by the care and tenderness of his mother. But the best part of his life had been spent in melancholy seclusion, and his early affections had been blighted for ever.

In the statistics of suicide, a great number are put down to "*crossed in love*." We have met with many interesting accounts of such, but few more interesting than one which occurred in the year, 1826, which was noticed in the journals of the day. In the summer of that year, the fifty-sixth regiment was quartered in Mullingar; the second waiter, a young man of excellent character, became deeply attached to a girl, who was employed as assistant cook in the officer's kitchen. The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the regiment, discouraged marriage among the soldiers, beyond the limited number who were allowed to take their wives abroad, so the good young woman was discharged, but the attachment continued. In some time after, the poor girl walked upwards of twenty miles in the heat of summer, under a scorching sun, to implore of the Colonel to consent to the marriage. He, however, peremptorily refused. The story goes on to tell, that "the lovers were compelled to take a sad and hopeless farewell." "Soon after," the narrator went on to say, "we were horrified at seeing some field laborers bringing the girl's corpse, which they had dragged out of the Dublin canal, to the regimental hospital, and although prompt attendance was given, all means resorted to for her recovery were unavailing. The survivor manifested no emotion, but seemed rather to evince revolting indifference. He insisted on attending at the dinner table, as usual, and even waited on a supper party, and we need not say that an officer's supper is a merry one. Early next morning he passed the sentry at the barrack gate, without exciting any suspicion, but was ere long brought back apparently drowned, from the canal, by, we believe, the same men who had seen his sweetheart take the fatal plunge. As his body lay on a table beside that on which her's was stretched, in the dead room, the most gay and thoughtless shuddered at the sight. However, after many efforts, the young man was restored to life, and placed carefully watched in one of the wards; but he persisted in expressing his determination not to survive. The medical attendant saw the necessity of calling in moral aid; Mr. Gibson, a Presbyterian Minister, a very excellent and highly esteemed man, succeeded in soothing the unhappy man, by his pious counsel; the salutary effect of religious consolation was thus

exemplified." Parting from those best loved, is allowed by all to be the greatest calamity of life, except their misconduct. That so many are supported under it might surprise, if we did not acknowledge a sustaining power in the Giver of all good.

Perhaps there never was a greater instance of support under difficulties, dangers, and sorrow, than in the daughter of Lady Sale; accustomed to every luxury of life, she followed her husband through his perilous campaign; the birth of her child took place in a stable, shared by eight women, and where none of the necessaries for such a time, or almost for the sustenance of life, could be procured. But the privation and wants were of little account to her, who was deploring the loss of a beloved husband, who had fallen but a few days before by the hand of the enemy. The mother and child were providentially spared to each other.

The mind is often wrecked in the storm of grief, and many of the suicides of which we read are its result. There was a case of this melancholy class, of the 31st of October, 1853. A young girl of eighteen, threw herself from an upper window, and was killed; grief for the loss of a sister who had been carried off by a rapid attack of cholera, was the cause of the fatal act; the suddenness of the blow, no doubt, upset her reason; a paper was found on her table, with these words "I gon to see sister, God forgiv."

The year 1818 was remarkable for two suicides which caused universal regret, those of Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Richard Crofts, men of the greatest eminence and ability; the suicide of Sir Samuel Romilly was the consequence of disease brought on by mental affliction; the illness of his wife, to whom he was fondly attached, caused an intensity of anxiety which was too much for his nervous system—sleep utterly forsook his pillow, and from that circumstance, and from his troubled feelings, he became apprehensive about his own state. That the idea of suicide had not been entertained as long as Lady Romilly lived, is evident from a letter from the Isle of Wight, to a friend, dated September 27; in speaking of Lady Romilly he says, "she is considered by her medical attendants in some danger; she is for the present a little better, and I take care neither to let her nor the poor children see the anxiety I feel, but it costs me a great deal; with all this, do not suppose I have not resolution to undergo any-

thing to preserve my health for my children's sake." Notwithstanding this determination, when the blow came he was quite unequal to bear up against it; the very effort which he had made to suppress his feelings, while he watched over her illness, may have been injurious; his piety and fortitude would have supported him, had not his brain been in a state of disease, brought on by uneasiness and grief; his passionate actions; the tearing of his gloves, and of his hands, was a pitiable sight, his shedding no tears, and his utter abstraction and sadness, alarmed those about him; his daughter was brought to his side, and her hand placed in his; he embraced her, and then regarded his friend with a grateful smile as if to thank him for this momentarily collecting of his thoughts; but the fatal mischief was done, and he lost all self-control; he told a terrific dream which he had had, to his medical attendant, and he found it impossible not to believe it a reality; this was not only a proof of the shattered state of his nerves, but the means of increasing his malady. The witnesses on the inquest were overcome by their agonized feelings; his self-inflicted death was a source of the deepest affliction to all his relations and friends, and of regret to men of every party; admired for his eloquence, the eloquence of truth and sense, venerated for his piety and humanity, he was a loss alike to all. To his philanthropic views are due the first movements towards a mitigation of the criminal code, by the limitation of capital punishment; his humane views were afterwards taken up, and followed out by Sir Robert Peel. Sir Richard Crofts never recovered the shock from the disastrous termination of his attendance on the Princess Charlotte; nothing indeed could have weighed so heavily on a professional man, as an event so very sad; the thought, however ill founded it might have been, that something could have been done which might have saved his patient, but was omitted, may have added tenfold more bitterness to his regret; his professional calls too, aggravated his distress; every new case brought vividly before him the agonizing scene which had robbed him for ever of his peace. But three months had passed from the death of the Princess Charlotte, when an inquest was held on the body of Sir Richard Crofts; medical men, his friends, gave evidence on the distracted state of his mind; he was observed to be melancholy and abstracted, sighing often, and not to reply to the questions put to him; striking

his forehead in agony when about to visit a patient, saying he would give five hundred pounds that his attendance was over, and exclaiming, "Good God! what will become of me!" On one occasion a medical friend, at his vehement entreaty, attended for him. It was while in attendance on the wife of Doctor Thackeray that he killed himself; he had remained with her till a few minutes after eleven on Thursday night, when he appeared fatigued and was prevailed on to retire to rest; he was to be called at any time to attend Mrs. Thackeray; at about two o'clock, her husband heard a noise which he conceived to be the falling of a chair; at about three o'clock the servant maid knocked at his door and told him her mistress wished to see the doctor; he hastened to Sir Richard's room, and on entering found him on his back quite dead, a pistol in each hand, the muzzles of both were at either side of his head, and had been discharged; there could be no doubt of the verdict to be found in such a case.

But there have been cases involved in such mystery, that a question has arisen as to the justice of the finding; the possibility of the deceased having accomplished the act from which death ensued, being doubtful. "It has been contended," we are told by Professor Taylor, in his work on Medical Jurisprudence, "that the position of the body may serve to distinguish suicidal from homicidal hanging. This point was strenuously argued on the investigation which took place on the death of *the Prince de Condi* in 1830; according to the opinion of some of the witnesses on that investigation, if the body of a man be found in an inclined posture, or so suspended that his feet are in contact with the floor, the idea of suicide by hanging is at once negatived." Doctor Taylor brings a number of cases forward to prove the contrary. "Cases are of very frequent occurrence," he says, "where the bodies of hanged persons are found with the feet on the ground, kneeling, and sitting, or even in the recumbent position; these are truly mixed cases of hanging and strangulation." He enumerates a number of most extraordinary cases; the most extraordinary of all is that of a prisoner who was found dead in the sitting posture; he was hanging to the iron bar of the window of his prison, which was so low, that he was almost in a sitting posture. The ligature which he employed was a cravat; what was more remarkable in the case, was that the hands of *the deceased were found tied by another handkerchief*. The body was warm when discovered; there was not the least doubt of

this having been an act of suicide : it is supposed that he had contrived to tie his hands together by means of his teeth. In the case of the Prince de Condi it was alleged, that he could not have hanged himself, in consequence of a defect in the power of one hand. "A determined purpose," the professor goes on to say, "will often make up for a great degree of corporeal infirmity." A verdict of *felo de se* was brought in, at the inquest held on the body of Maryanne Waley; the case appears to us involved in great mystery. She was of a highly respectable family; her marriage took place on the 27th of June, with the entire approbation of her friends. She accompanied her husband on a wedding excursion to Scarborough and Leamington, and then settled in Leeds, where his business lay. Mr. Waley was past thirty, and she was three years younger at the time of their marriage; she wrote to her sister; her last letter was dated the 7th of July, giving, as stated in the Journal of Psychological Medicine, "the most simple and artless account of her happiness;" it ended with these words; "it has just struck five, and as my dearest William makes his appearance about that time, I must draw to a close and make ready for his tea, so, dearest Susanna, with our united love, your affectionate and happy sister." On the ninth of July she had breakfasted with her husband, and they had parted on the most affectionate terms, as he was going out to his business; she was pious and gentle, and of a remarkably cheerful disposition; she had been seen as late as half-past eleven o'clock in perfect health and spirits; in four minutes after, she was found stretched on the floor, her throat cut from ear to ear, a razor between the finger and thumb of her left hand; the Coroner's direction to the jury obliged them to bring in a verdict of *felo de se*, though he said it was a case involving great mystery, and "it appeared singular," he added, "that she could use the left hand to the left side of the neck, as the other would have been exerted more readily and more powerfully, but the jury must respect the medical testimony in stating, that it was possible for deceased to have inflicted the wound, even in the manner described. There were no grounds for suspicion against any one; the servant girl had been examined, and there were no grounds for supposing that she was an agent in her mistress's death." He could "not say whether persons had entered the house, as persons had been so officious as to clear away all before the jury or any other persons capable of forming an opinion had seen the place. No inference could

be drawn from Mr. Ken's statement, he was so confused ; there was sufficient evidence as to her perfect sanity up to five minutes before her death ;" so he told the jury that they had better find a verdict of *felo de se*, than by giving another verdict, throw a suspicion on any one. After three hours' deliberation, the jury brought in a verdict according to the Coroner's direction. The inquest was held just eighteen days after her wedding day. The verdict appears strange.

In the inquests on those who have filled the measure of their guilt and have sought for no pardon and no peace but that which they think is to be found in the grave, it would appear that on many inquiries there could be no hesitation in the verdict, unless every excess of passion is to be classed under the head of insanity. It is often said of a reckless character that *he is nobody's enemy but his own*. There never was a more unfounded assertion ; it is worthy of all observation, that every guilty action involves more than its perpetrator in misery. The misconduct of one who is near and dear, plants the sharpest thorn in the breast that ever rankled there. How many silent tears have been shed—how many agonised prayers have been offered for one, who never weeps for himself, who never breathes a prayer in his own behalf—for one *who, according to the adage, is nobody's enemy but his own*—how often does his career involve a whole family in distress, ruin, and shame ! There never was a more startling illustration of this, than in the case of Sir John Piers. After the verdict found against him, in the action brought by Lord Cloncurry for the seduction of his wife, he retired to the Isle of Man, most probably to avoid the payment of the damages which had been awarded. Untouched by remorse, his seclusion was not given to repentance, but to the same criminal course which had disgraced him in his own land. Here he seduced the daughter of a clergyman ; driven to madness, by the ruin of his child, her father shot himself ; excited by this dreadful catastrophe, Sir John Piers put an end to his existence ; and to the sad catalogue of miseries which he had caused, the utter distraction of his victim may be added. One of the sad tragedies which are revealed on inquests occurred at Little Chelsea, in the autumn of 1821. A father and daughter, Andrew and Mary King, resided together ; she managing his household concerns, and he following his calling of carrier between Chelsea and London ; he was often seen at the first dawning of day wend-

ing his way with his horse and cart, and returning in the evening to the repose of his home. It came out in evidence that the girl had been seduced by a man with a wife and family, and had given birth to a still-born infant. The father was nearly bereft of reason when the discovery took place, and it appeared in evidence, too, that the girl was quite heart-broken. One evening when her father was from home, she stole back to the cabin, and drawing a chair she sat down. What her feelings must have been, in finding herself in the place where they had been once so happy, and surrounded with the objects familiar to her sight, was proved, for on his return, the father found the one who used to gladden him with a welcome, now stretched, dead and gone. Overcome by anguish she had fallen lifeless from the chair. There she lay before him, *dead, quite dead*. In an agony the old man exclaimed, vehemently, that he could not survive her, and heavy were the curses which he heaped upon the head of him who had been the ruin of his child. After the first frantic burst of grief he began to busy himself with his usual concerns, and he went from home on Saturday, as we find by the record of the inquest, and returned in the evening. Having put up the cart in the stable, he went in and wrote a letter to his son ; he then returned to the stable ; the son coming in, missed his father and went to the stable to look for him, and there he found him suspended to a pole placed across the hay-loft door. To this he had tied a rope, the other end of which he fastened round his neck. He had thrown himself off a ladder ; to his coat was pinned the letter which he had written to his son. It contained his will, to which the following words were attached :—“ I am sorry to trouble any body with my miseries, but the treachery of false friendship has broken my heart ;” he then named the person, and added, “ you have destroyed my family. My daughter is dead, and I am undone.” The father and daughter were laid side by side in one grave.

When speaking of suicide, Scott observes : “ Imagination renders us the victims of occasional low spirits ; all belonging to this gifted, as it is called, but often unhappy class, must have felt that, but for the dictates of religion, or the natural recoil of the mind from the idea of dissolution, there have been times when they would have been willing to throw away life, as a child does a broken toy. I am sure I know one who has felt so.” When such were the feelings of Scott, so remarkable

for his social qualities and bonhomie, it is not surprising to find that a dash of melancholy is not incompatible with the power of amusing others. Alternations of mirth and sadness are by no means uncommon in persons of genius. Mathews, the comedian, who could without the aid of any other actor, keep a crowded audience, night after night, in peals of laughter, suffered under fits of the deepest depression. The story of the French Harlequin is well known. The physician on whom he called to relieve his dejection told him there ~~was~~ a remedy, and desired him to go to the theatre and see the tricks of Carlini. "Alas!" replied the patient, "I am that unhappy man!" The most admired French comic actress, who could by her gay sallies make every one merry, was herself a prey to sadness which was feared to be incurable, and she had to retire to the country, under the care of a medical man, who had made psychological pursuits his particular study. Some of the gayest companions at convivial meetings, have sought retirement to indulge their melancholy moods. Many of the books over which we have laughed most, have been written by those who wept much oftener than they smiled. If the spirits of those whose powers are exerted to enliven others, have their moments of sinking, it is not strange that those who are devoted to the imaginative arts, and whose thoughts are of the sublime and the pathetic, should be powerfully affected. The fixed idea, which, to the poet and the painter, is inspiration, conjures up a thousand wild hallucinations. The enthusiasm which invigorates genius oftentimes outwears the springs of life, or exalts the mind, till the ecstasy passes the bounds of reason. The sensitive temperament of such as those, is ill suited for the changes and chances of this disastrous world. It has often happened that a youthful genius, panting after fame, as much for his art's sake as for his own, has been left to languish for want of a helping hand. In D'Israeli's *Miscellanies of Literature* there is a notice of "poor Henry Carey" as a melancholy example of neglected genius. While crowds were thronging the theatre every night to enjoy his amusing pieces, or listening to his songs in every company, or echoed through the streets, while Addison, no mean judge, was expressing his delight with the artless simplicity of "Sally in our Alley," a song, which had a greater run, perhaps, than any which had ever been published, its author, worn out by distress and disappointment, losing all self-control, in a moment of desperation put an end to his wretched life.

A little influential patronage would have given him hope and courage; the establishment of a fund for decayed musicians, was due to his active benevolence. When he died, all of this world's wealth in his possession was one half-penny found at the bottom of his pocket.

There never was a sadder suicide than that of poor Chatterton. It would be impossible not to feel the greatest pity and regret for that ill-fated genius. How much to the honor of his literary dupes it would have been, had they resented less, what certainly originated in a boyish trick. Pique at having been imposed upon by one little more than a child, may have had some share in exciting the severity with which he was regarded. The imposition might have been forgiven, for sake of the genius which it discovered; those who had the advantage of experience and careful training, which he never had, might have taught him to regard every deviation from truth as a great offence. Mr. Walpole, who treated his application with marked disdain, should not have forgotten that he himself gave his *Castle of Otranto* to the world, as a translation of a book, found in the library of an ancient Catholic family, printed at Naples in the black letter, in the year 1529. The aspirings of genius filled the imagination of the gifted boy with visions of fame and fortune; but he languished uncared for, and unpitied. His proud spirit rose against the neglect which he attributed to contempt of his poverty. His mental labours, from the time he arrived in London, were quite wonderful. While others slept, he pursued his midnight studies with an ardour which even in one whose mental and bodily functions were fully developed, would have been extraordinary. Never had the moonlight, which he loved, and believed to have an inspiring influence upon his mind, shone upon one of more transcendent genius. The versatility of his labours was astonishing. He furnished the Magazines and Reviews with articles; he wrote political letters which were highly thought of. Among his various productions were burlettas which were brought out at Vauxhall. He not only supported himself for a time, but he contrived to send presents to his mother and sister. Unaided and even persecuted, he struggled for five months with desperate circumstances, without imparting his misery to any one. The account of his last walk is very affecting. It was on the morning before his death. He went with a friend to St. Pancras Church-yard. He wandered among the grave-stones reading

the inscriptions, and was so absorbed in his musings that he did not perceive a new made grave, which lay open before him; he fell into it, and on being assisted by his friend to rise, he turned to him and said: "my dear friend, I feel the sting of a speedy dissolution. I have been at war with the grave for some time. I find it is not so easy to vanquish as I imagined. We can find an asylum from every creditor but that." That melancholy walk with its accidental circumstance, probably recalled too vividly, those thoughts of a dreadful resource for the wretched on which he had often meditated. The idea took possession of his mind and a dose of poison terminated his brief life. He had only attained the age of seventeen years and nine months. He had not tasted food for three days, and it was with his last penny that he purchased the arsenic with which he poisoned himself. The record of the inquest which was held on his body, is one of the most affecting documents we have ever read. The evidence all went to prove a very excellent character, and a very sad fate; the persons with whom he lodged, bore testimony to the regularity of his payments, and of his care for his mother and sister, "sending presents to them while in the utmost want himself."—One loaf was all that he allowed himself in the week, the stalest that could be got, that it might last the longer. He asked for no assistance and even declined such as was offered. At one time his landlady pressed him to retain sixpence out of his week's rent, as she knew he was handing her all that he had, but he would not. One day, when he had taken no food, she would have had him dine with her and her husband; he thanked her, but declared he was not hungry. The apothecary said when he was examined, "I believe if he had not killed himself, he would soon have died of starvation, for he was too proud to ask of any one; witness considered deceased as an astonishing genius." It came out in evidence that "he was frequently for nights without going to bed; he wrote for the *Magazines*;" his publishers were inconsiderate, at the very time when his distress was so urgent, and drove him to such extremity, they owed him eleven pounds. It is no great stretch of charity, however, differing from the finding of the jury on the inquest, to attribute the fatal act to a diseased state of the brain, brought on by mental labour and bodily suffering. Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats, and Alfred de Vigny, have each paid a tribute of admiration to the genius of "the

marvellous boy". Chatterton, we are told, was in his childhood, peusive and melancholy. This cast of character is often observed in the early days of men of genius, but by judicious management, its ill effects may be prevented; air, exercise and diversity of occupation, are unfavourable to the state of reverie to which it inclines and by which it is encouraged.

It is a remarkable fact, that instances of insane naturalists are rarely if ever found; the endless variety which their pursuit affords keeps their mind and attention alive, and in the marvels which nature reveals, their thoughts are constantly directed to the Author of all. A friend, in speaking of her own dear son, told how much she had suffered during part of his childhood by the unaccountable melancholy under which he laboured; he would stand looking in her face, while the big tears rolled down his cheeks; "Mother, I'm sorry," he would repeat from time to time, in the most pathetic tone; when she would press him to say what ailed him, he would still reply "Mother, I'm sorry." Various pursuits, suited to his elegant tastes, a deep sense of religious duty, and feelings that sought in the sympathy of others for their greatest enjoyment, prepared him for coming years, and through his youth and manhood he was remarked for a delightful gaiety, and "the sweet content that goodness bosoms ever."

Though exercise is necessary for the preservation of mind and body in a healthy state, it may be carried too far; the body will sink, if it is exerted beyond its natural strength, and the mind if overstrained by intense study, particularly if it interfere with the hours of repose and relaxation, cannot bear up against the pressure. Dr. Winslow observes that "every effort of thought is accompanied by expenditure of living material; the supply of the material is through the blood, hence the blood is sent in greater quantity to the brain in thought; and when the increased demand is constant, an increase in the vascular capacity of the brain becomes necessary, and is provided by the adaptive reaction of the organism." The affecting case of William E. Tooke, who was a victim to exclusive study, is no solitary example of its fatal effects. This gifted youth, so distinguished at Trinity College, Cambridge, devoted himself from a very early age to the most abstruse enquiries into moral and political philosophy; to his intense application the melancholy catastrophe was attributed which deprived his country of one who would have ranked among her chief

ornaments. The verdict returned, was, that he had "destroyed himself in a fit of temporary insanity, brought on by inflammation of a membrane of the brain, supervening on a state of nervous exhaustion, consequent on excessive mental exertion in too ardent a pursuit of knowledge." Beattie's sufferings after the metaphysical studies in which he had been engaged while writing his *Essay on Truth*, were so great that he could not bear to look over the proof sheets, and had to employ a friend to undertake the task; when it was published, he declared that he dared not read it; "those studies," he said, "came to have dreadful effects upon my nervous system; I cannot read what I then wrote, without some degree of horror, because it realises to my mind the horrors that I have sometimes felt after passing a long evening in those severe studies." Tissot, in treating of "the health of men of letters," enumerates a vast and melancholy number of those who were intense sufferers from exclusive devotion to study; he mentions among them Kotzebue as having "attempted suicide in consequence of an overwrought brain;" it is well known that Lord Londonderry, who died by his own hand, in August, 1822, toiled generally for twelve or fourteen hours every day, at the most exhausting of all kinds of labour. The deep thought, and the cast of melancholy expressed in his fine countenance, indicated the state of his mind. We read in one of the late papers the result of an inquest on the body of a suicide; he "destroyed himself," was the verdict, "while labouring under temporary insanity, *having been for some time in a low and desponding state of mind, brought on by over study.*" There are many cases, where those who spend themselves in an exclusive study, are liable to the same state of abstraction and reverie, to which poets or painters are so peculiarly subject; unable to dismiss the train of ideas which has occupied them in a fascinating pursuit, they are frequently as little observant of the passing scene, as if it were not in existence; this is the very state of mind most frequently beset by illusions and hallucinations; the state which is known as the *student's hallucination*.

We could cite examples of many a bright star, which set even while diffusing its light on a world, which it seemed designed to illumine. There was one—remembered well—whose memory will be for ever cherished in his native university with the pride and admiration due to rare endowments; his honoured

name has reached the most distant part of the world; he fell a victim to pressure on the brain, which led to the fatal catastrophe, brought on, it was said, by intense application to mathematical questions of complicated calculation. If ever consolation was afforded to the friends of one who died under such circumstances, it was in this deplorable case. The last work which had been seen in his hand, and it was on the very morning of his death, was a volume of Butler's Sermons; the manner in which he spoke of those admirable discourses to a friend, who came to him, as he closed the volume, evinced the sentiments which were uppermost in his mind. The elevation of that enlightened mind, was so well known to his friends, that they at once attributed the fatal act to a physical cause, a conclusion borne out on the inquiry.

Many of the nervous ailments now so prevalent among the young, may be traced to an over-strained system of early education; before it is sufficiently matured, the mind is overtaken with scientific lessons and profound subjects, which require a depth of thought and a closeness of attention quite unsuited to the mental and physical temperament of childhood. Medical men are quite aware of the danger of a great demand upon the young brain; parents who would make prodigies of their children, should be taught in a less melancholy way than by experience, that the functions of the brain should not be prematurely exercised on subjects which require a great stretch of the intellectual powers. Lord Dudley has been mentioned, as exemplifying the mischief done by this fatal error; his fine intellect was irreparably injured by the system pursued by his tutors, who, in admiration of the power of his mind, exercised it too severely; the child of promise was, after the lapse of some years, doomed to the most pitiable seclusion.

Nothing, perhaps, is so much calculated to impress us with a conviction of our fallen state, as the frequent observation that to the best affections, the highest endowments, and the noblest pursuits, the origin of the greatest calamity may be traced; it should indeed teach that these inestimable gifts should be humbly held, and subjected to the control without which the very blessings bestowed for our happiness may become a source of misery.

ART. IV.—THE IRISH POOR LAW.

A History of the Irish Poor Law, in Connexion with the Condition of the People. By Sir George Nicholls, K.C.B., late Poor Law Commissioner, and Secretary to the Poor Law Board. London: John Murray, Albemarle-street, Knight and Co., 90 Fleet-street. 1856.

Of the ills and misfortunes of life it is trite to say, that while the larger and heavier inflict of course the severer suffering for the time, the lesser are usually found to be the more thoroughly harassing, owing to their more frequent recurrence, and not a little also to the undignified character of the annoyance.

The particular case of Ireland offers no exception to this general rule. Her graver visitations have their own terrible effect for the moment, and undoubtedly leave deep traces behind. But there are minor evils far oftener at work, which if less tragic in their effects, prove on the whole to be infinitely more teasing and irritating. And amongst these latter, there are none to our mind rife with small but frequent vexations, and petty, yet often very insulting, annoyances, that those which go to make up the characteristics of the work now lying before us, and of its author as a public man and an official.

This application should indeed be extended to almost every English publication of whatever nature that has (or *makes*,) occasion for commenting upon Irish matters, and to the writers and compilers of those publications. Whatever else they contain, however in other points and particulars they may vary from each other, in one point there is an unflinching similarity, namely, in the tendency to depreciatory, sarcastic, and oftentimes most calumnious expressions towards Ireland. No doubt, sad to say, that this state of things is encouraged and fostered by that yet more unworthy and deplorable tendency of too many Irishmen to run down their own country and countrymen; a disposition and practice totally without parallel in any other country; as neither the English, the French, the Germans, nor any other people save only certain classes amongst our own, are guilty of *calumnious candor* of the kind. They rather endeavor to cover over and conceal, or excuse where concealment is not practicable, whatever they may consider defective, or open to censure, at

home; and neither seek to gratify prejudice and party leanings at the expence of national and brotherly feeling, nor suffer themselves to be deluded by the altogether miserable hope of enhancing their own importance by depreciating, ridiculing, and slandering the sons of a common soil.

But the misfortune of Ireland in having these unnatural and unworthy children is no justification or excuse for the further infliction upon her of sneers, misrepresentations, and contempt on the part of our British neighbours. Assuredly it would better become them to have consideration,—we will say compassion, if they prefer the word,—for us Irish; and to be more careful in avoiding whatever may tend to impede or weaken that thorough, hearty, kindly, good will and right understanding of each other which ought to mark the normal state of our international relations, but never can do so while English writers and speakers so thoughtlessly, or wantonly, indulge in slight, and petty insult and outrage, whenever referring to Ireland and the Irish. The legal and political ties of the two countries, may be drawn tight as such ties can be; but so long as the strength of *moral* ties is wanting,—and wanting it *must* be when dislike and ill-feeling are being continually generated by these continual provocations—the connexion will ever wear a character of compulsion, of most unhappy prestige and effect at the moment, and of equally unhappy augury for any imperial emergency of the remote future.

At first sight it may perhaps appear that we are making rather too much of this inconsiderate practice. But even if the instances of it are to be accounted trifles, yet as before remarked, trifles after all make up the sum of our daily troubles and cares, and leave their mark upon us in life. And there is not an Irishman, of whatever class or party he may be, who if he indulge in a moment's self-examination, and candidly declare the result, will not confess to having many times felt, and felt sorely, the particular annoyances in question, and the lurking bitterness they have occasioned in his breast. Besides which we must add that the instances patently and indisputably of grave importance are by no means far to seek. One of them is forced directly and immediately upon our notice by this book of Sir George Nicholls. We cannot bring ourselves to treat as of light consequence the manner and spirit, no more than the substantial nature, of his interferences, legislative and literary, with our concerns.

There is not, of course, nor can there be, any impeachment of his personal respectability and honesty of purpose. Nor indeed if his interferences have, as we believe, been injudicious and harmful, is the blame of originating them to lie upon him. He was chosen out and specially commissioned for the purpose; and it is to the Government or Chief Minister of the day, who made the choice, and gave the commission, and not to him, that the blame and the shame should revert. His self-opinion was naturally excited to the uttermost by the selection, particularly under the circumstances attending it; and there can be little wonder at his consequent blindness to the difficulties and hazards of the task before him. Of course, however, the same excuse ceased to exist when his ignorance of their magnitude and utter ignorance of Ireland began to be dissipated.

The circumstances of his selection and "First Report" were shortly these. A demand, springing from several motives—jealousy of Ireland's exemption from any public burthen to which Great Britain was liable, impatience at the presence of Irish paupers in the English workhouses, and a desire to throw at all hazards the support of Irish poverty upon Ireland, while her wealth should continue as theretofore to flow into and be spent in England—had been for a long time made for the establishment of poor laws in this country, by the influential middle classes of the sister kingdom, and about the year 1833 had acquired such potency that a special commission to enquire into and report upon the subject of a Poor Law system for Ireland was nominated and set to work. That commission, to use Sir George Nicholls' own words, (p. 129) was composed "of men specially selected for the task, and standing deservedly high in public estimation for talent and acquirements." They made three most elaborate and painstaking reports, full of valuable matter and important and well considered suggestions. But their views and recommendations not promising to satisfy the increasing clamour in England, Lord John Russell threw them overboard, and sent Sir George, then plain Mr. Nicholls, to report in the way desired and recommend up to the mark of what the clamourers demanded!!

He shall now speak for himself, pp. 157-8, &c., of the work we are reviewing:—

On the 22nd of August, 1836, I received directions to proceed to Ireland, taking with me the Reports of the Commissioners, and

there to examine how far it might be judicious or practicable to offer relief to whole classes of the poor, whether of the sick, the infirm, or orphan children—whether such relief might not have the effect of promoting imposture, without destroying mendicity—whether the condition of the great bulk of the poorer classes would be improved by such a measure—whether a rate limited in its amount, rather than in its application, might be usefully directed to the erection and maintenance of workhouses, for all those who sought relief as paupers—whether any kind of workhouse can be established which should not give its inmates a superior degree of comfort to the common lot of the independent laborer—whether the restraint of a workhouse would be a sufficient check to applicants for admission; and whether, if the system were once established, the inmates would not resist, by force, the restraint which would be necessary.

Supposing the workhouse system not to be advisable, I was directed to consider in what other mode a national or local rate might be beneficially applied, and to examine the policy of establishing depôts where candidates for emigration might resort. My attention was also specially directed to the machinery by which rates for the relief of the poor, might be raised and expended; and to the formation and constitution of a central board, of local boards, of district unions, and of parochial vestries. I was also directed to inquire whether the capital applied to the improvement of land, and the reclaiming of bogs and wastes, was perceptibly or notoriously increasing, or diminishing, and to remark generally upon any plans which might lead to an increased demand for labour; and lastly, to carefully read the bills which had been brought into the House of Commons on this subject, during that year, and the draft of a bill prepared by one of the Commissioners of Inquiry in conformity with their report.

As he himself says, “the proposed inquiry was *sufficiently extensive*,” and he adds that he “entered upon the duty with a deep sense of the responsibility it involved.” Such a feeling was but natural, especially as he had never been in Ireland in all his life, and knew nothing at all about her. Under these circumstances, what was the period of time that intervened between his undertaking the task and his first and main report?—exactly NINE WEEKS!!!

Nine weeks *inclusive* of preliminary visits to workhouses in London, days travelling by *coach* (no railroad then open save from Manchester to Liverpool) voyages across channel, Sundays, &c. &c. “Early in September” he began, as he informs us, and on the 15th of November presented his completed report, having travelled, enquired, visited, meditated, digested, jotted down roughly the fruits of his labours and researches, sketched out and finally fitted in, clean copied, and as we have said presented his report, all in that short space!!!

The aim of fiction is to represent and imitate truth, but while it is occasionally said to be less strange than its prototype, it will oftenest err on the side of extravagance. The amusing incident in Dickens's first and best work, the immortal *Pickwick Papers*, of the "famous foreign Count" who professes to have gathered "materials for his great work on England"—"history, music, pictures, science, politics, all things!" in *one fortnight*, was of course a caricature of ignorant presumption and so intended to be. But if the author had chanced to have written *nine* instead of *two* weeks, there would, however still absurdly short the term, have been no caricature in the case at all, as it could have been at once paralleled by citing that of Mr. Nicholls' post chaise and *post haste* report!

Those who *do* know Ireland, and have experience of the many problems and time-tangled difficulties of her social and economic condition, will appreciate the *hardihood* at any rate, if not the "Heaven-born statesmanship," of the unhesitating dogmatist who undertook in such brief space to pronounce authoritatively and definitively upon such questions as those contained in the "three parts or principal divisions" into which Sir George Nicholls describes his first report to have been by him divided; specifying those "principal divisions" as follows, viz:

"First, the general result of inquiries into the condition, habits, and feelings of the people, especially with regard to the introduction of a law for the relief of the poor."

"Second, the question whether the workhouse system could with safety and advantage be established in Ireland; and also whether the means for creating an efficient union machinery existed there."

"Third:—*assuming these questions to be answered affirmatively*, the chief points requiring attention in framing a poor law for Ireland were in the last part considered."

We have italicised the first branch of the third of these postulates, because the wording not inaptly sums up the great prevailing characteristic of the whole report. There was "assumption" of facts "assumption" of arguments, and astounding assumption and *presumption* in pronouncing and deciding!

It might be supposed that whether the hurry of the first visit were altogether voluntary or altogether involuntary, or partly the one and partly the other, an ordinary regard for the opinions

of men and for the *bien-séances* of life would have induced a speedy return when leisure allowed, and a more prolonged visit to Ireland, to have the appearance at least of revising and correcting the inevitable errors of haste, and adding the fruits of more searching enquiry and maturer study.

Sir George Nicholls *did* visit Ireland again, and on the business of her poor law. But not till the end of the month of August in the next year, and then for the space of *five weeks* ! Early in September he left it, and early in November presented his *second*, and for all practical purposes, his *final* report. It is true there was a third report in the succeeding year, but though nominally having reference to Ireland, it was in reality a report upon the poor law systems of Holland and Belgium, and here too he displayed his Camilla-like celerity; having "done" Holland and Belgium and reported on their manners and customs, social economy, natural and artificial resources and future prospects, in the course of three short weeks ! ! !

Is it not reasonable to venture here the remark, that there would really have been more of decency in the manner of imposing Poor Laws upon Ireland, if these flying visits and flippant mockeries of enquiry had never taken place at all ! The power as well as the will to impose the legislation in question were absolutely possessed by England. Ireland could make no effective opposition, even if united against its introduction, instead of having not a few of her influential children misled and carried away by its plausibilities and apparent, but most delusive benevolence of spirit. Why not then have boldly established it at once, and not have mocked us in the face of the Empire and of Europe, by forms and preliminaries too transparent to deceive the simplest mind, and most unworthy of the dignity of England herself.

We have now reviewed with briefness, but for the present at least with sufficiency, the *manner* of what we have called Sir George Nicholls' interferences with us. We have properly to treat next of their tone and spirit ; after which we shall go into some of the leading details of their substance.

In his early reports he accuses the Irish people of "filth and indolence," "idleness, fondness for tobacco and whiskey," neglect of their harvests at critical moments for the sake of a "fair, a horse race, a funeral, a fight, a wedding," &c., "recklessness," "fondness for ardent spirits," "no industry nor steadiness, proneness to disorderly conduct and outrage, turbulence, and

insubordination," &c. &c. &c.—*Irish Poor Laws, Reports, pp. 160 see Nicholls' History of Poor Laws.*

The changes are rung over and over again upon these charges throughout his early Reports, and no opportunity is lost for disparaging remark upon the country and its people.

In the work before us, he takes a larger field, and reviews the past history, or what he assumes to be the history of Ireland and her people. With the same fearless and off-hand audacity that he displayed in treating, and at the first glance and first essay, resolving, (to his *own* satisfaction and that of his employers, whatever may have been the case with Ireland, and whatever the consequences to her) the difficult and complicated social problems of her condition, he now takes up, decides upon the most contested points of Ireland's history, and enunciates his opinion and decision with the same imperturbable and magnificent self-conceit!

Having first established in the space of one short sentence the origin of our people, and thus set at rest for ever the speculations, and rendered nugatory the labours of all preceding writers and enquirers on the subject, he proceeds to correct their subsequent errors and similarly lay down the law on other points. We are informed that it is a mistake to suppose that the light of learning in Ireland in early times, which attracted such crowds of students from other parts of Europe, was other than "faint and partial," or that its establishments were more than "specks of civilisation," and "oases in the desert of barbarism"!!!

Passing from these "specks" and "oases" he next informs the world that "*it is CERTAIN*" that the Irish were Protestants! Never until the reign and invasion of Henry the II. did they acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and thus they anticipated by several centuries the establishment of Protestantism in England and in other parts of Europe! There can no longer be any question of the fact on the part of ignorant Papists. Sir George Nicholls has declared it certain that we rejected the Pope and all his works and pomps up to and until four centuries before Martin Luther appeared. The cause is ended—the oracle has spoken!

We are next informed or *instructed* on the same infallible authority, that the four centuries intervening between our apostasy from Protestantism, and the establishment of the latter in

England, were marked by "treachery and murder everywhere prevailing" amongst the Irish; and that the English Government "did little towards establishing order and the supremacy of the law". Not a word of what they most effectually did in a contrary direction, nor of their flagrant treacheries towards the native chieftains, and their frequent subornation of murder, and equally frequent commission of it by the directer means of mock trials, with iniquitous and barbarous sentences, arranged beforehand and ruthlessly carried out, and where facilities did not readily present themselves for these judicial enormities, then by the simpler and not more ruthless means of military execution.

After quoting Spenser, (whose sweet poetry can hardly be held to cover as with a cloak, his iniquitous participation in the murderous councils of the savage Lord Grey, and in the plunder and confiscations of the Irish,) as the main authority for his own account of the social condition of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, he tells us that the 500,000 acres of confiscated lands in James the First's reign, had sheltered "only robbers and rebels," utterly ignoring all that historians of indisputable credibility have told of the frauds, the falsehoods, and the tyrannous cruelty with which James's scheme of the "Plantation of Ulster," was carried out, and the misery, destitution, and death, thereby inflicted upon hundreds of thousands of unfortunates, without discrimination of age, sex, condition, or good or bad conduct. And in perfect keeping with the character throughout of this (henceforward to be) standard history of Ireland, he revives and endeavors, so far as simple assertion goes, to reintegrate the old exploded calumny of the "*Massacre of 1641*," the unfaithful and bigoted Clarendon's invention of "the murder of 40 or 50,000 Protestants before suspecting any danger, or being able to provide for their own defence or safety"! Sir George Nicholls has taken no notice of the fact, that the Lords Justices of Ireland, in their despatches of that year, and notably in those of the later months of it, when whatever had occurred must have been fully known to them, make no mention of any such occurrence, although they in no manner spare their expressions of detestation of the Irish who had been driven by persecution to rise in arms in the North, and had undoubtedly plundered and forced English settlers to fly. Lingard, in the Notes to that volume of his laborious and painstaking history which includes the year 1641, thus writes:—

"In the Lords' Justices' despatches of October the 25th, 1641, with accompanying documents, (see the Lords' Journals, iv. 12.), there is no mention of any murder. After detailing the rising and plundering by the insurgents, they add: 'This, though much, is *all* that we yet hear is done by them.' In a letter to the Privy Council of November 15th, they thus describe the conduct of the rebels:—'They have seized the houses and estates of almost all the English and *dispossessed them of arms*, and *some* of the English gentlemen they barbarously murdered. They surprised the greater part of a troop of horse of His Majesty's army, and *possessed themselves of their arms*. They apprehended Lord Caulfield, Sir E. Trevor, Sir Charles Poyntz, and a great number of other gentlemen of good quality, and also Lord Blayney's wife and children, *and* several other ladies and gentlemen *whom they keep prisoners*. In these their assaults of the English in the Northern Counties they have slain many, *robbed* and spoiled *thousands*, reduced men of good estates to nakedness, &c., &c. They *threaten* all the English *to be gone* by a time, *or* they will destroy them."

On the 25th November, the Lords Justices write: "The English with their wives and children are stripped naked and *banished*."

On December 14th, in the same year, the same authorities write, that when "English and Protestants leave their goods for more safety with any Papists, these are called out by the rebels and the goods taken, and they proclaim that if any Irish harbour the English, it shall be penal to them, and thus *though they put not those English actually to the sword*, yet they do as certainly cut them off *as if* they had done it with the sword."

On the 23rd of December, the same Lords Justices granted a commission to the Protestant Dean of Kildare, and seven other clergymen, to "call before them and examine on oath all such persons as have been robbed and despoiled, and enquire into all the particulars of the robberies committed, and of all traitorous and disloyal speeches, and to examine also all other witnesses that can give evidence of the same." If 200,000, as May says, or 50,000, as Clarendon and others say, were massacred, will not the reader think it strange that the Lords Justices (who must have known the facts from the number of despoiled Protestants who took refuge in Dublin,

if from no other source) should have omitted to extend the enquiry into so bloody a transaction? If we consider the language of these despatches, and recollect who the writers were, and what an interest they had in exaggerating the excesses of the insurgents, we must conclude that no general massacre had been made or attempted."

In January, 1643, more than a year later, when the importance and advantage (for ulterior designs and confiscations) of getting up a case against the Irish Papists had been more studied, a commission was issued to enquire into "what lands had been seized, what murders committed by the rebels, and what numbers of English had perished on their way to Dublin or elsewhere." Had there been a massacre it surely would have been specially mentioned and priority given to it over the "*seizure of lands*." The Commissioners reported in 1644, and the Protestant writer, Warner, after a diligent inspection, observed that "in *infinitely the greater number of the depositions* the words 'being duly sworn', have the pen drawn through them with the same ink the examinations were written with, and in several where those words remain, many *parts of the examinations are crossed out*."

The Commissioners themselves could not by *any* means deduce from the evidence a higher estimate of persons thus killed or perishing, than 2,109 *in the two years 1641 and 1642*, and even this estimate was glaringly open to suspicion, from the undoubted desire of the Government of the day to swell the amount as much as at all possible, and the natural and *stimulated* bias of the Commissioners in the same direction.

Dr. Lingard, says in conclusion, "I shall not lengthen this note by narrating the recriminations of the Irish. That they suffered as much as they inflicted, cannot be doubted."

We have thought it necessary to delay upon this point because it, more than any other, illustrates the tone and character of Sir George Nicholls' lucubrations upon Ireland. What necessity was he under to touch upon subjects of such bitterness? What relevance had or have they to Poor Laws? And if the slightest connexion *did* exist, should he not have informed himself of the facts, and "heard the other side," before treating the politico-sectarian *lie* of the massacre of Protestants in 1641 as an established atrocity and an established stain upon the fame and name of the Irish Catholics? From no Catholic source, but from the mouths or *pens* of the anti-Catholic Lords Justices

of the time themselves. Lingard convicts the propagators of the story of gross falsehood, and this without one single word of quotation from the writings and testimonies of Catholics, either of that time or at any subsequent period.

What a legislator for Ireland, who, deciding the most difficult problems of her social state on the materials collected by him in a nine weeks posting tour,—revising and confirming his labors in a subsequent trip of *five weeks*,—now makes the occasion of reviewing them one for offering wanton insult, and at the expense of the truth of history, to the political and religious feelings and prepossessions of the people unhappily subjected to his experiments!

Proceeding onwards with his wonted rapidity, he notices Cromwell's visitation of Ireland, but with no word of regret for his slaughters, whether of the gallant Anglo-Irish garrison of Drogheda, or of the 800 helpless women and children round the market-cross of Wexford. According to him they were merely part of a "stern retribution" for the "atrocities" of the apocryphal "massacre of 1641." In the next paragraph he jumps to the rebellion of 1798, which allowing to be "doubtless lamentable," he yet says was "*not without its use, as it helped to establish the legislative union*"!! Truth at last! It did so help, it was so *intended* when it was *got up* by the government of the day. But for its distraction and horrors they could not have overmastered the independent spirit of Ireland. They therefore allowed it to grow up towards maturity, fostering it by their secret agents and the open license of oppression, plunder, and torture of the people, and availed themselves of it as a pretext to crush discussion and all constitutional opposition to their measure of the union, which it thus did (as Sir George Nicholls congratulates himself) help, and that most potently "to carry"!

Ample illustration now has been furnished of the tone and spirit of our heaven-born legislator, and we proceed to the third division of our subject, the nature and working of his interferences.

This, which is of course the one requiring the longest delay, is reviewed by him at considerable length, and with a kind of prefatory introduction of a double kind, including as it does not only the topics on which we have just been commenting, but also a sketch of the history of legislation for Irish pauperism, from early times down to the period when he undertook the care and charge of us.

By what the opponents of Poor Laws—a larger class than is at all supposed, and one steadily recruiting its numbers with former supporters and advocates of those laws who have been disabused by bitter experience, and are now heartily repentant—by what this class of politicians delight in considering an inevitable fatality, Sir George Nicholls, like all other writers upon Poor Laws, is compelled, in tracing their course up to its origin, to remount to statutes of a restrictive and penal character. Occasionally, indeed, a benevolent mind in the warmth of enthusiasm for Poor Laws, will be found to revolt against the ascribing of such parentage to them, and will eagerly set about endeavoring to trace out a higher and nobler descent for its favorite legislation. But on the slightest enquiry the chain is seen to be too direct, and the succession too obviously continuous, for a negative long to be maintained, and those who tried to do so have in the end to acquiesce as readily and as completely, though doubtless not quite so heartily, as we do ourselves, in the unpopular derivation.

That Poor Laws in England originated in a repressive and penal spirit towards the people, is a fact attested by every writer who has touched upon them, not only in our own times, but ever since the earliest period that they have been made the subject of historic enquiry and discussion. The English Commissioners of Poor Law Enquiry, in their Report of the year 1833, only re-echoed the multiplied previous declarations of others when they expressed the opinion that “the great object of early pauper legislation seems to have been the repression of vagrancy.” The feudal lords sought to restrain their vassals from flying to corporate towns to escape from thralldom, and find protection under the municipal privileges of those towns. To remedy this the “*statute of laborers*” was passed; it was a statute whereby not only the personal liberty of the agricultural population was put under severe restraints, but the further restrictive measure of definitely settling and fixing the amount of wages they were to be paid for their labor was enacted. The better political economy of the present day, drilled and *driven* into the legislative mind by the bitter experience of a thousand failures, proclaims the certain inefficacy of all such legislation, but for a very long time the doctrine held in respect of it was the same so much in favour with the dispensers of *Holloway's* celebrated pills—that the cases of failure were not to be ascribed to any fault of the medicine, but

simply to *not having taken enough*. And the remedy in either case was the same—to keep on increasing the dose so long as the patient could be got to swallow it !

Upon this principle the Parliaments of Edward the Third passed act after act for the purpose, and in the vain hope of enforcing effectively and generally the objects of the “statute of laborers.” But the complaints in Parliament in 1376 and 1378, and succeeding years, of the escape of vassals to the corporate towns, where they found refuge and harbouring, made patent the fact of failure. That iniquitous statute was found, like all similar legislative quackeries, inoperative, save in rare and partial instances, for the purpose for which it was intended ; but at the same time copiously productive of misery to the general people.

The reign of Richard the Second, and the succeeding reigns, present a long lists of acts more or less restrictive of personal liberty, and more or less interfering with industry. The natural consequence of this unholy crusade of the rich against the poor followed—the lower classes, met at every step by searching and grinding tyranny, either gave up, or were forced greatly to relax, their exertions for subsistence, and the land was crowded with the destitute and the discontented. Then the harsh and despotic spirit which dictated these ruinous restrictions got full scope, and vagrancy was punished by laws of which it has been well said, that, “with the single exception of scalping, they equalled the worst atrocities ever practised by the North American Indians upon their prisoners.”* Lashing “until the body be bloody,” boring with a hot iron, “the compass of an inch through the gristle of the ear,” branding “in the face and on the shoulder,” “cropping the ears,” “chaining,” “slavery for two years,” and in case of attempts to escape, “slavery for life” and “death as a felon”—these were the mild and paternal methods of treating the poorer classes that marked the earlier history of Poor Laws, and that indeed continued, with not very extensive modifications, to disgrace the statute book until a period not remote from our own time.

The monasteries, whose charitable largesses had, in not a little degree, counterbalanced the more shocking effects of this legislation, by affording subsistence to multitudes who must have otherwise plundered or perished of inanition, were, as every body knows, suppressed in the reign of Henry the VIII. ; and the

* Sir Frederic Morton Eden's “History of the Poor,” Vol. I.

great fountains of charity being thus sealed up, while the restrictive laws before mentioned were left to continue their cruel operation, it became absolutely necessary for the security of property and stability of society itself, to supply for their enforced default by contributions from the general community.

"Charity *by Act of Parliament*" thus began, and at first with no greater development than the concession of a licence to beg within certain limits of the pauper's place of abode. The first step beyond this was taken by the 27th Henry VIII. chapter 25, passed in 1536, which added provisions making it incumbent on the head officers of every city, town, shire, and parish to exert themselves to procure the means of support for the impotent, and of labor for the able bodied. Voluntary alms were to be collected by the officials for these purposes; and the clergy were called upon to exhort their flocks to charity. Alms-giving, otherwise than in the form of contributions to the common box of the Parish, was forbidden under forfeiture of ten times the amount. The humane clauses of former acts relative to flogging, cropping the ear, and putting to a felon's death, were re-enacted for the benefit of what were denominated "sturdy beggars!"

The 1st Edward VI. c. 3, passed in 1547, recites that "partly by *foolish pity and mercy* of them which should have seen the aforesaid goodly laws executed, and partly from the perverse nature and long accustomed idleness of the persons given to loitering, the said goodly statutes have had small effect; the idle and vagabond persons being unprofitable members, or rather enemies, of the common-wealth, have been suffered to remain and increase, and yet so do." It, therefore, enacts that able bodied persons who do not apply to honest labor, or offer to serve even for meat and drink, shall be branded with the letter V on the shoulder, and be adjudged a slave for two years, to any person who shall demand him; and shall be fed on bread and water, and kept to work by beating, chaining, &c., &c.! Runaways to be made slaves for life, and to be further branded on the cheek, and where incorrigible, to suffer death!

There were modifications and alterations of this statute of various kinds until 1551, when the 5th & 6th Edward VI., c. 2, was passed, afterwards repeated *verbatim* by the 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary, c. 5, (1555) preserving all the chaining and beating provisions; and enacting that certain collectors should

on the Sunday after Whitsuntide, "*gently ask every man and woman,*" what they of their "charity would give weekly to the poor," and should distribute the weekly collections "after such sort that the more impotent may have the more help, and such as can get part of their living less, and put them on such labor as they can do, but none openly to beg." Under the old penalties any one refusing to give these alms is to be "*gently exhorted*" first by ministers and churchwardens, and "*if refractory, to be sent for*" by the Bishop, who shall take order for his reformation"! The 5th Elizabeth, c. 3, passed in 1568, directs the still refractory individual, to be sent on by the Bishop to the Magistrates, who are to "tax him according to their good discretion." And thus commenced and thereafter followed the compulsory rating for the poor.

Sir George Nicholls sets out in his history of pauper legislation in Ireland, with a statute of Edward the II. at a Parliament held in the City of Kilkenny, in the year 1310, and follows it up with two others of the reign of Henry VI. passed in Parliaments held in Dublin in the years 1440 and 1450 respectively, all three of which speak of "idle people, kearnes, thieves, robbers, rebels and ill-doers, increasing in great store, and in malice from day to day, and causing the land to fall into decay and poverty and waste every day more and more"—wherefore it is ordered that it shall be lawful for every liege man to *kill or take* notorious thieves such as these, and every man that kills or takes them shall have one penny of every plough and one farthing of every cottage within the barony where the manslaughter is done, for every thief."

In the same reign a statute of 1447, passed at a session at Trim in the county Meath, laments the idleness of the "sons of husbandmen and laborers," and ordains that they "shall use the same labors and travails that their fathers have done—and that every man shall answer for the offence and illdoing of *his son* saving punishment of death, which shall incur to the trespasser himself."

On this Sir George Nicholls characteristically remarks (*page 15,*) that "it was, perhaps, a defensible or excusable measure under the circumstances to *make the father answer for the acts of his son,*"—but that "*the same cannot be said of requiring the son to follow the occupation of his father.*"!!!

Nothing could better illustrate than this remarkable sentence the proneness of those who assume to be oracles of political

economy to ride their hobby to death. Take the plain meaning of the sentence clear of unnecessary words. To *punish a man for the crimes of another* may be allowable—nay justifiable—but it would outrage all right and reason to make the son follow the father's calling!!!

Leaving the reader to do justice for himself upon this transcendental proposition, we cannot refrain from quoting a passage only a few pages later in which the poor-law-commissioner, pure and simple, comes out as strongly and typically of his class, as in that we have last quoted does the politico-economic sciolist and theorizer.

“An Act of 1587—the 28th Henry VIII., chap. 15—enacted ‘that no one shall wear hair on the face, nor any manner of clothing, mantle, coat or hood after the Irish fashion, but shall conform to the habits and manners of the English Pale, and shall—to the uttermost of their power, cunning, and knowledge—use the English tongue, and keep their households as near as ever they can according to the English order. Spiritual promotion is moreover directed to be given only to such as speak English, so that NOTHING APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN OMITTED for bringing about the desired assimilation of the native Irish with their fellow-subjects.’!!! (p. 21.)

A most poor-law-commissioner-like idea certainly of international assimilation! Let the hair be cut and worn in the same fashion—the clothing be all as per sample—the same language be spoken whether understood or not, and religion itself be preached in what to more than one-third of the objects of this patent assimilating process must be an unknown tongue,—and lo! the assimilation is complete! Strange that so profound a reasoner and philosophic a legislator should have omitted to take note of the defect in the statute in not having included such a provision for the further promoting of uniformity or “assimilation” as that embodied in the work-house regulation of the present day, under which a common stamp or mark is put upon each and every article of wearing apparel!

Subduing, though not without sore difficulty, the bitterer emotions very naturally excited within us by his language and the whole tenor of his work, may we not, in the simplest and soberest sadness, ask of what stuff that man can be who undertook to write as it were a social history of Ireland, as he equally fearlessly and recklessly undertook in 1837-39 to legislate for her, without one feeling in common with her people or one sympathy for

their sufferings? Can it be possible—we fear it *is* possible, and that the proof of its being not only possible, but *the fact* is given in this as in many other passages by himself—that in his estimate of things necessary for the “complete assimilation of the Irish with their fellow subjects,” he never took into account at all the cessation of proconsular tyrannies and of persecutions because of creed or race, and the establishment of equality of privileges and rights!

It would be idle to endeavor to follow him step by step in what he professes to consider his “earlier history of poor laws in Ireland.” It is not easy to perceive what kind or degree whatever of connexion there can be between poor laws and the following legislation cited and reviewed by him from page 16 to page 21, viz:—An ordinance by statute of Edward IV. passed in 1465, to the effect that “in every *English town* of Ireland where no other president is, there be chosen by his neighbours, or by the lord of the said town, one constable to be governor or president thereof.” A statute of the year 1472, enacting that “no grain be laded out of Ireland to parts without, if one peck of the said grain exceed the price of tenpence.”—the statute of the tenth year of Henry the Seventh, chapter, 4, (passed in 1495,) known as “Poynings’ Law” because passed at the instance of the then lord deputy of Ireland, Sir Edward Poynings, whereby it was directed “that no parliaments be held in Ireland until the acts (*bills*) be first certified into England and be thence returned with the sanction of the King in Council, expressed under the great seal”—two other acts of the same year, (chapters 6 and 17) the one forbidding any “lord or gentleman of the land to have any retainers save his baylifs, steward, *learned counsel, and menial servants*,”—the other forbidding any “peace or war within the land, without the lieutenant or lord deputys’ licence”—and two acts of Henry the 8th, in the 13th and 25th years of his reign, (1522 and 1534,) against stack and rick-burning and the payment of harvest-labor in kind.

At length, however, he begins to feel bottom under him when he reaches the year 1542, in which the act 33 *Henry VIII.* chapter 9, announces in its preamble that “prices of victuals, cloth, and other necessities for labourers, servants at husbandry and artificers, yearly change, as well sometimes by reason of dearth and scarceness of corn and victual as otherwise, so that hard it is to limit in certain what wages servants at husbandry should take by the year, and other artificers and laborers by the day, by reason whereof they now ask *and take* unreasonable

wages within the land of Ireland." Upon these premises the act goes on to empower and order the regulation of wages at a yearly session of Justices of the Peace in each county. An "act for vagabonds" shortly followed, reciting the English act 22nd Henry VIII. c. 15, whereby "it was enacted and ordered howaged, poor, and impotent persons compelled to live by *alms* should be ordered, and how vagabonds, and mighty strong beggars should be punished," and declaring "that the same act and all and every article and provision and thing comprised within the same, should be law within this land of Ireland, according to the tenor and purport of the same."

Sir George Nicholls loses some more time with acts of the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First, which, save in the circumstance of the similarity of their arbitrary, crotchety, and we may add unfeeling character, have really nothing akin or relevant to his subject. Coming down at last to the reign of Charles the First, the fore-shadowings of Poor Laws recommence with the statute 10th and 11th Charles I. c. 4, "an act for the erecting of houses of correction" provided with "mills, working cards, and other necessary implements, to set rogues and *other idle persons* on work &c. &c." The "*other idle persons*" here spoken of are, in a special section, described to be as follows:—

"All persons calling themselves *scholars* going about begging; all idle persons going about either begging or using any subtle craft, or unlawful games, or feigning to have knowledge in *physiognomy*, or palmistry, or that they can tell destinies, or such other like phantastical imaginations, or who utter themselves to be *proctors* (!) procurers, patent gatherers, or collectors for gaols or hospitals;—all fencers, bearwards, common players, and minstrels, jugglers, wanderers, and able-bodied common laborers loitering and refusing *reasonable wages*." &c. &c. &c.

We broke off our brief review of the history of Poor Laws in England (a review made, we take this opportunity of stating, without any reference whatever to, and indeed without having up to this present moment even once opened Sir George Nicholls' treatise on the *English Poor Laws* and their history, but taken from the sounder authorities of Sir Frederic Morton Eden, the Government Commissions, and Parliamentary Committees of Enquiry long previous to his rising above the horizon) at the period of their compulsory establishment in that country during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. No further parallel can of

course be drawn between their progress and that of Irish Poor Laws, until we come to the similar period in the history of the latter, viz., the period 1839-41.

In the next step of our progress thitherward we have again to leave our author wandering through several pages of really irrelevant matter, and to come by a jump to the reign of Queen Anne, when the statute 2d Anne, chap. 19 (1703,) was passed "for erecting a workhouse in the City of Dublin for employing and maintaining the poor thereof." As usual the "poor" are jumbled up in this act with vagabonds and rogues, and treated alike. To defray the cost of working it and maintaining the inmates of the workhouse, various expedients are resorted to—the honor of being constituted a "governor and guardian" being held out to induce fifty-pound donations, and a power is given for granting hackney carriage licences for coaches and "sedans," each licence to be charged with five pounds fine and forty-shillings annual payment towards the support of the workhouse. Finally a *compulsory rate* of three-pence in the pound is charged on every house within the city and liberties of Dublin for the same purpose, to be levied in the same way as "Ministers' money." This act was amended and extended in its chief provisions by the statute 1st George II. chap. 27, passed in 1728.

At pages 43-45 Sir George Nicholls, in dealing with the act 9th George II. chap. 25, similar in its scope and provisions to the 2nd. of Anne, save that it was for the establishment of a workhouse in *Cork*, and that there was a kind of hotch-potch-clause in it for rebuilding the Cathedral of St. Finbar in that city, details how these institutions gradually were narrowed down to the single object of receiving foundlings, in short became Foundling Hospitals; the 11th and 12th George III. chap. 11, at length legislatively confining them to the latter object, and packing off "*vagabonds and beggars*" to Bridewell. As all experience, home and foreign, in the history of such Institutions has been found to prove, the pressure upon them kept continually increasing more and more, children being deserted according as improvements as to the arrangement and maintenance of children within them happened to progress, and the compulsory rate, notwithstanding the check of limiting the age of admission to under three years, had in 1772 to be doubled, that is to be made 6d. instead of 3d. in the pound, and in the following year to be raised to *tenpence* in the pound.

We will not delay to remark upon Sir George Nicholls' fault-finding with the wretched Roman Catholic parents of many of these unfortunates for their "unreasoning inconsistency" as he phrases it, or "improper interference" as the Cork workhouse Act denominates it, in "making it a point of conscience (again we quote *our own* Nicholls,) to hinder their children being brought up in the religion of their protectors," an inconsistency or "improper interference" against which the Cork Act provides by the humane and *tolerant* expedient of empowering the governors of the workhouses of Cork and Dublin *to exchange the children* maintained therein, "whenever such interchange shall be agreed on by the respective governors." Nor need we tarry to admire the gentle hesitation with which he (not often so modest and self-distrusting,)

"Just hints a fault and hesitates dislike,"

of the principle on which Foundling Hospitals existed—a principle the extreme unsoundness of which has long been condemned by public opinion in these countries, and exposed and repudiated by statesmen. In Ireland its abandonment was hastened by the horrible discovery, distinctly and irrefragably traced out and proved, of a young lad having come to be married *to his own mother!* We proceed with his "history," taking him up again at page 51, just after he has cited the 11th and 12th George III. chap. 15, extending similar legislation to other cities, besides Dublin and Cork, and the 13th and 14th of the same king, chap. 24, which extended it to all parishes throughout Ireland, civic or rural. Our author here says:—

These acts taken together make provision for the support of exposed and deserted children of tender age in every parish in Ireland, by means of a compulsory assessment.....in fact a limited relief of the poor, or a restricted kind of poor law, the children being in almost every instance the offspring of parents too poor to rear and maintain them, whence, as was the case in England, the parish of *necessity* (?) becomes responsible for the performance of these duties, and stands in *loco parentis*. After thus legislating for one class of the destitute and recognising the principle of compulsory assessment, it seems remarkable that nothing further was done in the way of establishing a regular system of relief for the destitute of every class, especially as vestries were now being organised and overseers appointed in all the parishes of Ireland. Perhaps an act passed about the same time, and to which we will now turn, may serve to explain this omission, as it attempts to effect the object circuitously and by indirect means, instead of openly charging property for the relief of destitution.

The 11th & 12th George the 3rd, chapter 50, is entitled "An Act for *badging* such poor as shall be found unable to support themselves by labor and otherwise providing for them, and for restraining such as shall be found able to support themselves by labour or industry from begging." It commences as follows: "Whereas strolling beggars are very numerous in this kingdom, and whereas it is equally necessary to give countenance and assistance to those poor who shall be found disabled by old age or infirmities to earn their living, and to restrain and punish those who may be able to support themselves by labour or industry, and yet may choose to live in idleness by begging; and it is just to call upon the humane and affluent to contribute to the support of real objects of charity; and whereas those purposes may be better affected by one law than by many laws tending to the same purpose"—it is enacted that the 33rd Henry 8th cap. 15, and the 10th and 11th Charles 1st, cap. 4, be repealed.*

The Act then proceeds—"And whereas the good purposes intended by this act are most likely to be promoted by creating corporations in every county at large, and in every county of a city or town in this kingdom, who may execute the powers and trusts hereinafter expressed"—it is enacted that such corporations be established accordingly, consisting in counties of the archbishop or bishop, the county members, and the justices of peace, and in counties of a city or town, of the chief magistrate, sheriffs, recorders, members of parliament, and justice of peace. Every such corporation is to be called, "The president and assistants instituted for the relief of the poor, and for punishing vagabonds and sturdy beggars," of the county, city, or town, as the case may be, and is to have a common seal, and to hold meetings at which the bishop when present is to preside, and to make bye laws and appoint standing committees, and is likewise empowered to elect such other persons as shall be thought fit, including those who contribute any sum not less than £20, or subscribe annually not less than £3, to the charitable purposes of the corporation to be members thereof respectively. The corporations are authorised to accept donations, and to take or purchase lands and tenements not exceeding £500 annual value, and to hold leases for terms not exceeding 21 years, and may also take by grant or devise any quantity of land in a city or town not exceeding two roods, and in the open country not exceeding twenty acres, "for the sites of houses to be built for the reception of the helpless poor, and for keeping in restraint sturdy beggars and vagabonds."

The corporations, constituted as above, are empowered to grant '*badges*' to such of the helpless poor as have resided one year in their respective counties, cities, or towns, with a licence to beg within such limits for such time as may be thought fit; and are also empowered to appoint certain of the justices to grant "*badges*" and licences likewise—"specifying the names and places of birth and the character of the persons so licensed, and the causes, as nearly as may be collected, of their poverty, and whether reduced to that state by sickness or misfortune."

* Ante. pp. 22 and 28.

The said corporations are moreover, as soon as they possess sufficient funds, to build hospitals to be called ^{Houses of Industry or Work-}workhouses or houses of industry for the relief of the poor, ^{houses to be provided.} in their respective counties, "as plain, as durable, and at as moderate expense as may be;" which hospitals are to be divided into four parts, one for such poor helpless men, and one other for such poor helpless women as shall be judged worthy of admission; a third for the reception of men able to labour and committed as vagabonds or sturdy beggars; and the fourth for idle, strolling, and disorderly women, committed to the hospital and found fit for labour. Every man above the age of fifteen found begging without a licence and not wearing a badge, is to be ^{Persons beg-}committed to the stocks for any time not exceeding ^{ging without a} three hours for the first offence, and six hours for ^{licence to be ap-}every subsequent offence; and old persevering offenders may be indicted at the sessions, and if convicted are to suffer imprisonment not exceeding two months; after which, if they again offend, they may be publicly whipped, and be again imprisoned for four months, and so on continually for every subsequent offence. Every female found begging without a licence and badge, may be confined in any place appointed for that purpose, not exceeding three hours for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence not exceeding six hours; and every old and persevering offender is, as in the case of the men, to be proceeded against at the sessions; and in order that these directions may be carried into effect, the corporations are empowered to appoint "such and so many persons as they shall think fit, at reasonable salaries, to seize and arrest all such persons whom they shall find begging without such licence and badge, and carry them before the next justice, who may commit the party to the stocks or otherwise as aforesaid." Justices are moreover empowered on their own view, to cause such persons to be seized and dealt with as is above directed for every first and subsequent offence.

Whenever a poor person deemed worthy of having a licence to beg, has one or more children under the age of ten years not apprenticed or otherwise provided for, ^{Poor children -}the age and number of such children are to be inserted ^{to be provided} in the licence, by the person applied to in such case, or he may "at his or their election take such and so many of them as he or they shall think fit *from the parent*, and convey such child or children to the committee of that county, city or town, and insert the names of the rest in the parents' licence. If any fatherless or deserted poor children under eight years of age are found strolling or begging, they are to be conveyed to the committee of the particular county, city or town, to be placed in such charter school or nursery as will receive them when under eight, and the rest to be apprenticed. The committees are required to keep up a correspondence with the Protestant Charter Schools Society,* that they may be informed from time to time when there is accommodation for poor children, in order that all poor children may as much as possible be prevented from strolling, and may be put to trades or to industry."

* Ante, p. 25.

As soon as the houses of industry are provided and furnished for the purpose, the corporations are to place therein so many vagrants, sturdy beggars, and vagabonds, and so many helpless poor as their funds admit of; and they are authorised to "require and seize every strolling vagrant capable of labour who hath no place of abode, and who doth not live by his or her labour or industry, and every person above the age of fifteen who shall beg publicly without a licence or badge, and every strolling prostitute capable of labour, and to commit the said persons to the divisions allotted for them respectively in the said houses, and there to keep them to hard labour, and compel them to work, maintaining them properly," and inflicting reasonable punishment when necessary, for the periods named in the Act, varying from two months to four years.

Strolling vagabonds to be seized and committed.

In order to furnish some revenues for the said corporations at the outset, the grand juries are required to present annually at every spring assizes in every county of a city or town, to be raised off the lands and houses equally and rateably, any sum not less than £100 nor more than £200, and in every county at large not less than £200, nor more than £400, to be assessed and collected as other county taxes are, and paid to the corporations respectively, without fee or deduction whatever, for the charitable purpose of the Act. All rectors, vicars, and incumbents of parishes, are required likewise to permit such clergymen as the respective corporations may appoint to preach sermons in their churches annually, and to permit collections to be made for the objects contemplated by the Act.

Money to be provided by Grand Jury Presentments.

We here see that provision has been made, partly by compulsory assessment, partly by voluntary contributions, and through the instrumentality of corporations especially appointed for the badging and licensing of the poor to beg, for providing hospitals, workhouses, or houses of industry in every county at large and county of a city or town—for separately confining therein able-bodied vagabonds and disorderly women who are to be kept to hard labour—and for the maintenance therein of poor helpless men and women. Authority is likewise given to seize any one begging without a badge or licence, and to send such as are above fifteen to the house of industry for punishment, whilst the children are to be placed at school or put out on trade or service, and finally, persons are appointed at reasonable salaries to carry these enactments against unlicensed begging into effect."

Thus we see that Pauper Legislation in Ireland, with that tendency ever marking such legislation to go hunting after and to adopt at once, when found, any and every shift and expedient that presents itself no matter how discredited by experience elsewhere, had recourse in 1771, to the exploded *crotchets* of the 16th century in England. Licences and badges, entitling those possessed of them to the high privilege of *begging*, are provided for the "*deserving*" poor, and imprisonments,

hard labor, and corporeal punishment, for those whom the local authorities should adjudge to be fit but unwilling to work. No reservation in the latter case seems to have been made in favor of the able-bodied who *could not find* work. To the more antiquated English crotchets was superadded the Irish one of Charles the First's reign, constituting foundling hospitals, and the ends of proselytism were sought to be advanced by classes disposing not only of foundling children at the will of the governors and managers of the workhouses, &c., (all necessarily Protestants), but giving power forcibly to take away from even the licensed and badged beggars such and so many of their children as the local authorities should desire, and to put them in the long notorious "Charter-schools," there to be brought up as "true Protestants."

Our author now comes down to the Legislative Union, and with the same oracular enunciation which gives such dignity to all his other solemn *dicta*, expresses his high approval of that measure—an approval which doubtless for ever concludes all controversy on the subject! He then proceeds to notice,

certain acts passed subsequent to the union, which it will be requisite to notice, as they shew the views of the now united Parliament in regard to Ireland and the relief of the Irish poor, and form also a necessary introduction to the more important measure of 1838.

The first of these acts is the 41st Geo. 3, cap. 73, which directs the application of certain sums of money granted by Parliament to the Dublin Society and the Farming Societies—namely £4,500 Irish, to the first towards completing their repository in Hawkins'-street, and the botanic garden at Glasnevin, and £2,000 towards the purposes of the farming societies for the present year. . . . The 45th Geo. 3, cap. 111 recites that whereas the distance of many parts of each county from its infirmary, does not allow the poor of those parts the advantage of immediate medical aid, it is enacted that where the governors of the county infirmary certify to the grand jury that they have received from private subscription any sum for establishing a dispensary, the grand jury may raise from the county at large an equal sum for the purpose The 46 Geo. III., cap. 95, entitled "an Act for the more effectually providing for the relief of the poor and the management of infirmaries and hospitals." It directs, among other things, that with sanction of the going judges of assize, grand juries may present and levy from 4 to £700 towards building &c., houses of industry. . . . In 1809 the 49 Geo. III. c. 101, enacted that the lord lieutenant might appoint nine commissioners for ascertaining the extent of such bogs as exceed 500 acres, and the practicability, mode, and expense of draining them, &c., &c., with a view to providing employment for the people, and "securing a supply of flax and

hemp for the linen manufacture and the use of the navy," &c., &c., (pp. 73-76.)

The 54th Geo. III. c. 112, empowered grand juries to present for fever hospitals, and the 58th Geo. III. cap. 47, enlarged the provisions of the preceding act, and made "other regulations for relief of the suffering poor." The 59 Geo. III. cap. 41, followed, appointing officers of health to carry out these and other sanitary measures, and meantime the 57 Geo. III. cap. 106, empowered the lord lieutenant to order the erection of lunatic asylums. (pp. 77-80.)

"The year 1822 was a period of much distress in Ireland, and the 3 Geo. IV. chapters 3 and 84, were passed empowering the lord lieutenant to order advances from the public Treasury in certain cases, anticipatory of grand jury presentments for the employment of the poor; and further advances (beyond the amount of such presentments) for extraordinary expenses for the same object In 1825 the 6 Geo. IV. chapter 102, levied £5 on every parish where a deserted child was found, for the maintenance of that child—being the first act to give a legislative sanction to the rating of a parish for the relief of a destitute class found therein. (p. 80.)

Having thus enumerated all the acts actually passed previous to 1838, in any degree paving the way for a formal and regular legislative provision for the poor, and partaking in more or less degree of the nature of poor laws, our author proceeds to treat of the reports of committees on the state, &c., of the Irish poor in the interval between the Union and the year above mentioned.

In 1804 a committee specially appointed to make enquiry "respecting poor in Ireland," resolved that, "the adoption of a general system of provision for the poor in Ireland, by way of parish-rate as in England or in any similar manner, would be highly injurious to that country, and would not produce any real or permanent advantage even to the lower class who must be its objects."—And they further resolved that the acts for establishing houses of industry, &c., &c., had only been very partially complied with—and after dealing with a few other matters, concluded their report by recommending that the very important objects referred to them should be taken up again in the ensuing session; which was not however done." (pp. 82-83.)

In 1819 a committee, of which Sir John Newport was chairman, was appointed to enquire into the state of disease and also into the condition of the labouring poor of Ireland They "considered the prevalence of contagious fever a calamitous indication of general distress," and in order to "prevent the migration of large bodies of mendicants pressed by want, who fatally contributed to the general diffusion of disease," they recommend that magistrates, churchwardens, &c., "be empowered to remove out of their respective parishes any persons found begging or wandering as vagabonds; or to confine such persons to hard labour for 24 hours, or adopt both measures; and to cause their persons and clothes to be washed and cleansed." The

committee then express their intention of proceeding to enquire into the practicability of ameliorating the condition of the labouring poor, "by facilitating the application of the funds of private individuals and associations for their employment in useful and productive labour." Their enquiries under this head were particularly directed towards agriculture and the fisheries, as being the two most important departments of labour, and as those "which are capable of the greatest extension without hazarding re-action." They consider the report of the Bog-commission to prove "the immense amount of land easily reclaimable and convertible to the production of grain almost without limit"—whilst "the small extent to which the commissioners' recommendations have been acted upon, demonstrates lamentably that want of capital which in Ireland unnerves all effort for improvement."

In 1823 another committee, with the present Lord Monteagle as chairman, was appointed "to enquire into the condition of the labouring poor in Ireland, with a view to facilitate the application of funds of private individuals and associations for employment of the poor in useful and productive labour." They recommended "the encouragement of the fisheries, erection of piers, formation of harbours, and opening of mountain roads." In conclusion, admitting the danger attending all interferences with industrial pursuits, which prosper best when left to their own natural development, they yet consider that the state of Ireland constituted her an exception to the general rule, and that the aid of Government in support of local effort was there *absolutely necessary*. (pp. 86-95.)

At the end of seven years—in 1830—another committee was appointed to "take into consideration the state of the poorer classes in Ireland and the best means of improving their condition," and they made a very elaborate and comprehensive report. They estimated the unemployed at from one-fifth to one-fourth of the population, and said that this fact, combined with the system of managing land, "produced misery and suffering which no language could adequately describe:" "where the increase of the population of a country proceeds in a greater ratio than the increase of her wealth (they observe) an increase of distress among the poor may be concurrent with an augmentation of national wealth," and this they considered to be the case of Ireland. Considering it impossible correctly to estimate the condition of the poorer classes without looking into the nature of the relations between landlord and tenant, they give great attention to this part of the subject. After describing the state of those relations and the causes of the evils marking them, and of the state of distress of the "ejected" tenantry, they went on to recommend as remedial measures, "emigration, the improvement of bogs and waste lands, embankment and drainage of marsh-lands, prosecution of public works on a large scale, education of the people not only in elementary knowledge, but habits of industry, encouragement of manufactures, extension of the fisheries, and lastly, the introduction of a system of poor-laws, either on the English or Scotch principles, or so modified as to be adapted to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland." (pp. 95-106.)

We have been compelled by the limits of our space very greatly to condense the foregoing historic detail by Sir George Nicholls, preparatory to his full discussion of the existing poor laws of Ireland. The same considerations induce us to pass over the pages in which he makes mention of the commissions of education, and the proceedings and legislation in reference to it, and to be very brief in noticing his review of the proceedings of the Irish poor-law commission of 1833, appointed "to enquire into the condition of the poorer classes in Ireland, and into the various institutions at present established by law for their relief, and also whether any and what further remedial measures appear to be requisite to ameliorate the condition of the Irish poor." These commissioners made three reports, one in July, 1835, "on the modes in which the destitute classes in Ireland were supported, the extent and efficiency of those modes, and their effect upon those who give, and those who receive relief;"—the second report, in 1836, "on that part of the enquiry which respects the various institutions at present established for the relief of the poor;"—and the third and final report in the latter part of the same year, embodying the conclusions they had come to. These began with a repudiation of the workhouse system as wholly unsuited to Ireland; and after expressing great doubt of any species of labor-rate, recommended public works to employ the redundant laboring population, and emigration as a safety-valve when the pressure became excessive. A "Board of improvement" was to preside over these public works, and to cause surveys, valuations, &c., to be made throughout the country—to enforce drainage, fencing, the removal of nuisances, including wretched cabins, whose occupants were to be provided for elsewhere partly at the landlord's expense—agricultural schools, leases of thirty-one years, charges on property for permanent improvements, &c., &c.,—and finally a legal provision for incurables, lunatics, idiots, deaf, dumb, and blind poor, within the walls of public institutions, and increase of hospitals, &c. The necessary funds to be provided in part through a national rate, in part by private associations recognized and aided by the government—"the plan of such voluntary associations to be tried in the *first* instance,"—and the subsequent rate if necessary, to be charged on the land in the first instance, and afterwards on personal property.

With many and overweening professions of respect and high

consideration for these commissioners personally and collectively, Sir George Nicholls treats their reports and recommendations with very thinly disguised contempt, and immediately proceeds to contrast them with his own "*suggestions*" for an Irish poor law, made by him so early as January, 1836, at the instance of Lord John Russell, and made therefore long previous to his first brief visitation of this country. Of these "*suggestions*," our author says, (page 130,) that "on perusing them now (1856) after so long an interval, he finds little to alter in what he then ventured to suggest." As their main points were embodied in his subsequent legislation, it is not necessary to give them a separate review.

We now come to that legislation itself, and its history up to the present time. At page 222, and from that to page 234, the reader will find an analysis of the provisions of the original act, the 1st and 2nd Victoria, cap. 56, "for the more effectual relief of the poor in Ireland," and its first emendation by the 2nd Victoria, cap. 1. passed in March, 1839. At page 291 is the next emendatory or "extension" act, 6 and 7 Vict. cap. 92—at page 330, to page 335, three additional acts passed in 1847; four short acts dealing with details, in 1848 and 1849, mention of which will be found from page 354 to 357, particularly of the last of them, called the "Rate-in-Aid" act—the 12th and 13th Victoria, cap. 104, (at page 367,) "to further amend the acts for the relief of the destitute poor in Ireland," (chiefly facilitating emigration,)—the 13th and 14th Vict. c. 14, regulating advances to unions, at page 374—and the 14th and 15th Vict. chapter 68, regulating medical charities, at pages 382-3.

To enable our readers to judge for themselves whether the results of all this legislation have been such as to warrant the self-congratulations of its author, we proceed to set out in due order of succession his promises and vaticinations, together with of course, the received and established statements and facts, official and otherwise connected with the operation of his poor-law.

In his First Report, *November*, 1837, he writes as follows:—

Mendicancy and indiscriminate almsgiving have produced in Ireland results similar to what indiscriminate relief under her old poor-law produced in England—the like reckless disregard of the future, the like idle and disorderly conduct, the same proneness to outrage having then characterized the English pauper-labourer which are now too generally the characteristics of the Irish peasant In the one case the new poor-law is rapidly effecting a remedy.—The corrective for both will, I believe, be found to be essentially the same.

The mendicant in Ireland has now, (1836,) precedence over every one else. If the whole property of Ireland were rated to the relief of the poor, the cost would be no more, but in such case the charge would be *equally* borne, whereas at present it is unequal The feelings of charity and gratitude which it is delightful to contemplate as the motive and fruit of benevolent actions, can only exist between individuals (!) It matters not whether the fund to be distributed has been raised by voluntary or legal assessment, or whether devised for purposes of general charity. The application is in each case *a trust*; it is so distributed and received as a *right*, not a gift.

At present the burthen falls almost exclusively upon the lower classes, while the higher generally escape. Poor-laws similar in principle to the English system would go far to remedy this inequality. Such a measure would connect the interest of landlord and tenant, and so benefit both, and promote general peace and prosperity. The desire now so general for a full participation in English laws, and English institutions, will dispose the Irish to receive with alacrity any measure tending to put them on the same footing as their English fellow-subjects (!)

A poor-law in Ireland would help the country through the transition from the system of small holdings, con-acre and the sub-divisions of land, to the better practice of day-labour for wages and dependence on daily labour for support.

A legal provision for the destitute is moreover an indispensable preliminary to the suppression of mendicacy. If the state offer an alternative, it may prohibit begging.

Much of the waste land of Ireland is susceptible of cultivation, and the order and security which a poor-law would tend to establish, will encourage the application of capital to such objects.

It appears then, I think, that a poor-law is necessary as a *first* step towards bringing about improvement in the habits and social condition of the people. IN TRUTH *the reclamation of bogs and wastes—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FISHERIES AND MANUFACTURES—Improvements in Agriculture and the general condition of the country,—and lastly, THE ELEVATION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE IN THE SOCIAL SCALE,* appear ALL CONTINGENT UPON ESTABLISHING A POOR LAW !!!"—*Report of 1836.*

The most superficial observer of the present state of Ireland—now twenty years after the foregoing predictions were given to the admiring public of these kingdoms—will be able to estimate their miserable want of value. The mendicancy that was to be suppressed or to disappear of itself, is as rife as ever, nay in the opinion of many, is *more* rife along our streets and our roads than ever. The burthen of relief of the poor which as this pompous and egotistical and emptiest of theorists, informed us, was to be lightened to the poorer classes, and more equally shared by the higher, is heavier upon the former than ever. Formerly they had to give, and they gave in obedience to the duty positively inculcated upon them by their religion. Now

they have, *in addition*, to pay the legal assessment. We say deliberately, *in addition*;—for the latter payments by no means are held by them to remit the former. The poor-law collector's receipt is not considered by them a discharge from charitable obligations, and over and beyond what it has drawn from them by the force of a human law, the great second precept of the divine law, the "*mandatum novum*" of the New Testament, urges them to a more willing, but, of course, additional contribution.

Then comes the certain fact, that as the poor's rate is first enforced in its entirety upon and from the *occupier*, and as the state of the law, and of the relations generally between landlord and tenant in this country, by imposing no check to a rapacious or a needy landlord, tends to subject the tenant in the immense majority of cases to a rack-rent, or what is very nearly so, and thus creates more than a *set-off* to any possible demand for abatement on his part on account of the landlord's moiety of poor's rate, by him so paid in the first instance,—the *occupier* and the occupier *alone*, has really the burthen of this tax upon him, and the promise of "a more equable sharing of it by the upper classes" turns out to be a *myth* and a delusion.

In his present work Sir George Nicholls, although abating not one jot of his original pretensions to,

"Witch the world with noble *statesmanship*!"

yet is not altogether so frank in stating the grounds of his calculations, (or miscalculations) as in his earlier theses. We read and hear no more of that celebrated position of his, that inasmuch as the voluntary gifts of potatoes or meal given out at the cabin doors of the peasantry to the poor, represented, according to him, a capital of two millions of money, the effect and operation of *his* Poor Law would be to put an end to the waste and indiscriminateness of this mode of relief, and realising by a rate a portion, and only a portion, of the just stated amount in hard cash, to distribute it better, more economically and more efficiently withal, than was possible under the previous or any mere voluntary system of relief! To those who were acquainted with the habits and feelings of the Irish peasantry, and who knew how they used to forecast and prepare for the giving of this relief in kind, by setting out and cultivating a little more ground under potatoes than was likely to be needed for their own supply, and therefore how comparatively cheap and easy

this method of contributing towards the poor was to them, the absurdity of the pretence to lighten their contribution by making them pay in money an arbitrary valuation of what really was not realisable in money, being an almost infinitesimal portion of produce raised by their own voluntary labor, will at once be most glaringly apparent. Its author has evidently become ashamed of it, and so in his present work he is silent on the subject.

Quite of a piece with such speculations and predictions, is that embodied in the paragraphs of our last extract, which talk of changing the system of small holdings for the "better practice of daily labor for wages." The idea of throwing the whole agricultural population of the country upon the, in this country, always uncertain, scanty and fluctuating resource of money wages for daily labor, as their means of support, is too preposterous to need comment. Why, even at this moment, when the gaps, the terrible gaps of the famine and pestilence years are yet unfilled, when the over-pressure, as it was called, of population cannot be said to be felt, when the high prices for agricultural produce and the abundant harvests have increased and vivified for the time the circulation of the country, there are periods and months of inaction and want of employment, and necessarily must be; and if that be the case now, how much worse will not the state of things prove, when the temporary incidents we have enumerated shall cease, as in the ordinary course of nature they must cease, and give way to less favorable circumstances? We may equally dismiss without discussion the concluding part of the extract where he sums up the laudation of his project by promising that it would cause our "bogs and wastes to be reclaimed," "our fisheries to be worked and developed," our "manufactures," that died away under the general impoverishment of the country, to be revived and made to flourish, our general condition to be wonderfully and permanently improved, and our people to be "elevated in the social scale," all by the agency of a legislation under every form and mode of which it has inevitably resulted that the poor, struggling, industrious man is made to pay for the support of the idle, the lazy, and the improvident, and further, for the maintenance of a numerous and costly staff, or *Bureaucracy*, to watch and rule the prison-like workhouses where the really deserving destitute are mixed up with the worthless and the vicious—the honest with the rogues—the chaste and orderly with the lewd, the

unbridled and the shameless, and generations of boys and girls are growing up without family-ties or anything to bind them to society, but rather with evil feelings in their hearts at the restraints and harshnesses they are subjected to, and the grudging nature and manner of the support they receive.

His Second Report, that of November, 1837, was in its main features nearly identical with the first, and confirmatory of its views and proposals. It was thrown more into the form of an answer to objections than its predecessor, but the objections are, as often happens in such cases, not very candidly, or at least very fully stated. We pass to the more precise matters of distinct and positive predictions and tested statistics.

The following was an estimate prepared by Sir George Nicholls during the progress of the Poor Relief Act through Parliament, of the expense of working it as a law :—

Assuming that there will be a hundred Unions, each having a Workhouse capable of accommodating 800 persons, the paid officials, with their respective salaries in each Union, may be stated as follows, viz. :—

Clerk of the Union, from	...	...	60 to £80
Master and Mistress „	...	...	60 „ 80
Chaplain „	...	...	50 „ 80
Medical Officers and Medicines, ...	...	...	100 „ 150
Auditor „	...	...	20 „ 30
Returning Officer „	...	...	10 „ 20
Collector „	...	...	60 „ 70
Schoolmaster and Schoolmistress	...	...	50 „ 80
Porter and Assistant „	...	...	20 „ 30
Other Assistants „	...	...	20 „ 30

Total, from £450 to £650.

For the hundred Unions, this would give a total expenditure in salaries of from 45,000*l.* to 65,000*l.* per annum; or say, 55,000*l.* on an average.

In addition to the above, it may be further assumed, that on an average throughout the year, the workhouses will be three-parts full, and the total cost of maintenance, clothing, bedding, wear and tear, &c., will amount to 1*s.* 6*d.* per head per week, which is equal to £3 18*s.* or say £4 per head per annum; this will give an expenditure of 240,000*l.* per annum, for maintenance, &c., in the hundred Unions, which, added to the 55,000*l.* for salaries, will make a total charge of 295,000*l.* annually, for the relief of the destitute, under the provisions of the bill.

The money for building the workhouses is to be advanced by Government free of interest for ten years; and is to be repaid by annual instalments of five per cent. The cost of the workhouses has been stated at 700,000*l.*, but assuming it to amount to 1,000,000*l.*, this

would impose an additional charge of 50,000*l.* annually, for the first 20 years, (exclusive of the interest after the first ten years on the then residue of the principal), which, added to the above, makes an aggregate charge of £345,000 per annum.

Before proceeding with our author to review at least summarily, the successive annual Reports of the Poor Law Commissioners for Ireland upon the working of his law, from 1840, when the first Report was made, up to the Report of last year, it will not be considered out of place here to note one striking instance of the failure of our author's predictions, the testimony to which failure we quote from the Report of the Commissioners for taking the Census of Ireland in 1851. Sir George Nicholls had promised that his Poor Law should at any rate prevent deaths from starvation. Not in any intentional reference to this, but as incidental to their subject, the Irish Census Commissioners say in their Report, Part V, "On the Tables of Deaths," page 253—

In every country, even in England, with all its wealth—with its workhouses and its long established public institutions—deaths from starvation are annually recorded. The deaths registered in England from privation of food, were, for many years, above 100 annually; and even in the year 1853, as many as twenty-eight persons perished there from want. In the Irish returns made in 1841, only 117 deaths were registered from starvation for the ten years prior to that period; but from thence, according to the registration made in 1851, deaths from this cause *began notably to increase*, from 187 in the year 1842, to 516 in 1845. After that period deaths attributed to starvation increased rapidly so as to amount to 2,041 for the year 1846; in 1847 they reached the great height of 6,068; and in the two following years, 1848 and 1849, taken together they amounted to 9,395. In 1850 they were even more than in 1846, and during the first quarter of 1851 as many as 652 deaths attributed to starvation were recorded. The total deaths returned to us under the head of *starvation* amounted to 21,770, the sexes being in the proportion of 70.6 females to 100 males.

In our judgment the facts just stated would alone be enough to exemplify and expose the fatal miscalculations and delusions under which the Poor Law was introduced into Ireland. One of the chiefest and most confident assurances given us at the time of its introduction was, that it would at any rate put an end to the shocking recurrence, year after year, of deaths from absolute want. Yet as we have just seen and are told by the Census Commissioners, "these deaths increased notably after 1841,—amounting in the *succeeding year 1842*

to nearly double what they had been in *the whole ten years* from 1831 to 1841, and in 1845 to between *four and five times* that amount”!

After that came the famine, and of course much is to be allowed in that score—still the fearful figure of 6,058, for the year 1846, when the famine had only just begun, and the resources of private charity were not yet strained,—and that of 652 for only the *first quarter* of 1851, when the circumstances of the country were improving, and the great previous waste of life, the enormous emigration, and the large extension of the workhouse system, ought, one would have thought to have reduced very low the numbers of those obnoxious to so horrible a fate,—these speak trumpet-tongued of the real inefficacy of the Poor Law for its most obvious and loudest proclaimed purposes, and of its sad efficacy in drying up the previously abounding natural channels of benevolence.

The First Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners was dated the 1st of May, 1839, and necessarily contained little beyond an account of the steps taken preparatory to bringing the new law into operation. The Second Report dated 30th April, 1840, brought the proceedings towards this end down to the 25th March, in the last named year, by which time the number of “Unions” declared was 104.

“It was thought (says Sir George Nicholls, p. 245) that thirty more Unions would probably complete the number into which it might be desirable that the country should be arranged. This would be a greater number than was at first contemplated, but a strong desire for small Unions was found to be very general; and this desire added to the want of convenient centres and other local circumstances, led to an increase of the number beyond the original estimate.”

Sir George Nicholls has omitted in his summary in the present work, of his first Report, that portion of it in which, with his usual unhesitating confidence, he pronounced that *eighty* workhouses would be amply sufficient for all the requirements of Ireland. In the foregoing extract it will be seen how gently he lets himself down, and how anxiously he endeavors to cover the gross miscalculation.

The Third Report, dated May 1st, and reporting up to the preceding 25th March, 1841, announced that 127 unions had been declared, and 115 workhouses were either built or in process of building. The number of inmates in the South

Dublin Workhouse on the 25th of March was 2,080, and in the North Dublin the number was 1,837. Something of a clue to the extraordinary increase before noticed, in the number of deaths from starvation, may, for at least the period at which the third Report was made—1840-41—be found in the circumstance mentioned by our author at page 261, where remarking on the extraordinary influx of paupers into the newly opened Dublin workhouses.

Even after the first influx of mendicity paupers had ceased, there was a great pressure for admission, on which account a *cautionary letter* was addressed to the guardians, recommending they should at one time select only such a moderate number, 'as could be *conveniently* cleansed, classified, placed in their proper wards and registered in course of that and the following day,' and that likewise the visiting committee should report as to the condition of the inmates, and whether they had been disposed of in accordance with the regulations,—previous to further admissions taking place on the days fixed for the purpose."

Thus "convenience," and "regulations," and inspection and reports of "visiting committees," and other red tape formalities, were to be *first* considered, and when they had had ample room and verge enough, *then* the business of saving life was to be gone on with. No doubt it was great perverseness on the part of some of the starving applicants to die during these delays. No doubt these regulations, &c., were all "very proper," and doubtless necessary also for the "good ordering" of the workhouses, and Poor Law Commissioners are the most unfortunate of men, that human nature will not always work in the grooves, and be dealt with by the rule and square which *they* so scientifically and ingeniously arrange for it and would adapt it to!

The Report for 1842, bringing the account of proceedings down to the 1st of May in that year, announced the completed division of Ireland into 130 unions, and the opening of 81 workhouses. A second miscalculation of our *infallible* author began now to be exposed. The "one million sterling" at which he estimated the cost of building workhouses for Ireland, had already to be supplemented with a loan of £150,000, and that too common and constantly recurring incident of the workhouse system, the mortality of young children, had already begun to shew itself in an alarming manner.

On the 1st of January, 1842, workhouse relief was shewn to be

administered in 37 unions together, to 15,246 destitute persons, at an expense of £110,277. These figures had respectively increased as follows on the 1st of January, 1843, as shown by the 5th Report of the Irish Poor Law Commissioners presented in 1843, viz., ninety-two unions at work, supporting 31,572 paupers, at a cost of £281,233.

In his notice of the Sixth Report, 1st of May, 1844, (page 290-294) Sir George Nicholls, faithful to his self-imposed task of lecturing as well as legislating for us, mere Irish, proclaims that in his opinion the agitation for the Repeal of the Legislative Union, then and for some years previously and subsequently in operation, "diverted the people from their legitimate and necessary occupations, excited jealousy and ill-feelings towards England, inculcated distrust of the government (!) weakened the authority of law,—and incited to a resistance of whatever was established, *including of course the Poor Law*"!!! We leave the Repealers to answer these grave charges coming from so exalted and important a source. It was doubtless only his characteristic modesty which made him omit the additional charge of not sufficiently recognizing the blessing conferred upon Ireland by having her economic interests confided to the legislation of such a man!

The following figures we collate from his detailed remarks on the period 1841-1846, being that intervening between the first regular coming into operation of the new law, and the first serious development of the Famine.

	No. of Work-houses open.	No. of In-mates on that day.	Total Expenditure of the year.
On the 1st of January, 1841	4	5,468	£37,057
" " 1842	37	15,246	110,277
" " 1843	92	31,572	281,233
" " 1844	106	33,510	244,374
" " 1845	113	39,175	270,000
" " 1846	123	42,000	316,026

Although in the above table the *total* expense for the year just expired is stated in each case, it will be seen that the numbers given of the inmates of the workhouses are merely the numbers in each *on the first of January* in each year, and not

the total number relieved *during* the year. In reference to the latter it is sufficient to state, that in the year from 1st January, 1842, to the first of January, 1843, the total number relieved was 56,000, and in the year 1845, 114,205 persons were relieved. The average cost of the paupers in the latter year was 1s. 5½d. for maintenance and 2¼d. for clothing, making altogether 1s. 8d., that being 2d. more than the original estimate, viz. 1s. 6d. weekly charge for each pauper.

The succeeding six or seven years of the History of Poor Laws in Ireland form an exceptional period; as the extraordinary Famine, and the extraordinary measures hastily *caught at*, as it were, and adopted to meet it, of course disturbed all previous calculations, whether of our author or of any body else whomsoever, and their operation and effects cannot be gauged and judged of by the ordinary rules whereby to test the efficacy or otherwise of a particular legislation. We therefore shall pass over them as more properly belonging to the sad and fearful history of the terrible visitation then sent upon the country, than to that of Poor Laws. It was a time when, whether Poor Laws existed or not, special and peculiar efforts towards providing means to save life should have been made; and as none of its disasters or blunders can be fairly charged to the account of Poor Laws, so neither can any argument in favor of those laws be derived therefrom, unless all logic and reason be violated by arguing from the particular to the universal, from the extreme case to the ordinary and normal.

We shall therefore leap over those years, and come to Sir George Nicholls' review in 1853, of his handiwork, in a letter dated from Dublin on the 16th of September in that year, and addressed to his patron, Lord John Russell. Before proceeding to give that letter, which will be found at page 399 of the work before us, we have to make the passing remark that, up to 1846, besides several controversies in various parts of the country on the subject of the size of Unions, and of Electoral Divisions—matters that have been hotly disputed upon since and are at this moment exciting a great deal of attention as we shall presently have to notice—much dissatisfaction had existed on account of the mortality of children in workhouses, the separation of families, a measure which, however considered essential in such establishments, is peculiarly repugnant to the warm family feelings of our poor people,—and the increasing burthen of a young population growing up without social ties of any kind. The

latter evil it had already been proposed to alleviate by a Government regulated emigration, to be provided for out of the rates. The Act, first and second Victoria, chap. 56, the original Irish Poor Relief Act of Sir George Nicholls, in sections 51 and 52, empowered Poor Law Guardians, with the consent of the rate payers of any electoral division, to raise and apply to the emigration to the colonies of poor persons belonging to that division, a rate of 1s. in the pound. Sir George Nicholls' own plan in this as in other respects, was to have made the provision applicable to the entire Union, not to be applied in detail to electoral divisions, but the latter having been substituted in the House of Lords, it was found impossible to work the provision, till the amendment act of 1843, the sixth and seventh Victoria, chap. 92, further amended by the tenth and eleventh Victoria, chap. 31, did away with the restriction to electoral divisions in the raising a rate for emigration, and enabled the guardians to levy it off the Union at large. The first of these acts allowed persons three months in a workhouse to be "emigrated," (if we may use the new *verb passive* that is in common currency of conversation in this country) and the second extended the permission to other persons, as well those outside as those less than three months within.

Under these provisions a number of young females (of which sex the overwhelming proportion of juvenile paupers were chiefly found to consist) have been from time to time "emigrated" to the colonies; a proceeding which assuredly no amount of repetition nor any lapse of time, nor indeed any casual amount of what is called good success, can deprive of its startling and unnatural character.

The following is Sir George Nicholls' letter of September, 1853 :—

Eleven years have now passed since I quitted Ireland. In the interim the country has suffered from famine and pestilence, and the poor-law has been subjected to a most severe trial. An examination of the present condition of the country and state of the law cannot therefore fail of being deeply interesting, and I should have been glad to have given more time to it, if other claims had permitted.

The circumstance that now first arrests attention in passing through the country, is the comparatively small number of beggars. Formerly the roads were lined with them, and the traveller wherever he stopped was surrounded by clamorous miserable-looking solicitors of charity. This is now changed. Beggars are rarely seen on the roads, less frequently in the towns; and are not I think on the whole more numerous than in England. The famine may have been *partly*

the cause of this change, but another, if not the chief cause, is the workhouses, where the old and feeble, the sick and infirm poor, are now supported, as the law designed, and as sound policy required that they should be. The workhouses are entirely occupied by this description of paupers, and the very young—there are no able-bodied. The total number of inmates of all classes, is now 84,000, which is about the number I estimated at the outset as requiring to be provided for. The cost of relief is probably, moreover, about the same as I then estimated that it would amount to; and it is not a little gratifying to find that our calculations in these respects are so far verified.

The poor-law appears to be now thoroughly naturalised in Ireland. Your lordship would have been delighted to have heard it spoken of as I have done, and that by persons who did not know me, and who praised it as having been the salvation of the country, exclaiming, "What should we have done without it!" Complaints of the expense are, it is true, sometimes heard, but these are directed rather against the inequality of the charge, than against the general amount, some electoral divisions paying heavily, whilst others pay little or nothing, as is sometimes the case with English parishes.

The changes which have been made, are not I think all of them improvements. Although the sub-divisions of a few of the unions might have been necessary, this, as well as the sub-divisions of the districts of chargeability, has, I fear been carried too far—it has added to the working friction, and swelled the aggregate charge.

When settlement shall be abolished in England, and union rating established instead of parochial, as I trust will ere long be the case, we may hope to see a similar form extended in Ireland, which would bring the law back nearly to what your lordship first proposed, and carried through the House of Commons; and most of the changes which were subsequently made, as well as some of those since added, have in my judgment served to detract from its simplicity, and tended to impede its effective operations.

All the workhouses which I have seen are in good order, and the buildings in perfect condition, and such also I am told is the case with the others. It is not a little satisfactory to find this the case after the complaints that were made of these buildings, which are now as much praised as they were at one time decried.

The most pleasing circumstance connected with the workhouse, is the state of the pauper children, who are there educated and trained up in habits of order, cleanliness, and industry, instead of being left as outcasts, with every likelihood of their becoming a burthen, and possibly a bane to the community. I wish you could have seen with me some of these workhouse schools, and witnessed the benefits they are conferring upon the country. In the rural districts there is little difficulty in getting the boys out to service as soon as they are of an age fit for it, and the girls now likewise generally obtain places, although not so readily; but in the large towns there is still a difficulty with the last; there being proportionately less employment for females in Ireland than in England. A considerable number of girls and young women have been assisted to emigrate within the last three years, and it is very desirable that others should be so assisted and sent from such of the workhouses as are overstocked with this class of inmates.

With respect to emigration, I think that it has been already carried further than was desirable. There appears to be no excess of labourers anywhere, and now in the harvest-season there is evidently a want of hands to do the work, and high wages are paid, as much in some instances as 2s and 2s 6d a-day, but this is *only during the period of urgency*. There is still a want of certain and continuous employment in Ireland, and the people do not rely upon regular and daily labour as a means of support, although they are, I think, approximating to it; and the extensive emigration which has taken place, will no doubt help forward the change. The rage for emigrating, however, continues although the occasion for it has ceased. It pervades every class, and is strongest with the best educated and most intelligent. I found this to be the case with the boys in the workhouse schools. The sharp, active, intelligent lads were all eager to emigrate. It was only the more dull, feeble, and inert who appeared content to remain at home. Yet I know of no country where labour can be applied with the certainty of a better return. Labour is here in fact the thing chiefly needed. It is impossible to pass through Ireland without seeing this, and lamenting the omission.

It is encouraging to reflect, however, that were there less room for improvement in this and other respects, there would be less incentive to exertion; and when the rage for emigration which still prevails shall have subsided, as subside it will, we may with greater confidence expect that the energies and increased intelligence of the people will be turned to the improvement of their own country, in which they will assuredly find a rich reward, and in furtherance of which they will, in the poor-law, have a valuable auxiliary. pp. 399-402.

One of the most amusing points in this amusing specimen of high-flown self-gratulation, is that of the near proportion between the number actually in the workhouses "of all classes," as he says, in 1853, and the number which in 1836-7 he calculated as the probable amount "requiring to be provided for!" The effects of the famine and emigration are altogether ignored, as also the evident fact that but for their tremendous operation in diminishing the classes from which the ranks of pauperism are recruited, one more of his "grand mistakes" would have been exposed—not even our author's self-assurance, superabundant as it was and is, having nerved him to assert that he had foreseen and forecast the extraordinary events that were to happen and had shaped his calculations accordingly.

The assertion of the great diminution of beggars may be confidently left to the judgment of our readers, especially of such of them as have seen much of the interior of Ireland. Passing over his remarks on the "naturalisation of the Poor Law in Ireland," (whatever that means,) and on the great discovery that without some species of compulsory assessment like that

under the poor-law, the extraordinary season of distress would have been yet more disastrous—a conclusion that proves nothing but that an extreme case requires an extreme measure to meet it, we come to his remarks about the children in workhouses. Taking leave to deny the success of their treatment in “inculcating habits of order, cleanliness and industry,” qualities that are in a multitude of instances found to be peculiarly wanting in those taken into private employment out of the workhouse; (and so wanting for the simple reason that cleanliness, industry, &c. are inculcated upon them necessarily as *tasks*, and are associated in their minds with the constraint and the harshness of their former places of abode)—we appeal to every right and manly and humane feeling against the coldblooded satisfaction with which he talks, and further recommends the *exportation* like sheep or cattle of “*girls and young women*” far away and for ever away from relatives, friends, and country, to seek their fortunes in the colonies. No doubt this really compulsory and (considering the dangers that beset young females away from their natural protectors and friends,) most cruel and perilous expatriation has been resorted to by various boards of guardians throughout the country, but so has the starvation scale of diet in some unions, and so have other proofs been given by boards of guardians in different parts of the country, of the almost inevitable hardening of the heart and development of selfishness which result from being mixed up with the working of the poor law, more generally, (as is easily conceivable,) among the smaller ratepayers on the boards, but not by any means infrequently among their superiors in wealth and condition. But no matter by whom adopted, or where, or to what extent put in practice, the startling and unnatural and really cruel character of the expedient remains unchanged and undeniable.

We would pray the attention of those who are most disposed to look with approval on Sir George Nicholls’ words and acts, to passages in the second last paragraph of his just quoted letter of 1855. As we read that paragraph it seems to resolve itself into the following propositions, viz: 1st—Emigration has gone too far, and there is *no excess* of labourers. 2nd—Wages are high, but *only during the period of urgency*. 3rd—*Certain and continuous employment is STILL WANTING* in Ireland, and the people “do not *rely* on regular and daily labour for support.” 4th—The extensive emigration, (although the necessity for it has ceased,) *will help forward the change*. 5th—Sir George

Nicholls knows of no country where labour can be applied with the certainty of a better return!!!

We confess to be at a loss to understand the meaning of all this! A not very remote probability may be that it had really no very definite and consistent meaning in our author's own mind. If we are to believe that it had, there remains only to remark, that he has then been singularly unfortunate in the endeavour to convey his meaning to others. If, as he informs Lord John Russell, "Emigration has gone too far, and there is no excess of laborers," what necessity *can* there be for invoking the aid of Emigration to "help forward the desired change" of getting the people "to rely on regular and daily labor for their support"? If there "be still a want of *certain and continuous employment* in Ireland," how *can* the people "be brought to rely for support on *regular and daily labor*"? And since he seems to consider that it was his especial office and mission to lecture and enlighten us, *why has he not explained to us the causes* of this want, and the means of removing them and of supplying to it? The question is one of most grave importance, for if with so reduced a population as at present a serious want of employment, at least of "*constant and continuous*" employment is felt, what will not be the case when population has increased again?

We shall attempt a solution of the difficulty he has not attempted to meet, and if our solution be wrong, by all means let its error be shown, and let him thus complete his task of instruction. To us it appears that the undoubted "want of constant and continuous employment" in Ireland is mainly referable to two causes, viz :—First, the general impoverishment of this country, owing to the large drains of money in absentee rents, surplus revenue (*i. e.* surplus after defraying the very moderate Government Expenditure in Ireland) and payments for imported English manufactures, our own, with a comparatively small exception in Belfast, being long annihilated. Second, the insecurity of tenure under which our farmers hold their lands. They are driven to the practices of hoarding, or investing in savings' banks, &c., because if they were to expend their monies in improvements, (whereby additional employment would of course be given in the best and most natural way to the labouring population,) they could not depend on being allowed to reap the profits. The present state of the law between landlord and tenant is notoriously such, that the man who lays out his

capital in improving his farm, does so indisputably at a risk and most commonly at a certain loss; as in the vast majority of cases either his rent is raised at once upon him, or his farm given to the best bidder without any compensation to him. And it is equally notorious that there is no prospect of procuring an amendment of the law, as the extravagant demands made on one side, the obstinate resistance of the other, and the natural very great difficulties of the question itself, have conspired to deprive us of hope.

Whether Sir George Nicholls' absolute silence on these points, a silence remarkable throughout his works, be the result simply of what the French term "*une ignorance crasse*," or of a reluctance to speak what, to his employers and fautors, are doubtless unpalatable truths, we will not stop to consider, but turn, ere we conclude this paper, to a few statistics illustrative of what may be called the *mechanical* working of his Poor Law. We give along with them a few similar collections of figures for England and Scotland connected with the Poor Laws there.

The first of these tables is exclusively a statement for Ireland, beginning with the Poor Law year, ending September, 1845, at the very commencement of the Famine, and contrasting the then existing state of things with that in the twelve months ending 31st December, 1849, when the famine and distress may be said to have reached their culminating point. The comparison is then carried on to the 12 months ending 31st December, 1855, when the visitation was past away, and things had returned to something of a normal state.

Years.	PAUPERS.		Maintenance and Clothing	Salaries and Charges.	Other expenses as Law suits, &c.	Total Expenditure
	In workhouse	Outside.				
15th Sept. 1844 to ditto 1845. }	74,665	No out-door relief in 1845.	£ 159,827	£ 30,892	£ 42,034	£ 292,733
1st Jan. to 31st Decem. 1849. }	932,284	1,210,482	£ 1,476,898	£ 700,753	Not specified	£ 2,177,651
Ditto 1855	269,794	35,432	£ 437,544	£ 247,715	"	£ 685,259

Hence it appears that salaries, and other expenses of the Poor Law system, amounted in 1845 to fully one-half of the sum

actually expended in *maintenance and clothing of the poor*; and that in 1855, the next *normal year* in the foregoing table, they amounted to a good deal *more* than one-half. And this is the result and *proof* Sir George Nicholls promised of the superior *economy*, according to him, of a system of *legal relief* over that of voluntary charity!

The following are the statements for England in the years 1852 and 1856 respectively, and subjoined is a similar one for Scotland :—

Years,	Paupers relieved in the Workhouse.	Ditto outside.	Total number	Expenditure.
1852	106,413	728,011	834,424	£4,897,685
1856	125,597	752,170	877,767	£5,890,041

SCOTLAND.

1852	99,637	46,601	146,338	£535,863
1856	100,500	42,863	143,363	£611,785

Thus in the three countries the inevitable tendency of Poor Law expenditure towards increase, and an increase disproportioned to any increase in the number of paupers relieved, is plainly visible. In England, with a four years' increase of paupers amounting only to 32,000 (on a total of 878,000), the increase of expenditure is one million! And in Scotland, with a positive *decrease* in the number of paupers, there is an *increase* of £80,000 in the expenditure!

In Ireland, as it will be seen by reference back to the first of the foregoing tables, that whereas on a population in 1845, of 8,300,000, we had only 74,665 paupers, costing the country £292,733—we had in 1855, on a population of *six millions*, no less than 305,000 paupers, costing us £685,259.

That this country is not quite so content with his Irish Poor Law as Sir George Nicholls would persuade his English readers,

is sufficiently evident to all who read the Irish provincial papers. These latter constantly teem with complaints of its pressure, the extravagance of the expenditure under it, and the arbitrary and injurious interferences of the Head Commissioners in Dublin. The metropolitan unions, (North and South Dublin,) have their own particular grievances, which they have abundant opportunities of proclaiming. The general body of Poor Law Guardians throughout Ireland have, within the last few weeks, made a special occasion of their own, for proclaiming those matters of complaint which are common to them all. The following extracts are from the newspaper accounts of their proceedings, and although, as inevitably happens in such large and mixed assemblages, there was a want of definiteness and precision in the representations ultimately agreed to, and an omission of many important matters for the sake of unanimity, a perusal of these brief extracts will be found to support our assertion, that the Poor Law does not sit so easy upon us as our author declares :—

PROPOSED AMALGAMATION OF POOR LAW UNIONS—DEPUTATION TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

A deputation of poor law guardians, appointed at the general meeting of guardians, held on the 30th of January at the Commercial Buildings, relative to the amalgamation of unions, and the reduction of establishment charges, waited yesterday upon the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Castle. His Excellency, who was attended by Colonel Larcom, Mr. F. Howard, and the A.D.C.'s in waiting, received the deputation at one o'clock in the Presence Chamber. The following gentlemen were members of the deputation :—

J. L. W. Naper, Samuel Vesey, D.L., county Tyrone; A. O'Reilly, D.L., county Cavan; R. T. Truell, J.P., D.L., county Wicklow; A. S. Hussey, D.L., county Meath; R. H. Beauchamp, V.C., Clare; Fitzstephen Dwyer, J.P., Borrisokane, county Tipperary; W. O'Mahony, Youghal, Cork; Thomas M. Commins, J.P., Cork county; George Greene, V.C. Clonmel; Wm. Gilbert, Rathdrum; James Coates, D.L., J.P., county Down; John Wingfield King, D.L., J.P., Sligo; John Blundell, Bart., county Kilkenny; James Harden, D.L. and J.P., county Armagh; F. A. Knox Gore, Col. Lieutenant of Sligo; E. K. Tennison, Lieutenant of Roscommon; A. H. Stritch, J.P., Longford; John J. Sullivan, Limerick; G. A. Boyd, D.L., Middleton Park, Westmeath; Henry Masters, Lieut. Colonel, Longford; Lord Dunally, D.L., Kilboy, Nenagh; John Bayly, D.L., Dobsborough, Nenagh; Wm. S. Trench, county Monaghan; John P. Byrne, county Dublin; Sir Richard Levinge, Bart.; P. Creagh, H. J. M'Farlane, Captain Lindsay.

The deputation having been introduced, J. L. Naper, Chairman of the meeting, addressing his Excellency, read the following memorial :—

"To His Excellency George Frederick William Howard, Earl of Carlisle, K.G. Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

"The Memorial of the Deputies appointed by the Poor Law Boards of Guardians in Ireland, assembled at a meeting held in Dublin on the 30th Jan., 1857,

"Sheweth—That memorialists having met in Dublin to consider the existing evils in the administration of the poor laws in this country, and having conferred together, we beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to the following circumstances:—

"That there is at present a superabundant and very unnecessary amount of indoor accommodation, exceeding, by about four times, what is required, and this at a period when not only pauperism but the population is on the decrease, there being only 53,000 inmates of workhouses in the 163 unions in Ireland, being one-fifth of the number in 1851, the number then being 250,000. And whereas in 68 unions there are only 8,625 inmates; the establishment charges in these unions alone amount to over £58,485 per annum, the greater portion of which sum might be saved to the country by an amalgamation in some cases and by the reduction of establishment staffs in others.

"Under the foregoing circumstances, the law obviously requiring amendment, we beg leave to request your Excellency to apprise the government of the necessity of applying some remedy by legislative enactment to the evils of which we complain."

Mr. A. O'Reilly remarked that the great point at present was to reduce the excessive establishment expenditure. When the war was over the war establishment was reduced, and so when the necessity for a large poor law machinery in workhouses, was at an end the expenses should be reduced.

Mr. Dwyer said that from the way the children were brought up under the present system in the workhouses they neither made good labourers nor good soldiers.

The Chairman, Mr. Naper, checked the further ebullition of such complaints as those of Mr. O'Reilly and Mr. Dwyer, by reminding all present that for the sake of unanimity they had, at their previous meeting, agreed strictly to confine themselves to the statements of the memorial.

There is one fearful consideration connected with the operation of the Poor Law upon which we have not as yet touched, and which we have not now either the space or the desire to enlarge upon. It is that of the demoralisation of young females in the workhouses. Virtuous honest girls are thrown into the company and close companionship of the most depraved and wretched of their sex, and contamination too frequently follows. Add to this, that officials and even guardians of the workhouses have been known to have abused their position and opportunities, to gratify their vilest passions among the unfortunate

female inmates. And not only in Dublin, but in many work-houses in various parts of Ireland it is well known that procuresses for houses of ill-fame have gone in for the purpose, (in a number of instances only too successfully accomplished,) of recruiting among the young female paupers for the infamous establishments to which they themselves belonged, or by which they were employed !

The conclusion we would come to upon all this is, that Sir George Nicholls has been at least premature in sounding the note of triumph, as he does in the work before us, upon his Poor Law for Ireland. It has *not* delivered us from beggars, it has increased enormously the exactions from us towards the support of pauperism. It is year after year becoming in itself more costly. It is rearing up in the workhouse young generations without one kindly tie to bind them to society, but rather with rancour towards it in their hearts. It expatriates or demoralizes too many of the young females who are abandoned to its tender mercies. It hardens the hearts of the rate-paying classes, and creates evil feeling between them and the increasing class of recipients of relief. And we almost feel as if mocking the real impoverishment of our people if we allude even in passing, to the total and utter failure of Sir George Nicholls' promises of abounding and overflowing manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural prosperity, all to be brought about by the magical agency of Poor Laws ! Truly the "Case of Ireland" is sad, not only as regards the old grievance of Molyneux's time, "her being bound by acts of Parliament in England," but as having one of the most difficult and intricate points of her legislation made over as a hobby, and a matter of rash and random experiment, to a puffed-up, hard-headed theorist and sciolist in political and social economy, like Sir George Nicholls !

ART. V.—THE FRENCH OPERA AT PARIS.

1. *Petits Mémoires de l'Opéra.* Par Charles de Boigne. Paris, 1857.
2. *Histoire du Théâtre de l'Académie Royale de Musique en France.* A Paris, 1757.
3. *Musical History, Biography and Criticism,* by George Hogarth, 2 Vols. London, 1838.
4. *Memoirs of the Opera,* by George Hogarth. Richard Bentley, London, 1851.

In these our days, and amongst this our people of habitués of the Italian opera, when the legitimate drama is at a discount, and Shakespeare is laid aside for the quatrains of Italian *improvisatori*, it must be a very difficult task to cause to be appreciated, the early efforts of the French to establish a national representation of theatrical music amongst themselves. Notwithstanding the talents of Balfe and Wallace, and numerous others, our own English opera has been completely thrown into the shade; it is not the *ton*, it does not possess the foreign twang, and must yield to the imperative mandate of fashion. In nothing are the English so slavish to conventionalities, as in their theatre-going; not that we mean to say, the music of these foreign performances may not be superior to many of our own, but out of every hundred spectators there are not perhaps two, who understand the meaning of the words, or can follow the singer through his part. A blind subservience to a public furor hurries them on, and they sit out the evening with open eyes and mouths, catching at the pantomimic gestures of the singers, and now and then recognizing an *aria*, which they have most probably picked up from the barrel-organ of a strolling Savoyard. There is unfortunately very little encouragement given to the improvement of native talent in this direction, and the consequence is, that we are immeasurably inferior in our musical knowledge, tastes, and capabilities, to every nation in Europe, except, perhaps, the Spaniards. In Germany long since, musical universities and academies have been established, which by a regular system of education, train up professors and develop native talent, while in all parts of the Continent, it is considered as necessary a part of polite learning to be instructed in the first principles of the musical art, as it has been in these countries, to be somewhat

proficient in Greek, Latin, and a little mathematics. It is to be admitted, however, that of late the tastes of our people have been very much improved in this direction, and especially in this our city of Dublin, where so many Concert, Glee, Madrigal, and other musical societies have sprung up, and promise to humanize the rough elements of our national character.

Italy has been the mother of the nations of modern Europe in most of the arts, which embellish the life of man in those ages. Painting, Sculpture, Poetry, Music, the Drama, and finally, the Opera, have all had their infancy in her realms, when the dawn of civilization had dissipated the darkness of the middle ages, and since then they have been propagated from clime to clime, from her as from a centre. As modern comedy and tragedy owe their origin to the representations of sacred mysteries in public, in booths, at fairs, and markets, so the opera was initiated in Florence about the year 1449, by dramatic pieces with musical interludes, in which the lives and actions of the patriarchs and saints were held up to an admiring audience. Subsequently profane subjects were introduced, as for instance, a comedy called *La Calandra*, which was got up by the Cardinal Bernard de Bibienne for the amusement of the Pope Leo X. at Rome, under the direction of one Balthazar Peruzzi, in the year 1516. The *Orfeo* of Politian is also referred to somewhat about this date. But these performances only resembled our ballet operas of the present day, with occasional *arias* introduced, the recitative not being sung. The application of harmonized music to the recitative, has been attributed to two authors, with rival claims to invention, Ottavio Rinuccini of Florence, and Jacopo Peri, who brought out a musical drama called *Dafne*, in the same city in the year 1597. At Rome the first operatic performance entirely sung was produced in 1600, entitled "*il rappresentazione dell' Anima e del corpo*," in which the personages were allegorical. The favorite subject of all the early authors, seems to have been the mythical adventures of Orpheus, as appears by the *Orfeo* of Politian, Rinuccini, Monteverde, and others, and which was introduced subsequently in various shapes on the French stage. The orchestra of this period was of a most original description, consisting of the viol de gamba, an instrument which approached in construction the violoncello of our days, the harpsichord, ancestor of the piano, and guitars and flutes, all of which were played behind the scenes, forming but a very weak accompaniment to the singers.

The Oratorio also, the progenitor of the opera, was brought to some degree of perfection in this age, particularly by Alessandro Stradella, whose fame as a musician was fully established at Venice by his "*San Giovanni Battista*," and whose romantic adventures and death deserve some notice here. His renown as a musician caused him to be engaged by a Venetian nobleman, to instruct a young lady named Hortensia, whom the Patrician had inveigled from her family. The lady preferred the *professore* to the noble, and the pair fled to Naples, and subsequently to Rome. Here they were traced by two assassins, sent by the Venetian to avenge the insult and dispatch Stradella, and who entered a church, where the musician was conducting an oratorio, with the determination of accomplishing their fell purpose. Such, however, was the beauty of the music, and its ascendancy over the minds of the assassins, that they relinquished their design, and even discovered the whole plot to Stradella, advising him at the same time to fly to safer quarters. He repaired to Turin, and put himself under the protection of the Duchess of Savoy. Two other villains, however, were hired, and succeeded in leaving their victim in an apparently hopeless state in the ducal palace. Still he recovered, and the Duchess, in order to remove all further possibility of separating the lovers, had them publicly united at her court, and constantly guarded within its precincts. The vengeance of the Venetian did not yet slumber; he despatched another brace of murderers in pursuit, and after some years, when Stradella was obliged to go to Genoa on some urgent affairs, they succeeded in stabbing to the heart the luckless pair, as they lay sleeping one early morning in each other's arms. This occurred in the year 1670, and is a striking trait both of the Italian love for music, and the Italian love for revenge, still subsisting at the present day.

Rinuccini had come to France in the suite of Marie de Medicis, and laid the foundation of an Italian company at her court, in the year 1577. Ballets were the principal performances at this period, one of which was brought out at the marriage of Monsieur de Joyeuse with Mademoiselle de Vaudemont, under the direction of Balthasarini, the best violin player of his time, in the year 1581. The Cardinal Mazarin was, however, the first to introduce the complete opera, in 1645, by causing to be represented before the King and Queen at the Petit Bourbon an Italian piece entitled, *La Festa teatrale de la finta Pazzo*, and in 1647 another, *Orfeo à Euridice*, by an Italian company. Three

years afterwards, Pierre Corneille produced a tragedy called *Andromède*, in getting up which great expense was gone to in machinery, dresses, &c. It was played before the Queen Anne d'Autriche, and produced an extraordinary sensation. The whole piece was not sung, but the recitative was intermingled with airs, somewhat in the style of the ancient tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides. Ballets, however, continued to be the favorite amusement of the Court, the verses of them being composed by some of the best authors, and the characters, divinities, heroes, shepherds, and other personages, represented by the young king, Louis XIV., the princes, and the most noble of the courtiers. The troubles of the Fronde interrupted for some time any further attempts to establish a French opera, until the year 1659, when a pastoral piece in five acts, the words by the Abbé Perrin, and the music by Lambert and Cambert, music masters to the Queen, was played at the village of Issy, in the house of the Sieur de la Haye, and subsequently at Vincennes, at the desire of Cardinal Mazarin, before the whole court. This success induced the Abbé to write several other pieces, and led to his obtaining in the year 1669 a patent for establishing academies of music at Paris, and in the other cities of the kingdom. He and his associates subsequently brought out several operas, amongst the rest *Pomone*, which was played in 1671 in the Jeu de Peaume de Bel-air, rue Mazarine, of which an author of the times says: "The scenery was regarded with surprise, the dances with pleasure, the singing was heard with delight, the words with disgust."

A great revolution in French music was now about to be effected by the celebrated Jean Baptiste Lulli, a Florentine, who had obtained the place of superintendent of music to the King. He was son of a peasant, and had received some instruction from a cordelier in music and playing on the guitar, which he afterwards abandoned for the violin, his favourite instrument. The Chevalier de Guise brought him to France for the service of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, in whose kitchen he was for some time *sous-marmite*, under scullion, until one day the Comte de Nogent, hearing him by chance amusing himself with playing on the violin, recommended to his mistress to have him taught by proper masters. At this time the principal band of the court consisted of twenty-four violins, considered the best in Europe, but Louis XIV. having heard Lulli play,

instituted a new band in his favor in the year 1652, and gave them the name of *Les petits Violons*. The different parts of a musical piece were not then performed from regular books, but learned off by heart by the musicians, who should each be individually instructed by the master. Here Lulli introduced his first great improvement, making his pupils play from the book and learn their own parts, so that in a short time he was able to produce symphonies and other harmonised pieces, and brought his band to greater perfection than any of the Italians of his day. He was now appointed superintendent of the king's music, and in the year 1672, a quarrel having arisen between the Abbé Perrin and his associates, the former gave up his privilege of the academy of music, which was granted to Lulli, who caused a new theatre to be constructed near the Palais d'Orleans, in the Rue Vaugirard, called the Luxembourg. After the death of Molière in 1673, the French opera was removed to the Theatre of the Palais Royal, where it remained for a long time. The first piece brought out by Lulli, was that of *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*, a pastoral with ballets, the words by Quinault, in 1672, and was soon followed by that of *Cadmus*. The first female actors and singers did not appear until the year 1681.

Such was the foundation of the French *Académie de Musique* by the famous Lulli, of whom Voltaire says that he "was the father of true music in France." Before the time of this great master, attention was paid only to the first parts of the singing. In the violin parts, the bass and tenor instruments only performed a simple accompaniment, a sort of counter-point, which the players composed generally as it occurred to them, and played without book, and the singers of the same parts followed the same method. But Lulli brought the whole into a regular system, such as is practised at the present day. He was the first also to introduce oboes, trumpets, drums, and cymbals into the Orchestra, and even made use of a whistle in one of the scenes of his *Acis et Galatée*. The words of his Operas were principally written by Quinault, who was an advocate by profession, and considered the best poet of his time, notwithstanding the severe judgment passed upon him by the critic Boileau :

"Et tous ces lieux communs de morale lubrique,
Que Lulli rechauffe des sons de sa musique."

When these two concerted a piece between them, it was

at once submitted to the King, Louis XIV., and his court jury, who decided on the scenes, verses, dresses, and music, and then it was shewn to the Académie Française, of which Quinault was a member. La Fontaine wrote an opera for Lulli, but it was condemned by the whole court, and not allowed to be played.

So great was the favor of Lulli at court, that it raised up many enemies to him, amongst the rest Guischard, who attempted to poison him with juice of tobacco. The king, however, gave him letters of nobility, and appointed him one of his secretaries, to the great annoyance of the high courtiers, who up to this time considered that an honor particularly reserved for themselves. They cut him, and would not receive him into their society until the king insisted, and on the day of his reception into the *confrérie*, he treated the members to the Opera of *le triomphe de l'Amour*. Lulli now neglected the violin so much, that he would not even allow one to be brought into his house, but the Maréchal de Grammont, by a happy *ruse*, managed to get him to play. She desired Lulli to hear one of his valets, Lalande, playing on that instrument, and to give him a few instructions. The lesson began, but Lulli, soon disgusted with the bad performance of his pupil, snatched the violin from his hands, and commencing himself, became so excited by his own music, that he could not be got to stop for three hours.

One of his best operas, *Atys*, created a great sensation at court, and gave rise to a *bon mot* of the king, who, when Madame de Maintenon declared *Atys* to be her favorite, said, "Ah, *Atys* is a happy man." Boileau, at the performance of this opera, asked the box-keeper to put him in a place in the theatre, where he would not hear the words, as though he liked Lulli's music much, he had a sovereign contempt for Quinault's verses. This is but one of the injustices which this bitter critic committed.

Quinault's last opera was that of *Armide*, the last act of which had to be rewritten five times in order to please Lulli. It is still considered a very excellent performance, has been reset by Rameau, subsequently by Gluck, and is still frequently played in France. Molière's *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, and Fontenelle's *Psyche*, and also *Bellerophon*, were brought out by Lulli. The singers of his time were not of such excellence as to need much mention, the two principal female vocalists being La

Rochois and La Maupin. The adventures of the latter are somewhat curious as given by Mr. George Hogarth.

She was born in 1673, and married at a very early age, but soon ran away with a fencing master, from whom she learned the use of the small sword. After remaining for some time at Marseilles, where she narrowly escaped the punishment of burning alive for setting fire to a convent, she went to Paris, appeared on the opera stage at the age of two-and-twenty, and was for a considerable time the reigning favourite of the day. Having on some occasion been affronted by Dumeni, a singer, she put on male attire, watched for him in the Place des Victoires, insisted on his drawing his sword and fighting her, and on his refusing, caned him and took his watch and snuff-box. Next day Dumeni having boasted in the opera house, that he had defended himself against three men, who had attempted to rob him, she told the whole story, and produced his watch and snuff-box in proof of her having chastised him as a coward. Thevenard, another singer of note, was nearly treated in the same manner, and had no other way of escaping, but by publicly begging her pardon, after hiding himself in the Palais Royal for three weeks. At a Ball given by Monsieur the brother of Louis XIV., she appeared in men's clothes, and having behaved impertinently to a lady, was called out by three of her friends. Instead of avoiding the combat, by discovering her sex, she drew her sword, and killed all the three; and then, returning very coolly to the ball-room, told the story to Monsieur, who obtained her pardon. After some other adventures, she went to Brussels, where she became mistress to the Elector of Bavaria. This prince, having quitted her for the Countess of Arcos, sent her by that lady's husband a purse of 4000 livres, with an order to quit Brussels. But this singular heroine threw the purse at the Count's head, telling him it was a recompense worthy of such a contemptible scoundrel as himself. She afterwards returned to the Parisian stage, which she left in 1705. The conclusion of such a life is not the least extraordinary part of it. She became at last very devout, and having recalled her husband, from whom she had been long separated, lived with him in a pious manner till her death in 1707, at the age of thirty-four. Such is the history of this woman, given by Laborde and other writers; and strange as it is, there seems no reason for doubting its truth.

Lulli owed his death to a wound he gave himself in the foot with a cane, as he was beating time to a *Te Deum* performed in honor of the king's recovery from a serious illness in 1687. The court doctors advised him to have the limb amputated, but he put himself under a quack, who promised to save the member, and only produced mortification. His confessor would not give him absolution, if he did not consent to burn a rather licentious opera, which he was engaged composing, called *Achille et Polixène*. It was taken from a drawer and

cast into the fire. One of the Princes of Vendôme asked him, why he had burned it, as he might recover. "Hush," said Lulli, "I have got another copy of it." However, when pronounced beyond recovery, he shewed intense remorse, and stretched himself on a bed of ashes, with a rope round his neck, singing to one of his own airs the words, "*Il faut mourir, pêcheur, il faut mourir.*" After his death the obnoxious opera was finished by another composer and subsequently performed. This famous man was stout in person, dark in face, with a spirited expression. He was much addicted to the table, which predisposed him to the illness from which he died. The chevalier de Lorraine, one of his boon companions, obtained admittance to him on his death-bed on the plea of long friendship. Madame Lulli, in her husband's presence, upbraided him as being the person who made him last drunk, and caused his death. "My dear wife," said Lulli interrupting her, "M. le Chevalier was certainly the last who made me drunk, and if I recover shall be the first to do so again." He left a fortune of twenty-six thousand pounds sterling after him, at least three times the value of the same sum at the present day. His music was very simple, and though the accompaniment was rather thin and weak, it retained possession of the French stage until the middle of the last century, to the time of Rameau. A specimen of his play of *Proserpine* is given in the Harmonicon of 1823. For a good description of the style of actors and dresses of this period, we may refer to a paper of Addison's, in No. 29 of the Spectator.

The principal followers of Lulli up to the time of Rameau, were Colasse, Campra, and Destouches, the former of whom produced an opera, *Astrée*, by la Fontaine in 1691. The author himself thought so little of it, that he told some ladies, who sat behind him during the performance, and who praised both the author and the piece, "Well, ladies, the piece is not worth a farthing, and this M. de la Fontaine, whom you talk of, is a blockhead, he tells you so himself." In fact up to the time of Rameau, no eminent name appears connected with the French Opera except Coupin and Marchand, two great organists, and Leclair, a violinist. A new style of music was now introduced, more elaborate and fuller in the accompaniments and chorus, which promised soon to supersede that of Lulli.

Rameau was born in the year 1683, at Clermont in Auvergne,

and published several treatises on music in his youth, but did not produce any opera until his fiftieth year in 1733, when he brought out his "*Hyppolyte et Aricie*," which at once gave him a triumph and superseded the music of Lulli. Factionous spirit, however, in favor of either of these composers ran very high, and for a long time divided the public and court. An Italian company having come to Paris, and acted in the year 1752 a *Burletta*, *Serva Padrona*, the parties in the contest were changed, and the public divided between the Italians and French, and the feud became so strong that Jean Jacques Rousseau, who wrote his *Lettre sur la Musique Française* against the French school, was burned in effigy at the Opera house door. The Italians were after two years driven from Paris. Rousseau himself produced a piece, *Le Devin du Village*, which has been since reproduced on the French stage, but he got into such bad odour with his orchestra from his imperious manner, that they hung him in effigy. Rameau was a man of a coarse disposition, selfish and very avaricious. He brought out his last opera, *les Paladins* in 1760, and four years after died at the age of 81 years.

During his time, Mondonville composed *Titon et Aurore* in the height of the Italian dispute, when the theatre was divided into two sides, the *Coin du Roi*, the French faction, and the *Coin de la Reine*, the Italian. The author procured the assistance of Madame de Pompadour, by whose orders the pit, before the doors were opened, was filled by the king's household, excluding the other party, so that the Opera was completely successful. He also produced a piece, *Daphnis et Alcimadure*, in the patois of Languedoc, sung by artistes from the south, the musical language of which, contrasted with the French, created a great sensation on the stage.

At the *Opera Comique* many Operas *à ariettes* or ballets, were now represented, some by the famous Favart. He was son of a pastry cook, and made *chansonnier* to Marshal Saxe's army in Flanders before the battle of Rocoux. He married a Mademoiselle Chantilly, with whom the general fell desperately in love. They escaped from the camp before Maestricht during a stormy night, when the bridges of communication between two parts of the army, then in a perilous position, had been swept away. Marshal Saxe was found by one of his officers, Dumesnil, sitting on his bed and bewailing his fate in tones of the most violent grief. The officer thought his anxiety

was running on the misfortune of the bridges, and endeavoured to comfort him by representing that they might be repaired in a few hours. "What," cried the Marshal, "is it the bridges you are talking about all this while? That is nothing—I can put it to rights in a couple of hours. But Chantilly—I have lost her, she has deserted me." He procured a *Lettre de Cachet* from Louis XV., subsequently, and imprisoned Madame Favart in a convent in the country, until she consented to become his mistress. She afterwards appeared as a favorite actress at the *Théâtre Italien*, and died in 1773.

There is an amusing description of the manner of representation of a French Opera at this period, given in his correspondence for 1765 by the Baron de Grimm. "The piece was *Castor and Pollux*. The actors kept singing and dancing alternately, and never to the purpose. It ended with every act, and then had to begin again, till at last Castor was fairly killed, buried, brought to life again, and received into Paradise. To celebrate his apotheosis, the dancers, male and female, took the names of the stars and planets, and danced a *chaconne*, and while the moon, who was called Mademoiselle Preslin, placed herself between M. Vestris, who was the sun, and Mademoiselle Allard, who was the earth, the foot-lights were lowered to imitate an eclipse. This ingenious idea was received with great applause."

Duni, Philidor, the great chess-player, and a few others, preceded Grétry, who composed for the comic Opera some 80 pieces, commencing with *le Huron*, the words of which are by Marmontel. He improved very much the taste for music in France, survived the Revolution, and died full of honor in 1813.

Gluck now came forward under the patronage of Marie Antoinette with the *Iphigénie en Aulide*, and *Orphée*, and was shortly after opposed by Piccini, who, under the tuition of Marmontel in the French language, of which he did not understand one word, composed *Roland*. At the rehearsals of the music, Piccini was thrown into despair by the singers and the band, who could not keep time for a dozen bars together. It produced, however, such an impression on the public, as to revive the old factions of Italians and French, under the names of Gluckites and Piccinistes. The rival authors met one evening at supper at the house of Berton, then director of the Opera, they embraced each other, conversed very freely, and when Gluck became warmed with wine, he turned to Piccini, and

told him, that the French understood nothing of singing, that he was a great man, composed fine music, and thought only of his reputation, but that if he was wise he should think only of making money, and nothing else. They parted very good friends, but the war between their partisans was still maintained as hotly as ever.

Piccini afterwards went to Naples, but fell under the displeasure of the Government there on account of his political opinions, and lost all his property. He obtained leave to return to France, and was about receiving an office from the First Consul, when he expired on the 7th May 1800, at the village of Passy, exhausted by mental labour and bodily suffering, at the age of seventy-two years. In his *Iphigénie en Tauride* a Mademoiselle Laguerre appeared upon the stage in such a state of elevation, that she could not walk, and was supported by her attendant priestesses. She had ruined by her extravagance a prince of the blood and a wealthy farmer general, but was still a great favorite. The audience treated her with the greatest kindness, did not hiss, and between the acts she had time to recover herself and finish her part creditably. She was sent, however, to the prison of Fort l'Évêque by the king, where she remained two days, and expressed great contrition on coming out, repeating the first two lines of her part:—

“O jour fatal, que Je voulais en vain,
Ne pas compter parmi ceux de ma vie.”

She subsequently died from the effects of dissipation in the year 1788, leaving behind her a fortune of £75,000 sterling.

After the Opera house was burned in 1781, the *Académie Royale de Musique* gave concerts at the Tuilleries, and on one occasion imposed on the Gluckistes, a piece announced as a production of Gluck, but really one by Jomelli, and which had been hissed in Italy. It was loudly applauded by the partisans, who finding out their mistake by a whisper passed in the hall, abandoned the field of battle altogether to the Piccinistes and did not again shew themselves. Before this, while M. Vismes was director in 1779, a rebellion arose among the *corps dramatique* against the despotism of the manager. La Fayette had just returned from America, and a congress was formed having at its head the elder Vestris, *le Dieu de la Danse*. One lady, Mademoiselle Guichard, being ordered by the government to dance, replied, “The minister orders me to dance; well—he had better look to himself, lest I make himself dance one of these days.” When this was reported to

the young king he remarked to those about him, "It is all your own fault, gentlemen; if you paid these ladies fewer attentions, they would not be so insolent." She applied for a new and extravagant dress, and was refused; but she gained her point by sending the manager the dress she had, cut into ten thousand pieces. A dancer, Dauberval, and the younger Vestris were sent to prison for their rebellion, the elder Vestris saying to his son as he was taken away, "Go—this is the proudest day of your life. Take my carriage and demand the apartment of my friend the King of Poland; I shall pay every expense." The fracas ended by the *Prevôt des Marchands* being appointed director, M. Visions reduced to be his deputy, and all the Italians in Paris dismissed by the Government.

Gluck had left Paris in 1779, but he was succeeded by another eminent composer, Sacchini. His operas, *Renaud* brought out in 1788, and *Edipe à Colonne* in 1787, obtained complete success. Gluck died in 1787, and his rival, Piccini, generously proposed to perpetuate his memory by the establishment of an annual concert, to consist entirely of his compositions. The warfare between the two parties of which these men were the chiefs, had a most beneficial effect on French taste in music, and contributed more than anything else to raise it above the style of the productions of Rameau. The comic operas of Gretry had the same useful tendency, and were succeeded by those of Dalayrac, whose *Nina, ou la folle par Amour* created a great sensation.

Gossec composed a great number of successful operas which are now forgotten. He was put at the head of the *Conservatoire de Musique* along with Mehul and Cherubini, when that institution was established in 1795, and remained in it until a short time before his death in 1829 at the age of 96 years. "All Paris," says a French memoir of him, "remembers the venerable composer, bent beneath the weight of years, quitting his lodgings precisely at five, to repair to the *Théâtre Feydeau* (he lived at the village of Passy.) He always halted halfway at the *Café des variétés*, and after taking his coffee resumed his course, and was found immediately after the opening of the doors, in his accustomed corner of the pit. Like a veteran, he continued to the last, faithful to the post of his early glories." A short time before his death he suddenly fainted in the street, and when on recovering his senses he was asked where he wished to be taken to, he replied; "to the *Opera Comique*."

Salieri, a pupil of Gluck's, brought out in 1781, *les Danaïdes* is the name of his master with great success, and in 1787 composed the music of *Tarare*, an Opera by Beaumarchais, which had been read to private circles for three years before by its author. It was founded on an eastern tale, the music was considered to be of great merit, and it drew immense crowds, perhaps owing to the political notions mixed up with it, which suited the temper of the times. Another disciple of Gluck shortly followed, the more celebrated Mehul, a Belgian, who was found at 16 years of age hiding in the theatre to hear the performance of *Iphigénie en Tauride*, and was taken in hand by Gluck. He produced many pieces during the Revolution, and in 1806 excluded the violins from the orchestra during the performance of his *Uthal*, substituting violas for them. The effect was dull and monotonous, and Gretry who was present, whispered to a friend near him, "I would give a louis to hear a cricket chirp just now." His master-piece, *Joseph*, appeared in 1816, and is considered to be a work of noble simplicity in its style, and pathetic beauties in its melodies.

We now come to the contemporary era in French music, over which it will be sufficient to cast a very hurried glance, as no doubt every person is more or less familiar with the most celebrated composers of it, and their productions. The most remarkable of these are Cherubini, Spontini, Herold, Auber, Meyerbeer and Halévy. The first was born at Florence in 1768, and produced his Opera *Demopheon* in 1788, which was followed by many others, *les Abencevrages*, his last, coming out in 1813. He was more celebrated for his church music. Bonaparte, when first consul, did not seem much to relish his operas, and once remarked to him, "my dear Cherubini, you are certainly an excellent musician, but really your music is so noisy and complicated that I can make nothing of it." To which the composer replied; "my dear general, you are an excellent soldier, but in regard to music, you must excuse me if I don't think it necessary to adapt my compositions to your comprehension." This reply annoyed Napoleon, for some years afterwards he wanted a *maestro di cavella* and offered the office to Mehul, who suggested Cherubini; but Napoleon replied haughtily, "I want a *maestro di capella* who will make music, and not noise, and he appointed Le Sueur. Cherubini was a director for some time of the Conservatoire, and died in 1841 at the age of 80 years. Spontini's principal work is *Semiramis*, brought out first

in 1808. He, Berton, and Le Sueur may be placed in the same class; their works are now out of date. Boieldieu obtained a somewhat greater reputation; we know his compositions by *la Dame Blanche*, still occasionally produced on the French stage. It is founded on Scott's novel, the *Monastery*, the words by Scribe, and is considered to contain many fine passages. Herold brought out *Marie* in 1826, and *Zampa* in 1831, the latter resembling *Don Giovanni* in its plot. A few years ago it was Italianicised at her Majesty's Theatre in London, and much admired. Auber's Operas, *Fra Diavolo*, *La Muette de Portici* (*Masaniello*), *Les Diamants de la Couronne*, *Le Domino Noir*, and others, are well known to the public, as well as his brilliant style of music, on which it is unnecessary to dwell. Meyerbeer was born at Berlin in 1794, and was the son of a banker in that city. He was a pupil of the Abbé Vogler, a teacher of the old German school, but happily went to Italy, where he improved the severe style of his native country. His *il Crociato*, performed at Venice in 1825, gained him great reputation, and showed that he could combine the softness and flowing character of the Italian with the strict harmony of the German melody. He went shortly after to Paris, and applied himself to the French Opera, bringing out *Robert le Diable* at the *Académie de Musique* in 1831. It will be seen hereafter that it met with immense success. The words are by Scribe, who also wrote the libretto of his next piece, *les Huguenots* performed for the first time in 1836. This composition marks the present taste of the French theatres for horrible exhibitions and massacres, strong choruses and stunning music. *Le Prophète*, which came out in 1848, has equalled its predecessors in reputation, and has been translated and played in Italian and German. It is somewhat gloomy and monotonous in its expression, but the effect is generally grand and dramatic. Halévy has enjoyed a great name in France for many years, founded in the first place on *la Juive* and many comic Operas, *Guido et Ginevra*, *le val d'Andorre*, and others. His *la Tempesta* also produced considerable effect and won fame for its author. Some of those shall be noticed hereafter, as well as the effect produced by them on the Parisian public. The only remaining name is that of Adolphe Adam, whose *Postillon de Longjumeau* is well known, and has become popular in many other countries besides France. He died in the year 1847, shortly after producing his ballet of *la Fille de Marbre*, in which Fanny Cerito danced along with Carlotta Grisi and M. Saint Léon.

The most celebrated male vocalist that France perhaps ever gave birth to, was the famous Garat, who was the son of an advocate of Bordeaux. He had never learned music, and sung merely from ear, but his performances as an amateur delighted even the best judges in the musical world, Piccini and Sacchini his contemporaries. He attracted notice first in 1784, by singing through an entire Opera, not omitting the violin accompaniments and airs of the ballet. Contemporary with him was Chardin, another first rate tenor, and since then Lais and Elleviou became distinguished both as theatrical and church singers. The artistes of our own times will be noticed hereafter, and their merits and characters discussed. It is strange, that Madame Malibran, perhaps the greatest female singer that ever came from France, never devoted herself to the support of the Opera of her own nation, but confined herself exclusively to Italian singing. This perhaps was caused entirely, by her having owed her first great success to her efforts at Her Majesty's theatre in London. We therefore have nothing to say of her performances, as we are confined completely to the artistes of the Académie de Musique.

It would be altogether superfluous, and no doubt wearisome, to give any lengthened account of the different managers, who were placed at various times since its foundation at the head of the *Académie de Musique*, or the numerous orders made at various times by the French Government respecting it. During Lulli's time, as before noticed, after the death of Molière in 1673, the theatre of the Palais Royal was given over to it for its performances. Female actors and singers did not appear on its stage until the year 1681. After Lulli's death, his nephew Fravime obtained a patent from the court for thirteen years, subject to a number of pensions to Lulli's family and others, and subsequently held the directorship for many years. Several persons succeeded him up to the year 1749, when the management was granted by Louis XV. to the city of Paris, whose officers took possession of and sealed up all the stores and appointments. Permission had been given in 1715 to hold balls and concerts in the house, for which purpose, arrangements were made to place the orchestra and pit on a level with the stage, to decorate the sides of the grand hall thus formed with pilasters, arcades, and mirrors, and to hang twenty-four lustres from the ceiling. The first ball was held in the next year on the 11th November, the feast of St. Martin, and, according to the French custom, was repeated every Sunday

until Advent, then taken up again on Twelfth day, continued twice or three times a week until the Carnival. Masks attended, the dancing commenced at 11 o'clock in the evening, and ended at 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning. Such was the origin of the present Bals de l'Opera, which form one of the chief attractions of Paris in the season. In 1763 the theatre of the Palais Royal was burned down, and the Opera was obliged to take refuge in the Tuilleries; but in 1781 the same fate awaited it in its new quarters, and caused it to be established provisionally at the Porte St. Martin. The Government constructed a new building for it in the Rue Richelieu, opposite the Royal Library, in the year 1794. Here it was domiciled up to the year 1820, when the Duke de Berri was assassinated by Louvel, and it was determined to take down the edifice and raise an expiatory monument in its place. This, however, was changed afterwards in 1830 into a public fountain, commemorative of the deed perpetrated on its site. A succession of different systems of management had been imposed by the Government since the year 1776, when six commissioners were named by the king to look after the proper direction of the theatre. In 1790 it fell into the hands of the municipality, and subsequently was given over to the actors themselves, as a private speculation, until 1794, when it was attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Under the Empire the chamberlain of the household had entire control over the management, and with the return of the Bourbons a royal commissioner was appointed, for the special purpose of the supervision of the Académie Royale de Musique. It was again given over to private enterprise with a large subsidy from the state, as will be seen hereafter, until the present Emperor brought it under the immediate inspection of the Government by appointing an administrator general, with a salary of 30,000 francs a year, for the purpose of carrying out its objects.

The building in the Rue Lepelletier, near the Boulevard des Italiens, where the performances of French Operas are now given to the public, was constructed in the year 1820, by the architect Debret. It communicates with three streets, one for private vehicles, another for hired fiacres, and the third is reserved for the use of persons on foot, who form their *queue*, as at all French Theatres under the orders of the police, along the Rue Grange Batelière. Two passages, with a range of small shops at each side, connect it also with the Boulevard.

The front is ornamented with arcades, and a projecting veranda, under which carriages can approach the principal entrances. The interior arrangements are very spacious, the body of the house itself being capable of containing nearly 2,000 persons. The stage is about 45 feet in width by 85 in length, with a space beneath it for the trap and other machinery nearly 35 feet in depth. Its singers and musicians are recruited from the Institution of the *Conservatoire de Musique et de Declamation*, where nearly four hundred pupils of both sexes receive gratuitous lessons, and compete for honors and prizes, preparatory to being ushered before the public at the Grand Opera.

Enough has now been given of the history of the *Académie de Musique*, and of the origin, growth, and progress of the French opera, to serve as an introduction of the reader to a review of the volume, which is placed first at the head of this article. It consists of a series of sketches, covering a space of about twenty years of the most recent period, and is written in that style of *badinage* so acceptable to the Parisian public. The French are most enthusiastic on the subject of their theatres, and particularly of the two which may be called national, the *Theatre Français*, and the *Académie de Musique*, the first specially devoted to legitimate French drama, and the second to operatic productions in their own language. They are justly proud of these two institutions, which has served very much to sustain and keep alive good taste in literature and music amongst the people. It is very much to be regretted, that the same public spirit does not manifest itself in Great Britain, where every day the desire for national dramatic performances is dying out, and the productions of native talent are superseded by translations of foreign pieces, or representations in foreign languages, and by foreign actors. It is incredible the amount of money spent by the Parisian middle-classes in theatre-going, particularly during the finer months of spring and summer, when the whole population may be said to live in the open air. They deprive themselves not only of the luxuries, but also of many of the necessities of life, and become habitués of the different play-houses. Hence may be easily understood the avidity with which such a volume, as is now before us, may be received by the public of that gay capital.

These *Petits Memoires* must have a peculiar attraction for any one who has been acquainted with Parisian life for some years past. They will recall many amusing incidents and stories

circulated at the time, which formed the gossip of the town, and the delight of the *habitués*. They are also useful as a chronicle of the appearances and disappearances of many celebrated actors and actresses, singers and dancers, who held the stage for a while and commanded universal applause, but who are now passed away and almost completely forgotten. They commence in the year 1831, when M. Véron obtained the management. A tale is told of M. Royer Collard, then at the head of the *Division des beaux Arts*, having received 25,000 francs from his grateful friend for having procured for him this appointment. Véron was also editor of the *Constitutionnel*, and as such had allotted to him 152 shares in the Northern Railway of France, on which the premium was 60,000 francs, but which he sold the very evening he obtained them, at a profit of 50,000 in cash, to a man of money, in order to realise them at once. He was a most superstitious man, would never sit at table when the company numbered thirteen, and on one occasion had the son of his coachman dressed up, washed, sprinkled with *Eau de Cologne*, and placed among his guests in order to avoid the hated number.

The Academy of Music at this time had a support from the state of 810,000 francs, or about £32,400 sterling a-year. It must be very difficult for a manager to lose on such a transaction, and consequently, when M. Véron retired in 1835, and took the *Constitutionnel* all to himself, he was reported to be worth some 500,000 francs, or £20,000 a-year. In 1831 the opera of *Robert le Diable* by Meyerbeer was in preparation, the author having given an indemnity against loss of 40,000 francs. It was sung by Dabadie, Madame Devrient, Madame Damoreau, Mademoiselle Dorus, Nourrist, and Levasseur. Meyerbeer was in a state of despair during the rehearsals, but notwithstanding that a lamp-holder fell on the stage with a crash in the second act, in the third scene nearly crushed Mademoiselle Taglioni, and in the last Nourrit and Levasseur disappeared down one of the traps destined for another, the whole went off with such *éclat*, that it laid the foundation of M. Véron's fortune.

The principal *dansuses* were Taglioni, the two Esslers, Duvornay, Roland, who possessed 50,000 francs in diamonds, Coquillard, Le Roux, &c. The *foyer de la danse*, or room in which the dancing exercises are carried on, particularly belonged to them. Here they came every day, their watering cans in their hands, and having sprinkled the floor somewhat,

and rubbed their slippers to it, began the evolutions of the bar leaning on it with one hand, raising their feet to the height of their heads, whirling around and going through all sorts of gymnastics, until they are almost disjoined. This process must be repeated every day, and one lesson passed over will sometime necessitate a constant drilling of a week, before the necessary suppleness is attained. "It is thought generally," says M. de Boigne, "that the *dansuses* at the opera pass their lives laughing, drinking, eating, amusing themselves, and making love. Poor girls! they exist only to work, perspire, eat cold veal, and beg for applause." The admirers of some of the *debutantes* gain their favor by menaces of being hissed by them or their friends, others make themselves ridiculous, making love to a creature who disjoins herself every moment, or flourishes her toe in the face of her *bien-aimé*.

Mlle. Duvernay was a child of the opera, that is, she learned her steps in the government class under the direction of M. Barrez, a retired zephyr. She very soon abandoned him for the more experienced tutelage of M. Vestris, who exercised a species of tyranny over her, but for each attack or insult inflicted by him, she gave him in return a sharp retort. This under-pacha of the opera was understood to prefer grape in a bottle to grape in a cluster, and one day that he remarked to his pupil, "You are wrong, Mlle., in fighting against me, I will smash you. It is the case of the earthen jar against the iron pot," alluding to one of the fables of La Fontaine. "The iron pot," said she, "it is the wine pot you mean;" and this nickname of wine pot stuck to the pacha during the rest of his career. He died at the age of 83 years, in consequence of having seen an advertisement for a dancing master at Calcutta, but that anyone presenting himself should be a chiropodist. Some ten or twelve years ago, might be seen in the *rue St. Eustache*, a huge tooth hanging from a window and under it this legend: "Jean Congo pulls out teeth and gives lessons in dancing at the fairest price." Mlle. Duvernay appeared first in the character of Miranda, in *la Tentation*, and was cast upon the stage from the midst of a witch's diabolical flaming cauldron, to charm the spectators with her youth, freshness, and timidity. She fled from the stage, and the too ardent pursuit of a lover, to the quiet cloisters of a convent, but managed by an anonymous letter cleverly to reveal her retreat, and be brought back to the scene of her triumphs. A Russian admirer presented

her with a casket containing 100,000 francs, which she rejected, telling him to take away all that *ferraille* (metal). Another hearing this said to her, "I would never offer you gold; it is my life itself, which I would be happy to sacrifice to you." She, however, only asked a tooth, which he hastened to present to her, showing her at the same time the space left in his upper jaw. "But, you wretch," cried Miranda, "it was one of your lower teeth, which I asked for," and afterwards sent him back his tooth, which he had reset. She fell in love, however, herself, and attempted poisoning with a decoction of *sous* and vinegar. In 1836 she retired from the opera, is now married, and enjoys a large fortune.

The miseries which these unfortunate *danseuses* undergo in learning their trade, the constant practice necessary to keep it up, the excessive fatigue consequent on the exertions on the stage, are all depicted in the liveliest manner. They pass all their time, when not at the theatre, in endeavoring to invite repose, stretched in an arm-chair or on a sofa. Their food is principally cold veal or poor mutton, their appetite is extinct, and in consequence of the desperate exercise, all the strength and plumpness of their bodies go into their lower limbs, leaving the rest nothing but skin and bone. In fact the Opera is said to be the best collection of bones in France and Navarre. Two species of dancing have been invented, the *balonné*, consisting of bounds and rebounds, flying through the air, which is that practised by Taglioni; and the *taqueté*, the essence of which is vivacity, quickness, spinning and *les petits temps sur les pointes*, the step on the top of the toes, personified by Mlle. Essler. The male dancers are no longer in the great request, in which they were formerly, the principal requirements of them being, that they should be reasonably ugly in order to set off the beauty of their companion, and likewise able to pirouette under a weight of two hundred pounds, so that they may bear several Sylphes poised on various parts of their persons. What wretched slavery these unfortunate people subject themselves to, in order to gain a little public applause!

Marie Taglioni is declared to be the most perfect danseuse, who ever appeared at the opera. Before her time, dancing was only an art of jumping as high as possible, and spinning round like a teetotum. Her appearance revolutionized the *ballet*. Her father was a Neapolitan, her grandfather a Swede. She appeared for the first time at Vienna in 1822, in a my-

thological ballet; "the reception of a young nymph at the court of Terpsichore." Her fame resounded in Stuttgart and Munich, where she added to it new laurels, and at length, in 1827, she obtained an *ordre de debut* at the opera at Paris. Her performance in *la Vestale* dethroned Madame Montessu, the reigning queen, and the first bouquet which ever fell on the stage, was thrown at her feet. In 1832 she created two ballets, *la Sylphide* and *Nathalie*, both of which had enormous success. She paid a visit to Scotland, where the municipality of Perth sent her a deputation requesting her to dance *Nathalie* in the town. It may be well conceived that there were neither actors nor scenery fit to support the performance; her servant Pierre was obliged to submit to have his moustaches shaved off, to render him fit to play the part of a mannekin in the piece, and while the operation was being performed, she kept the attention of the audience engaged by steps and *entrechats*, which she invented at the moment. On her return to Paris, she disappointed M. Duponchel, the new director, who had announced *la Sylphide*, and besides losing the usual receipts of 8000 francs, he was fined 10,000. She complained of an abscess in the foot, which a few days after was completely healed and she danced successfully. The fact was, her father did not wish her to appear immediately after the famous singer Nourrit, who had gone to Italy only the day before her return; she should come out after bad actors or singers, so that the contrast would be the more striking. The Queen's Theatre in London was honored by her for a time, but she soon complained of a swelling in the knee. In 1837 she treated with the opera at St. Petersburg, where she gathered roubles and orations for five years with imperial magnificence. The year 1844 saw her again in Paris performing the *Pas de l'Ombre*, but she was only a shadow of herself. On this occasion one of her friends, Alfred de Musset, wrote the following verses in her album:

"Si vous ne voulez plus danser,
Si vous ne faites que passer
Sur ce grand théâtre si sombre,
Ne courez pas apres votre ombre
Et tâchez de nous la laisser."

There is a dark, unwholesome passage opening into the rue Grange Batelière. At the end of this is a door, which

leads to the lodge of Mother Crosnier, who in her capacity of *conciierge des coulisses*, presided at the private entrance of the artistes of the Opera. She was one of the characters of the theatre, not that she ever appeared upon the stage during her service of 40 years, during which time she had not seen a single opera or ballet performed, had never been absent or sick even once, or received a single reprimand, or asked for leave to absent herself. Every evening she saw defiling before her, the whole company of performers and scene-shifters, backwards and forwards from five o'clock in the evening until two in the morning. Each of the passers by saluted her politely, according to the usual habit of the French, and addressed her, some as *Madame*, others *Mame*, others *Mère* or simply *Crosnier*, but the name of *La Mère*, given to her one evening by the singer Nourrit, appeared to arouse her ire; he did not repeat it. Her cold grey eye watched with the most scrupulous care, lest any foreign element should attempt to gain admission. She gave good advice to the *Figurantes*, and guarded them against the too hot pursuit of their ardent admirers. Once a young gentleman tried to bribe her with a piece of twenty francs to pass a note and bouquet to Mdle. Olympe. When he came back for an answer, she returned him the note unopened, and presented the *Louis* to a beggar girl, who stood in the passage. When each representation was over, she went round the theatre, a dark lantern in her hand, along with an inspector and fireman; visited all the boxes, and saw that the fires were extinct. The fortunes and lives of an immense quarter of the town were in her hands; but they might all sleep in peace, Madame Crosnier was their angel guardian.

Some operas which M. Vèron brought out during his directorship from 1831 to 1835, did not produce much for the strong box. *Gustave III.*, by Aubert, had some success at first, but it speedily fell to a very low level. It owed its first success to the care of M. Duponchel, the sub manager, who although suffering from a swelling of the hip, and confined to bed, sat up, and supported on one side by M. Gère the master dresser, and on the other by the mistress dresser, caused every one of the actors and actresses to defile before him, and exhibit their costumes, and receive his orders. It accordingly was received by the house with great enthusiasm for a time. Cherubini's piece of *Ali Baba* was a clear loss of

50, or 60,000 francs. Its author could not understand how it did not succeed, and attributed this to everything, but the badness of the music. *Don Juan* was well brought out in 1834. Nourrit acted Don Juan; Levasseur, Leporello; Mlle. Falcon, Donna Anna; Mlle. Dorus, Elvira; Mme. Damoreau, Zerlina. No trouble or expense was spared on the appointments, costumes, and decorations; still it did not pay. Mme. Damoreau passed shortly after to the *Opera Comique*, where for ten years she reigned supreme. The Ballet of *la Tempête* was got up for Fanny Essler, who it was expected would make up for the absence of Taglioni. She was looked at with surprise running on the tops of her toes, so lively, supple and active, but she did not conquer the throne of her rival. Fanny Essler was the most ravishing expression of terrestrial sensual dancing, as Taglioni was the incarnation of the aërial and modest. The one pleased the men, the other the women, and *la Tempête* produced much less cash than was expected. *La Juive* by Halévy was the last opera brought out by M. Véron, and it had certainly a good run and full boxes, and the manager shortly after gave up his place, retiring with a fortune of 900,000 francs, some £35,000 sterling.

Two of the most remarkable peculiarities of the French theatres are the *claqueurs*, regular organized clappers, and the ticket merchants. The public in France do not take any trouble about applauding; they sometimes may hazard a bravo, or try a slight hiss, but never go so far as to exercise the right to applaud. Hence arises the necessity for hired clappers. Many of the theatres have endeavored to do away with them, but they were found to be absolutely indispensable. The principal head of the *claqueurs* in the time of M. Véron was Auguste; he was proud of his hands, never disguised them with gloves; his thick whiskers, ring on finger, glaring shirt studs, short trousers, and shorter waistcoat, at once betrayed his calling. Every evening he presented himself at three o'clock at the proper office, received from 40 to 50 tickets, some of which he sold, and with the others passed in his troupe by the *Porte Croisier*, and took up his position at six o'clock. The actors and actresses handed over to him many of the tickets, which were allowed to them, and from one he received in the space of 15 years, value for 55,000 francs. Fanny Essler had occasion to be displeased with *Auguste*, and he was displaced by *Santon* from the Gymnase. The next day

Auguste appeared before the irritated *dansseuse*, begged of her to get him back his place, laying at her feet at the same time a pocketbook, and requesting her to distribute its contents, 30,000 francs, to the poor. The empty pocket-book was indignantly refused, but he regained his place. An angry lover once paid him twenty-five louis to hiss the lady, who despised his addresses; but the *figurante* was applauded in the most vociferous manner. *Auguste* when reproached with his treachery responded, "treachery! call it a stroke of genius, M. Le Comte; I could not hiss Mlle. —, my principles forbid me." His successor as leader of the *claque* was Porcher, about whom an absurd story is told of Alexandre Dumas, having called one morning at his house in a cabriolet, first borrowed from him three louis, and then paid one of them to Porcher's servant woman for a piece of confectionary made at the house, and that this circumstance was the cause of Dumas not being admitted into the French Academy.

The ticket merchants are another necessary evil, and were at one time the same persons as the *claqueurs*. Any one who has approached one of the French theatres during the day, must remember shabby looking men, who importuned him with, "A box, sir, a box, cheaper than you'll get it at the office." This traffic began with authors of pieces, who usually received a number of tickets for friends, and then sold them to the merchants. One M. Armand d'Artois paid for the education of his son with them. Scribe, instead of his gratis tickets, agreed with the management to receive 11½ francs for each time one of his pieces was played. This brought him in a very considerable revenue. In 1832 the ticket merchants, when *Robert le Diable* was brought out, formed themselves into a *queue* or string, as the applicants always do at the French ticket offices under the direction of the police, and having bought up all the tickets, the real spectators could get none. M. Véron, afraid lest the public might suspect him of complicity, endeavored to prevent this traffic, and actually beat one of the merchants, an ex-cobbler, who would not afterwards appear to prosecute before the police. Still various tricks were played to obtain the tickets, hussars, lacquais, provincial ladies were employed to purchase, who were all found out. Now an improved system is adopted; the merchant has a large capital, and purchases from M. le Duc — or M. le Baron — his spare tickets, while he is in the country, or at balls, concerts or other places of amusement. This is not a very aristocratic

course for the noble, but the taste of his wife for lace, crinoline, and diamonds must be supplied in some way, or others will supply it for him. Hence also the cheapness of these tickets. Frequently, however, when there is no demand, these merchants lose very considerably; this is called *boire un bouillon*. On the other hand, the prices sometimes rise enormously, the stalls to 50 or 60 francs, and the boxes to 2 or 300; their fortunes are made. The management have occasionally been obliged to repurchase tickets, with which to supply their friends, and on one occasion, the lady who was thus provided with a box, had been presented by the merchant with a magnificent bouquet. We all know how the music shops in London supply the public. In Italy, in the neighbourhood of the theatres, for a proper consideration, a small key is given, which opens the box or stall, and is redelivered to the proprietor on coming out again. But there are also rogues among these merchants; one of these sold to an English family in 1840, a ticket at a small price, stating at the same time, that the king was going that evening to the opera. The news spread, and the office was besieged, but the statement turned out to be unfounded, and the indignant body of honest merchants sought out the English family, and repaid the money. In this handsome manner was the *entente cordiale* re-established between France and England.

In 1835, M. Véron retired, having sold his privilege for eighteen months to M. Duponchel for 244,000 francs, and the new manager was approved of by M. Thiers, the minister of public works. M. Duponchel, however, had exhausted his pocket, and was obliged to apply to M. Aguado, who took half the receipts and paid 122,000 francs. This latter gentleman had been a major at Ceuta in 1808; served under the French in the Peninsula, was at Victoria in 1813, and subsequently in Paris sold umbrellas and Eau de Cologne of his own manufacture. In 1820, he was worth 500,000 francs, undertook the Spanish loan, and gained enormously by paying regularly. He became then general banker to the Spanish government, and was made Marquis de las Merismas, but never used the title, as he was a younger son of the Conde de Montelirios of Seville, and in Spain younger sons do not bear titles. He was a great friend of Rossini, and a M. de Cases, whose advice in banking matters cost him as much as 600,000 francs at one time. He possessed a handsome chateau called

the *Petit-Bourg*, which was destroyed one fine day by the Orleans railway running through it. As early as 1831, he had joined M. Véron in the management of the opera, supplying very large funds, and presenting many gifts to the poor actors and actresses, one of whom, formerly a man of station, received from him every year a pocket book containing a handsome sum. His son Alexander, an officer in a provincial garrison, had an intrigue with some married lady. The affair was discovered, and the husband furious, but the general commanding sent off the young Aguado to Paris with a letter to his parent, explaining the whole matter. The father did not allow him to remain an hour in the capital, and sent him back again with an injunction not to dishonor his epaulets, and not to kill the husband. The fracas was fortunately arranged.

M. Duponchel's first Opera was the *Huguenots*, which he brought out on the 29th February, 1836. Meyerbeer, the author, had made an agreement with M. Véron to produce it on a certain day or to pay a fine of 30,000 francs, and the day being past, M. Véron, retiring from the theatre, demanded the money and was paid it. M. Duponchel wishing to have the piece, offered Meyerbeer back his 30,000 francs, of which, however, he would only receive 20,000, as 10,000 of the fine had gone into the pocket of M. Scribe, the writer of the words. Besides this, Scribe was entitled to a gift of 1,000 francs on each act, and the opera being one of five, 5,000 francs were added, so that the writer got before the performance a sum of 15,000 francs. Notwithstanding this, another poet, M. Emile Deschamps was engaged to polish up the grand scena in the third act. The performance brought in very large receipts, owing to the admirable singing of Nourrit, Mlle. Falcon and a young girl, Maria Flécheux, who acted the part of a page, and displayed a fine voice and well turned limbs. Unfortunately she was shortly after seized with consumption, and her passing glimpse of fame shut out for ever.

M. Duponchel was not satisfied with having one such good singer as Nourrit, the latter might be incapacitated at any moment by a slight cold, and the public disappointed. He accordingly went about searching for a second tenor, and his friend Armand Bertin of the *Journal des Débats* discovered one, Duprez, who was at that time singing in Italy. *Armide* had been sung by him at the Théâtre Louvois, and Ruolz had written *Lara* for him. The manager, however, did not wish to

engage him, without fully informing Nourrit of his reasons, which satisfied the latter completely, and the two singers became the greatest friends. Madame Duprez, who was also in Italy, and a very poor voice, was also engaged at the request of the husband, at an additional expense of 30 or 35,000 francs. Such was the state of things at the end of March, 1837, when *La Muette de Portici* was brought out. Nourrit came to his stall a short time before the piece opened, was met there by M. Duponchel, who left him shortly after exceedingly well in voice. As he was about, however, to quit the stall, his servant came to him, and throwing his cloak over his shoulders suggested that he should sing his best, as M. Duprez was in the house. This intelligence petrified, almost paralysed, Nourrit. He was suddenly seized with a severe hoarseness, obliged to give up his part, and the next day when M. Duponchel called on him, he appeared to be in a high fever, and demanded to be set at liberty from his engagements. On the 4th of April *les Huguenots* was produced, and he took his leave of the Parisian public, amidst immense applause, which was shared by Duprez. Fanny Essler was at this time dancing the *cachucha*, and the season produced very large profits for the management. Madame Duprez broke down completely in the rehearsal of *Guido et Ginevra*, her engagement was cancelled, but that of Duprez was raised to 70,000 francs.

The Italian Opera had just been burned, its rival therefore, the French one, was in the ascendant. M. Duponchel proposed now to M. Aguado a huge speculation and monopoly, to unite under one management, the London Italian Opera, that of Paris, and their own. M. Viardot was put at the head of the Parisian one, but they could not obtain that of London. On this account the scheme was broken up, and a new contract entered into much to the advantage of M. Duponchel. M. Viardot married his *prima donna*, Pauline Garcia the sister of the celebrated Malibran; M. Aguado made an unfortunate excursion into Spain, from which he never returned, and a law suit was instituted between M. Duponchel and M. Viardot, which ended to the advantage of the former. He revived his old scheme of having two tenors, a companion for Duprez, and was so fortunate as to meet with *di Candia*, now called Mario, the manner of whose introduction to the public, being somewhat peculiar, will be given in the writer's own words, which must necessarily suffer somewhat by a translation.

The attention of the highest Parisian society, of the most aristocratic saloons, had been for some time fixed on a young non-political Piedmontese refugee, whose ravishing voice created a *furor*. His age, birth, adventures, all contributed to his success. The circumstances which had brought him to France were talked of in private, and even in public. He had incurred the anger of his father, a severe and religiously inclined man—though a general—on account of some trifling debts, when a final prank brought his crimes to a climax. Listen and shudder! He was in garrison at Genoa along with his regiment, the Sardinian *chasseurs*. The Italian women are considered soft-hearted; the Genevese are, in this particular more Italian than the others. A well known countess received somewhat lightly the attentions of the young seducing officer. She yielded, but could not do so without publicity; all knew of their intrigue the next day, perhaps the very eve of the day when it commenced. The count beheld and grew enraged—a strange thing in a country where husbands, more complacent even than their wives, see nothing, and do not wish to see anything. He became really angry, this ridiculous husband, on the pretext that he was tired of the caprices of his wife, which numbered as many as thirty-three! What a female Don Juan! It was all very well telling the count that it was not the young officer's fault, that he had only come as the thirty-fourth; that he would have preferred being much sooner; that it was unjust to cast upon an innocent man all the jealousy concentrated on the other thirty-three guilty; it was of no avail. The count had sworn that his forbearance should go as far as thirty-three, no further, and he kept his word. He was inflexible, and being well to do at court, lodged a complaint. The young officer was condemned to join the dépôt of his regiment at Cagliari in Sardinia; this was exile, vexation, death. He protested against this barbarous order; he appealed, but the husband being more powerful than the lover, the order was confirmed. The officer then gave in his resignation; it was not accepted; the authority of his father, supreme at that time in Piedmont, was opposed to the resignation. At twenty years of age one's future happiness, often one's life, is sported with for trifles not worth a few months of exile at Cagliari; the young fool did not yield to what he called an injustice, he hid himself in the very boudoir of the countess. It was a bold stroke, but he knew very well that they would not look for him under the nightcap of his enemy, and on the first opportunity he escaped to France. Soon afterwards he was in Paris.

Paris was an improvement on Genoa. The handsome refugee obtained everywhere a sympathetic reception and consolations of all sorts; he soon forgot his countess near other countesses and marchionesses who had not yet arrived at the fatal number of thirty-three; he lived therefore happily, loving and singing; but it is a dear business, loving and singing in Paris.

La cigale ayant chanté
Tout l'été

Se trouva fort dépourvue
Quand la bise fut venue.

Our officer found himself in as great a state of deprivation as the grasshopper after singing. Was it during the winter or summer? But the season had nothing to do with the matter; he was a man of honour and energy, had heard it a hundred times repeated to him that he held 100,000 francs a-year in his throat, and while waiting for these, he decided with a heavy heart to accept the fifteen hundred francs a month, which M. Duponchel offered him to come out at the opera. This young Piedmontese was no other than di Candia, since so celebrated under the name of Mario. It was not without hesitating for a long time that di Candia put his signature at the foot of the engagement, which was brought to him. At the last moment, when about to change his name, the name of his fathers for that of Mario, the noble and brave young man wavered. Alone in the world he would not have signed, but he had in his own country and elsewhere friends, whose services he had accepted, and his honour revolted at the idea of paying them only by gratitude. At a dinner given by the Countess Merlin, at which assisted Prince Belgioso, M. Duponchel and many friends, di Candia, pressed, maddened by advice and praises, completed the deed, which has obtained for him now such a handsome and honourable fortune. Di Candia did not lose his friends by going on the theatre. Subsequently he was able to return to Piedmont and revisit his family, who opened their arms to the prodigal son, metamorphosed into a great artiste, a *millionaire*, a rather improving circumstance. On the 2nd December, 1838, after more than a year's study under the direction of Michelot, Ponchard, and Bordogni, Mario appeared in the part of *Robert le Diable*. In spite of the emotion, very naturally resulting from so bold an attempt, he placed himself at once in the first rank of singers; and every one coming out of the theatre, thought and said:—'What a delicious voice! But he will not stay at the opera. Mario will replace Rubini.' It was the best eulogium of the young artiste which could be made, and futurity has taken on itself the task of verifying it."

M. Chretien Urhan was the first of the second violins, and the Trappist of the orchestra. He was not devoid of talent, for the Empress Josephine had put him in the class of *Le Sueur*, and he was well taught; but he had mistaken grievously his vocation. He fasted on Fridays and Saturdays, and was never known to raise up his eyes towards the stage, to look at a singer, much less a *dansuse*. One evening, however, he suffered a temptation, and by chance saw Fanny Essler's toe. For one month he put himself on bread and water. An accident happened another time to Madame D—— and the whole house shuddered. This attracted the attention of M. Urhan and he looked upon the stage, but almost died on the spot. Since then he wears sackcloth under his clothes, and languishes under the weight of his sin. The ladies of the *corps de ballet* and the gentlemen of the orchestra send him

glowing billets-doux or cover his music with amorous sketches, substituting for the pious books, which he reads between the acts, the works of Paul de Kock. He is the wretched butt of the orchestra, and all because he has mistaken his vocation.

The stage box on the second row is said to be *en plein chant*, that is, exclusively devoted to the use of the first female singers, who, after they have performed their parts, repair hither to criticise the acting of those still upon the stage. Two rows above this is the *four*, dedicated to the presence of the secondary divinities of the dance, and here Mlle. Héloïse de France, and Mlle. Céleste exhibit themselves to advantage. The life of the former was rather romantic, her death was dramatic. One day last year a Mlle. Clarisse rushed into the Jockey Club in Paris, her hair flying about and succeeded in penetrating to the card-room, where she shrieked out; "help, help! Héloïse is dying." Two or three persons followed her to a miserable garret, in which Héloïse was stretched almost in the agonies of death, self-poisoned by landanum. With the greatest difficulty and by the constant care of an eminent physician, she was restored to life, and returned to her duties at the opera. But a few weeks afterwards she disappeared altogether, and has not since been heard of. Mlle. Céleste's story is very different. A young M. Moncade meets a young girl, with beautiful light hair and in rags on the Boulevard, and interested in her appearance gives her a louis and goes away. The next time he sees her, she is married to his own valet, Joseph; then she appears magnificently dressed at the Café Tortoni in company with some of his friends, and finally she enters the Opera, where she captivates the heart of M. Moncade himself.

The pupils of the Conservatoire have their box on the fourth tier, that they may profit something in their profession by the lessons in singing. Meyerbeer and Scribe have each their quarters, and look down upon the fate of their own productions. M. Rothschild may be also seen there trying to forget the millions which passed through his hands during the day. Even this asylum is not sacred to him; often have unfortunate speculators in shares endeavoured to force their way to him. Once such a person, of a very martial mien, with bristling moustache, passed in spite of the door-keeper, and presenting himself before the banker, demanded to have allotted to him a number of shares, for which he had applied.

M. Rothschild politely requested him to be seated, asked him to remain until he should return, and going out left his tormentor to his own reflections for the rest of the evening. This, however, did not satisfy the bully; he made a similar visit to the capitalist's own house, and flourishing a sword threatened to run him through the body, if he did not accede to the request before made. The banker very coolly replied; "If all those who have threatened to run me through had kept their word, I should have been long since reduced to serve as a pincushion. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you again, sir,"—and he bowed out the bravo, blushing with confusion.

The year 1837 was one of grand receipts at the opera; that of 1838 would have been the very contrary but for the appearance of Mario near its termination. Mademoiselle Falcon had lost her voice, and the piece of *Guido et Ginevra* by Halévy and Scribe had failed. Madame Gras played the principal part; it was considered an ominous thing to have three G's meeting, and Valenciennes, the place where Mme. Gras was born, was said to have produced only lace-makers, not artistes. The same town had contributed, through its municipality, the sum of 1500 francs a year, for the musical education at the Conservatoire of Mlle. Dorus, and was imitated by Versailles in the case of Mlle. Dobrée. Both those ladies carried off the first prizes for singing, but never became *prime donne* at the opera. At one of the representations of *Guido et Ginevra*, a side scene took fire, while the curtain was down, and threatened to roast the players. It was not seen by the firemen, who are always on guard, in fact their captain had been set to sleep by the music. M. Duponchel, however, caught a glimpse of it with his glass, and rushing on the stage amidst the confusion, cried out to the actors: "stand firm at your posts every one. The first that stirs will be fined. Five francs to every one that remains." It was absolutely necessary not to frighten the people in the body of the house. Not one person left the stage, the engines were brought into play, and in less than ten minutes the flames were extinguished. Then M. Trévaux, the orator of the *troupe*, came before the curtain, informed the audience of the danger they had run, and the happy termination of it.

One day five friends, men of station in the world, put their heads together, and the result was that all the walls of Paris

were covered with the Cabalistic words. "Fau Duponchel"—the late Duponchel. In 1835, or '36, placards had been similarly posted all through France with the inscription, "Crédeville Voleur,"—Crédeville the robber. But our friends went further, and sent out notes of invitation, and cards, deeply bordered in black, to all the friends of the management, to attend the obsequies. In due time a crowd of mutes arrived in the court-yard, and soon covered the gateway with mournful draperies in white and black, and erected a bier. Strange to say, the first person they met was M. Duponchel himself, and one asked where they were to find the body. M. Duponchel disclosed himself, but still they insisted on burying him. Then came a crowd of mourning friends, and the choristers, with their letters of invitation in their hands. The joke was soon explained, and the affair ended by a *pour boire* to the mutes, and a grand dinner at M. Duponchel's house, where every one was content, except a M. Maillot, who has given his name to the tights worn by the *figurantes*. He was annoyed, as he said, because he had lost his day. "But I have gained mine," replied M. Duponchel, and the matter ended. This mystification had the most fortunate consequences; the report of it brought successive overflowing audiences, and the newspapers, which never praise the living, published sympathetic reports of M. Duponchel's virtues, and lauded him to the skies, because truth is due to the dead.

Fanny Essler appeared shortly after in the *Gypsy*, the first piece which M. de Saint Georges produced for the opera. The author is the rival of M. Scribe, is remarkable for the delicacy of his tastes and toilet, and for his attachment to his old servant Marguerite, who rules his household with a rod of iron, and gives bad dinners to his friends, when they come to celebrate the success of a play, which she does not like. M. de Saint Georges has been falsely accused of keeping several secret co-labourers, whose productions he signs and sends forth as his own. A more pardonable freak appears in his habit of making his bathing man at Dieppe pour into the water before he enters it, half a dozen bottles of genuine Jean-Marie Farina's Eau de Cologne; no doubt the tenderness of his olfactory nerves cannot bear the strong salt perfume of the sea,

Madame Stolz had replaced Mlle. Falcon, whose voice

had not yet returned, but she failed in her part, and Mlle. Nathan was substituted, when suddenly a cry arose, "Nourrit is dead, he killed himself at Naples." The unfortunate man, over-excited, fanatically religious, and tortured with home sickness and the impossibility of returning to Paris, after an evening of unparalleled success had thrown himself out of a window at four o'clock in the morning, and was killed on the spot. He left behind him a wife and six children.

Up to the year 1836 or '37 the balls given at the Opera were not allowed by the police to be attended by any persons in fancy dresses, and the ladies alone were permitted to wear masks. Musard, the author of the *Bals Masqués*, had not yet extended his dominion beyond the Theatre des Variétés, and the Salle Valentino. An attempt was made in the latter year by some individuals, to introduce fancy dresses into the ordinary ball, but they were captured by the police, and thrust into the director's box on the stage through the window. They succeeded, however, in effecting their escape by the same issue, and were rediscovered in the dancing room, enjoying themselves with six young ladies of the corps de ballet and six bottles of champagne. This escapade created a revolution; M. Mira, the contractor for the balls, at length obtained a licence from the police to institute a regular masked and fancy ball, and though the licence was subsequently withdrawn, the ball came off, and the first of these magnificent assemblages, which form one of the greatest attractions of Paris, was inaugurated. The contractor was fined 10,000 francs by the police, which, however, it is thought he was not obliged to pay. The hero of the evening, Musard, was carried three times round the house in triumph, and a dance instituted called that of the *broken chair*, because the curule throne of the director was smashed to pieces on the occasion. Musard introduced also a stroke of strong dramatic effect in the shape of a small mortar, which electrified the assembly by its sudden discharge, and maddened them with the smell of its powder. The manner of conducting the old balls, and the conduct and intrigues of the persons who attended them, had been tiresome and pretentious, but the moment the *débardeurs* and *debardeuses* (ladies and gentlemen, both in the characters and dresses of boatmen of the Seine) came upon the stage, the *ton* of every thing was completely changed. The costumes became some of them extremely grotesque, others in the perfection of elegance, the conversation

was replaced by frantic cries and gestures, comical addresses and energetic familiarity. Unfortunately also licentiousness crept into the conduct of the dancers, notwithstanding the strict supervision of the police, and the intrigues obtained a marked significance in more than one or two instances. Still these balls produced a pretty round sum to the management, the first contractors having agreed to pay 40,000 francs a year for the privilege, and cleared for themselves nearly 100,000. In 1848, when Messrs. Duponchel and Roqueplan were joined, there being a considerable deficit in the funds of the theatre, M. Grimaldi paid down 250,000 francs for the contract, and relieved the temporary embarrassment.

One of the greatest evils consequent on these extravagant amusements, is the effect it produces among the assistants of the shopkeepers at Paris. Many of these foolish fellows imagine that while serving their lady customers, they have also produced an indelible impression on their hearts. They next manage to convey into the hands of the fair ones, who out of the pure love of intrigue so innate to a Frenchwoman, receive without any sign of denial, notes of appointment to meet at the *Bal del' Opera*. The presumptuous fools repair to the theatre in a dress which will be recognised, and either spend the entire evening vainly searching for the object of their affections, getting snubbed by wrong parties whom they address, and abused by their male companions, or are led into a maze of absurdities and expenses by grisettes or servants sent by the veritable mistress to carry out the jest to its end. This is not however, always the issue of such an adventure, as the following veritable history will shew :—M. Philippe B— adored the adorable Madame de C— who adored him in return. Her husband was of that extremely jealous disposition, which all wronged husbands participate in. Once the lover was obliged to leap out of the lady's window, and pass a freezing night in her garden, because of the unexpected arrival of the *Argus*, who watched over her. Another time being surprised in her chamber, at the Baths of Aix in Savoy, and the lady having cried out to seize the robber, he was obliged to allow himself to be taken off to prison, and had great difficulty in settling the matter. In fact the liaison became so dangerous that the gentleman began to repent, and endeavoured to break off the acquaintance. Madame C—, however, continued to write to him, and at length sent him a formal appointment for the ball

at the Opera, indicating at the same time the domino by which she would be distinguished. They meet, have a quarrel, M. Philippe B—— is about to pluck the mask from her face, when who should interpose, but the lady's husband. He reasoned with M. Philippe B—— on the impropriety of attacking a lady in the open ball room, and taking her, still unknown to him on his arm, was moving away when M. Philippe, thinking that Madame C—— would disclose every thing, and wishing to act as a brave man, appointed to meet the husband at the Café Anglais before five o'clock in the morning. On going to the Café M. Philippe found there a friend of his, M. Etienne, whom fortune threw in his way for the occasion, and to whom he related the whole of the previous facts. Soon after M. de C——, the husband, appeared in person, having descended from his vehicle at the door of the Café on the Boulevard, and left behind him ensconced in the corner, the real live Madame de C—— herself. He advanced to the box where the two friends were sitting, and the rest of their interview shall be given in the author's words.

“ ‘Can I speak before this gentleman,’ said he to Philippe. ‘This gentleman is my friend; I have confided everything to him.’— ‘Everything?’ ‘Yes, everything.’ ‘Well, sir, this unfortunate woman has confided everything to me also.’ ‘Everything?’ ‘Yes, everything.’ ‘I am at your command; what is your weapon, your time?’ ‘Stop, Madame de C—— is off,’ was the sudden interruption of Etienne. ‘Madame de C——!’ cried M. de C—— furiously, ‘you have said Madame de C——.’ ‘Etienne, Etienne, what have you done?’ said Philippe in a sorrowful tone. ‘Will you answer me, M. de B——,’ said M. de C——, placing himself opposite Philippe, and staring at him with a cold menacing air; ‘will you answer me; who was that woman with whom you left me at the ball of the opera?’ ‘And what right have you, sir, to ask me to render an account of my conduct? It is the second time to-night that you have interfered with me, and it has occurred twice too often.’ ‘Was that Madame de C——,’ repeated M. de C——, beside himself. ‘I have nothing to answer.’ ‘Was that Madame de C——?’ roared M. de C——, more and more enraged; ‘answer, sir, or I will ——.’ ‘Not one word, not one motion more!’ interrupted Philippe; ‘Have I not already told you that I am at your command.’ ‘You avow it then? . . . you are not so cowardly as I believed you to be!’ At these words M. de C—— sat down; he no longer doubted, he reflected; he was revolving in his mind the means of carrying out the desperate duel which was in preparation.

“What had passed between him and Madame de C——? Doubtless this husband so tender of his honour had been guilty of the very crime which he considered deserving of death in his own wife.

Doubtless he had listened and opened his heart to the lies, seduction, and hatred of an unknown woman, whom everything ordained him to distrust. Madame de C—— had skilfully caught at the plank of safety offered to her. While exciting her new and strange slave against Philippe, she had provided for herself an unexpected method of flight. And above all things it was necessary to fly. . . Everything else was left to chance.

"Etienne and Philippe were smoking; M. de C—— remained absorbed in his reflections. This silence could not be long carried on. Philippe interrupted it. 'Well, sir,' said he to M. de C——, 'I await your commands, when do you wish that my witnesses should meet yours?' 'What is the use of witnesses? What is the use of putting off what may be done here this moment? What do you say to it?' 'Waiter!' 'Sir!' 'Two swords.' 'Yes, sir.' 'And ten lamps on the Boulevard.' 'Yes, sir.' The waiter went out, M. de C——, Philippe and Etienne did the same thing. Swords and lamps were brought; the guests came to the windows, the drivers descended from their seats, the waiters of the Café approached, and the combat began. It was not a long one; at the second pass M. de C—— fell to rise no more. When the police arrived everything had returned to its usual quiet and obscurity. On the morrow Philippe received the extra bill of the Café Anglais. Between the lobster salad and the *entremets* of truffled partridges a curious side dish was brought in:—Duel—500 francs. . . . Philippe paid it, gave ten louis to the waiters, and"

Vain efforts had been made to charm back again the voice of Mademoiselle Falcon, extraordinary means had been spoken of to effect it, and amongst the rest it was said that a glass bell had been placed over her mouth, and had succeeded in restoring it. To the great delight of her admirers she came out again in *la Juive* and the *Huguenots*, but only to disappoint them, and to burst out into convulsive sobs on the stage on the shoulder of Duprez. Madame Gras replaced her in *les Martyrs* of Donizetti, and Madame Stolz appeared in *la Favorite* and *Don Sebastian* by the same author. Baroilhet the famous tenor, sang in this last opera the barcarole, *Pêcheurs de la rive*, the second trope of which produced wild applause at the rehearsal. Madame Stolz, roused to jealousy, had the strophe suppressed; Donizetti on learning this became furious, and was struck with the first of these attacks of bewilderment, which ended by taking away his reason. In the last year of his intellectual life, he had composed twenty-two acts of operas, amongst them was Don Pasquale, and a *miserere* for the court of Austria. The excessive labor worked on his mind; he had already shewn various eccentricities, frequenting every evening seven or eight cafés, and always calling for rice-milk. At length

it became necessary to have him transferred to a mad-house in the Champs Elysées. Here he became resigned and silent; stretched upon a sofa in the middle of the garden, and covered almost with flowers, his head bent upon his breast, he passed whole days without a word. He could not even recognise his friend, Accursi, and the only thing that roused him, was the *Cavatine de la folie* in Lucia. He opened his eyes, and beat time to the music; but when this was ended, his head fell again, and he relapsed into his senseless state of existence. Such was the end of this great man.

In the middle of April, 1840, two of the best dancers quitted the theatre; Mademoiselle Essler went off to America, where she picked up more dollars than she could gather francs at Paris; and Mademoiselle Albertine departed on a visit of three months to London. This was a great loss to the stage. Meanwhile, a change had taken place in the management, M. Léon Pillet, from being a royal commissioner, was joined with M. Duponchel, and M. Edouard Monnais took the place of the first. M. Pillet was a simple man, without vanity, and not dreaming of the fortune which his friends thought he should make at the opera, but he lost it. He was not sufficiently strong minded to resist noxious influences; he idolised Madame Stolz, and was led by the nose by his friend *le père Gentil*, both of whom ruined his prospects. From the 10th to the 20th of August the theatre was shut, and when it re-opened, it was without any effect. Mario had been dismissed and gone over to the Italians, and his place supplied by Marió, who deceived all expectations. Baroilhet was the only person who supported the end of the season of 1840, in *la Favorite*. Such was the result of abandoning all the arrangements of M. Duponchel.

A discovery had been made in the person of Mademoiselle Catinka Heinefetter, sister to the celebrated Sabina Heinefetter, a young lady, handsome and capable of improving her talent, but, unfortunately for herself, she was placed between the ill-will of M. Pillet, and the jealousy of Madame Stolz. Her singing, which was very respectable, was favorably received by the public, the management was against her, and she was obliged to yield. She went off to Bruxelles, leaving behind her at Paris a M. Caumartin, an admirer, for whom she professed the most extreme affection, and to whom she wrote periodical effusions in Germanised French. The Grand Theatre at

Bruxelles received her with open arms, she played with success the characters of Rachel in *la Juive*, and Valentine in *les Huguenots*, and found in the person of a M. Sirey, a new lover, while she was still corresponding with the old one at Paris. On the evening of the 9th November, 1842, on returning to her apartments from the play, she found M. Caumartin already there, having just arrived across the frontier. A supper for six persons was prepared, three young ladies of her acquaintance, M. Sirey, M. Milord, and herself. She invited M. Caumartin to join them, he appeared somewhat out of humour, but subsequently did sup. A quarrel arose between the two gentlemen, and the ladies, in order to appease it, left the room to go to rest. On their departure the fight began again, some abusive expressions were interchanged with blows of their fists, and strokes of their canes. At length M. Sirey fell to the ground, pierced by a cane sword, and crying out, "He has killed me." M. Caumartin cried out in reply, "He threw himself on me!" and then ran out to look for a doctor. When the medical man came he found M. Sirey dead, with nine inches of the sword in his body. M. Caumartin fled first to Paris, but afterwards gave himself up to the Belgian authorities, and was tried on the 19th of April, 1843, at the sittings of the criminal court in the free University. His advocate, M. Chaix, attacked the conduct of M. Sirey and Mademoiselle Heinefetter, shewed how the latter had played his client false, had roused him to the quarrel, and how both had done their utmost to irritate him. There was one bad circumstance against the prisoner, namely, the possession of the cane sword, from which it might be thought he had crossed the frontier with a premeditation to attack his rival. He replied on his examination, that he had got the cane made at Paris preparatory to a journey to Italy, and that he had come to Bruxelles for the sole purpose of returning to Mademoiselle Heinefetter the key of her room, which he held, as he intended giving up her society, and was about to get married. The jury acquitted M. Caumartin, but Mademoiselle Heinefetter was for ever ruined and dishonored. Her career was suddenly checked, the entrances of all the great theatres of Paris, London, Vienna, and Naples were shut against her. Such a costly luxury was it to have M. Caumartin for her admirer.

It is a curious thing to read an account the number of appliances necessary to bring out an opera, the different description of

scenes, traps, lighting apparatus, dresses, &c., but it would be wearisome to give even a sketch of them here. It may be mentioned that the expenses for bringing out a first-class piece vary from 100,000 to 120,000 francs, an enormous sum, requiring very large receipts to repay the management. To give an item, there are three sorts of slippers provided for the *danseuses*, drab, white, and flesh-colored. The first-class ladies are entitled to have their drab slippers renewed after every third performance, and their white or flesh-colored after every second. The second class, or the *figurantes*, receive a new pair of drab after eight, and the white or flesh-colored after six performances. It was found, however, that the latter young ladies had a strong eye to economy, and used to continue using the old, while they exchanged the new slippers for ordinary walking shoes. To remedy this evil, and compel them to wear what was provided for them, they now can only receive a new pair on delivering up the old, and this is done by consecutive numbers; number eleven being handed out of the stock, when number ten is given up.

There is a secret part of the Theatre, the *adyta* of this temple of the muses, of which it may be well to say a few words. The dressing room of the dancers is considered the most private and secret recess of the shrine, and it is generally considered that in it are carried on many of these intrigues behind the scenes so often spoken of. It is also usually thought to be adorned and furnished with the most expensive luxury; such is not the real fact. Except perhaps the dressing-rooms of Mlle. Nau, Falcon and Essler, the rest are closets of six or seven feet square, somewhat resembling a perfumer's shop turned topsy-turvy. The entrance to them can only be effected through the scenes, and subject to a rigorous examination. In fact the only men permitted to enter them are the husbands, hair-dressers, and other indispensable nothings. Each first class *danseuse*, called *premier sujet*, has a closet to herself, the second, or *coryphées*, have one for two or three persons, and the third rank of *figurantes* must accommodate themselves ten or twelve together. One of these closets has got the name of *la loge des Minerves*, because it was for a long time frequented by six or seven of the most proper ladies of the *corps de ballet*. Even they, however, were obliged to admit a man amongst them, M. Pointe their hairdresser, confident, friend, daily journal and *pantalonneur*, that is stretcher of tights. He provided

them with all the little scandal of the neighbourhood, how Philibert, the valet of M. B—— had supplanted his master in the graces of a Madame Martin, and how M. Martin, not wishing that his wife should have any thing to say to any one not a gentleman, compelled her, a rich woman, to make over by deed to the valet a sum of 100,000 francs, and how the latter changed his name to M. de Saint Philibert. Or another tale of Mlle. B—— and her admirer Lord John, who having sent her a wreath of diamond by the jeweller's young man, along with a note requesting her acceptance of the little present by which he meant to obtain her favour, was surprised on the next occasion when he visited her, by her crying out that she had been robbed, and her exhibiting the note without the gift. Lord John was obliged to produce himself another wreath, and thus Mlle. B—— obtained double payment. On another occasion, in the absence of Lord John, this amiable young lady invited a number of her friends to a magnificent supper, but was at a loss where to provide the plate, that ordered by the mylord not having been yet delivered. In this state of distress she applies to another of her many admirers, Arthur —— the type of devoted friends, and begs him to borrow from his father's head butler for one night only, the old gentleman's silver dishes, covers, tureens, &c. The young man does so, the plate is borrowed, and the supper passes off with the greatest magnificence, and some little elevation on the part of the guests. Arthur slept rather late, and when he got up, his father's plate had not yet returned. He hurried at once to Mlle. B—— to scold her, when the following scene took place.

"Mlle. B—— had already got up, fresh and pretty. It would be difficult to recognize the *coryphée* who had passed the night in tasting the cellar and the culinary productions of Chevet. 'And my father's plate?' asked Arthur in an anxious manner. 'It is no longer here, my little Arthur.' 'Where is it?' 'At my Aunt's.' 'Your Aunt's?' 'At the *Mont de Piété*, if you prefer that. This morning application was made for the bill of the supper; I was not in funds, and Chevet's man would not wait. To pay for the thing contained I have disposed of the thing containing, and here is the result, I have received 8,000 francs, I paid for the supper, the balance was for the waiter and a present to myself. Embrace me, my little Arthur, and forgive your Aglaë.' Arthur forgave her, Arthurs always forgive, but they rarely have 8,000 francs at their disposal and ready to recover from the pawn-office the family plate. Arthur was obliged to confess the whole affair to his father, who was the victim, not with-

out being tempted to prosecute the guilty persons, or rather the guilty one, for there was only one, and that was not Aglae. Her mother B—— in the silence of her closet, and without consulting her daughter, had concocted, perfected and accomplished, this master-stroke, and informed the young lady of it only on her return from the *mont-de-piété*."

Such is a fair example of the *historiettes* retailed in great numbers concerning the habitual conduct of these pleasant young ladies. It is brought forward here, not on account of any particular pleasure taken in detailing similar acts of villany, but to serve as a warning to some young fools, who may be tempted to put themselves in the power of persons of that class. In no case is the truth of the old adage, which speaks of evil communications, so entirely justified, as in the results which generally follow from connexions of the kind alluded to.

The management of the Académie de Musique no longer consider it advisable to engage the services of male dancers, whose performances might at all approach in artistic effect those of the female artistes. Whether it be that the contrast would not be sufficiently striking, or that excellence in dancing ought to be the peculiar privilege of the ladies, and their pirouettes alone ought to attract audiences, certain it is that the policy has been adopted of discarding all male competitors. Perrot, *le laid* or the ugly, was the last of those; he was inconsolable for having been banished from the opera, and tried every means to regain his position. He had met in his rambles with a young girl named Carlotta Grisi, who at five years of age had appeared at *la Scala* in Milan, and was at the head of the children there, where Cerito was first among the young girls. Later in her youth Malibran had told her to give up dancing, and learn singing; that her voice was admirable, and she ought to cultivate it. Subsequently she met Perrot, assumed his name and protection, and still continued to work hard with her feet and practise her vocal powers. She came out at the Theatre à la Renaissance in *les Zingari* as Madame Perrot, but was shortly after engaged for the opera, Taglioni being in Russia, Essler in America, and Lucile Grahn laid up with a swollen knee. She made her debut in the second act of *la Favorite*, much to the annoyance of Madame Stolz, who would have wished to retain for herself all the applause conferred on that piece. Madame Perrot resumed at the same time her old title of

Carlotta Grisi, and Perrot was discomfited in his endeavours to be included in her engagement. Every one knows the absurd pantomimes and incongruous dresses of the actors and actresses in ballets; how a gentleman in tights becomes a hero, and delivers from prison or a forced marriage a miserable victim in gauze muslin, and finally they dance themselves off their legs to celebrate the rescue. Such is the nature of all performances of this kind, but they are very paying things to the director, sometimes bringing in as much as 10,000 francs, some £400 in an evening. A very amusing account is given in these *Petits Mémoires* of the manner in which such a piece is got up, the duties of the musician and of the ballet master, the drilling of the *danseuses*, and the diplomatic intrigues of these ladies, but it would take up too much space to transcribe the passage, and a great deal of its *verve* should be lost or weakened in the translation.

When Mario and Mlle. Heinefetter were dismissed by M. Pillet, there remained to him only one resource to support his theatre. This was Paultier, a good singer from Rouen, but he required his manners, appearance, and dress to be educated, as well as his voice. After some months hard drilling under several masters, he was brought out in *Guillaume Tell*. Marié was close at hand to take his place in the second act, if he failed in the first, as was expected. He succeeded wonderfully, was applauded at the second, and called out at the third act, an ovation which had never been granted by the public to Madame Stolz. The part was repeated several times, and also that of Masaniello, bringing large receipts of 8 and 9,000 francs a night to the management. A misunderstanding had existed for a long time between the directors, M. Duponchel and M. Pillet, until at length, on the 21st November, 1841, the former gave up to the latter his share, and retired from the house. The year 1842 did not prove very favourable for the opera, in fact M. Pillet during the course of it was very much engaged in law proceedings with several of the leading artistes, in epistolary correspondence in the public prints, and various other matters which drew off his attention. He placed too much reliance upon the ascendant star of Madame Stolz, who was never able to attract sufficient numbers to the theatre, to make it pay. One sad thing, however, occurred during this season, which cast a gloom over its otherwise cloudless memory. Madame Stolz had a young female friend named *Sara*, who was much given to romantic dreams and melancholy presages.

She had fallen in love with a M. Taillade, one of the performers at the Circus, who reciprocated for some time her attachment, but finally went away, never to return. She fell into a deplorable state of affliction and tears, and spoke vaguely of poisoning, which no one believed. At length one day she rushed into her landlady's room, declaring that she had poisoned herself, and begging for assistance. The woman did not believe her, thought it was only one of her usual fits of despondency, and did not call in a doctor, until *Sara* had produced from her pocket a phial labelled: *Laudanum*. The assistance came too late, she died in a few hours after, and on searching her clothes another phial was found, containing water slightly tinted with poison, evidently shewing that she did not intend to kill herself, and in carrying out a foolish resolve, had put an end to her life by mistake.

According to the heathen mythology, *Æsculapius*, the god of medicine, was son of *Apollo*, the god of music. At the *Académie de Musique* the position may be said to be reversed, as the machine of the theatre could never be kept going, were it not for the provident care of the inspecting doctors. Without them the theatre would become a sort of hospital or infirmary, wherein every little foible contradicted, every hope deceived, or cupidity checked, gay pleasures or suppers over night, would conspire to ruin the director, and render him incapable of carrying on his office. M. Véron understood this perfectly, and immediately on his accession appointed medical men, who were to attend regularly, and a council of physicians to be called in on cases of importance. The former take their duty week about, one calls every morning and examines the artistes, who declare themselves ill. If such be the fact, they are dispensed from attending, and may treat themselves in whatever way they like; but if they are not really sick, and the doctor reports so, they must sing or dance whether they like it or not, or give up their pay. This rule, however, does not apply to the first class performers, called, *premiers grands sujets*, such as *Nourrit*, *Levasseur*, *Duprez*, &c., who are supposed to be completely willing to come forward. But the regular doctors' duty does not stop there, he must attend in the evening at the rise of the curtain, and not leave the house until the performance is over. Any little accident on the stage caused by a nail overlooked, or a badly closed trap, or an encounter with a side scene, or some caprice of a jealous danseuse, must be remedied

on the spot, so as not to interrupt the piece. Taglioni once when she was married, but judiciously separated from her husband, had a medical council called in on the state of her knee, of which she complained very much. The council came to the resolution of applying twenty leeches to draw away the peccant humours. The animals contented themselves with pricking the part affected, and then fell off without drawing any blood. A physician present saw how the case stood, and had an interview with the lady on the next day. No doubt she confided to him her situation, and he, in order not to betray her, or to deceive the directors, sent in his resignation. Mademoiselle Taglioni did not dance for at least nine months afterwards, and then came out as lively as ever.

There is no one at all acquainted with the French stage of the present day, who does not know that the great supply of working material in words, has been contributed to the theatres of Paris by M. Scribe. His talent has been so prolific, that to enumerate the different pieces, which he has composed himself or signed with his name, would become very tedious and not at all instructive. Their statistics are something astonishing, when one begins with 300 vaudevilles, 100 operas, &c., and innumerable small productions, besides novels. They have gained for him riches, chateaux, cordons, honors of all sorts, and the entry to the Académie Française. It is not with these last we have now to deal, but with his character as a writer and dramatist. The volume before us judges him by his taste in furniture, and the construction of his library, pointing out the various books and passages from which he has borrowed the plots and some of the beauties of many of his works. It criticises also his style in a very minute fashion, citing several flagrant faults from eighteen different plays, which could only have crept in by the most careless negligence. The writer, however, does not condemn him wholly, as the following passage will shew :—

Does it follow, from all we have said, that M. Scribe has neither wit, talent, nor merit. Such is not our opinion; we are neither deaf nor blind, and least of all unjust. We will be the first to do justice to M. Scribe. We do not deny his success, what we wish to state is, that he often lays aside on the stage that moral sense which he possesses so intimately; that being a tedious and inaccurate writer he has gained his point without style or local coloring, with the aid of these little strings with which his stores are full; he is deep or profound in nothing, has skimmed over everything; that he

depicts manners only on their surface, men in *palotots*, and women in crinoline. He has pleased by his very defects a certain class, who adore the money-god on the stage as well as in town, and can do very well without grand or generous sentiments. M. Scribe created for himself a *bourgeois* party, who put entire faith in his impossible dukes, and imaginary German barons, whose states, always identical, only existed on the ideal map, formed in the author's imagination. One fine day this party itself became awakened to the truth, and astonished at its own preference for M. Scribe; it had at length discovered the strings, which had been concealed from it for nearly fifty years, and strings are only useful as long as they escape the opera-glass. M. Scribe's fame has not withstood the march of improvement in opera glasses. He is an author easily understood, it is only necessary not to forget his antecedents. All his productions and heroes are like one another, he only dresses them up in what he considers the fashion of the day. A skilful master of stage effects, fertile in expedients, but profoundly ignorant, he introduces a masked ball into the *Vépres Siciliennes*, and a sofa in the time of Charlemagne; he speaks as no one else does, he says, *eune femme, c'mmencez la répétition*. Otherwise as a good husband, citizen, friend, and father, M. Scribe at home, in his own house, in the midst of his family, without ever changing his character, recovers the ground which he has lost as a literary man. He does not dislike money, but it is not to keep or hoard it up; he gets as much grist for his mill as he can, without appropriating it to his own use; he may take two or three tolls from the same sack, but he does not allow them to smoulder in his stores. M. Scribe gives and spends. In the use of his money there is nothing exclusive, nothing which marks the *artiste*, his virtues are private, he delights in conferring benefits on his family, and distributing them with prudence and circumspection. He purchases estates, and does not deprive himself of any of the pleasures of this life: he is just now building for himself in the Rue Pigale, between the court and garden, a mansion whose fault will certainly not be excess of taste, and still more certainly not excess of economy. He will re-produce there his small saloons of the *gymnase*, which appear to him the beau-ideal of elegance and comfort. Such is M. Scribe, a *bourgeois* but a good one; his life is the epilogue of his compositions.

The office of director for the Opera is not one easily conducted, there are so many rivalries, so many pretensions and attentions to be looked after, that whoever undertakes the duty must make up his mind to continual annoyances. Among its greatest difficulties is that of managing the orchestra, which has an independent leader of its own, whose nomination belongs to the Conservatoire de Musique. Habeneck, who unexpectedly charmed the Empress Josephine at a concert by the elegance and fine style of his playing, was for a long time the leader of the orchestra. He was also at the head of the concerts of the Conservatoire, where he expressed the greatest

contempt for the music and musicians of the Opera, although his bands at both places were composed of nearly the same persons. If a mistake was made at the concert rehearsals, he would turn round, shake his baton at the offender, and shout, "Do you think that you are at the Opera?" Girard, formerly leader at the Opera Comique, succeeded him; he is not subject to the same fault as his predecessor, but has another, that of not being able to agree with his second in command. The expense of this musical department is somewhat large, amounting to 120,000 francs, 10,000 of which go to Girard, 5,000 to his Lieutenant Battu, and 1,000 perhaps to each of the others. This is bad payment, but it is made up for by the position which commands large prices for tuitions in the city.

Now for a few of the statistics of this grand Theatre, which are somewhat interesting, as shewing the cost of such an immense undertaking. In the year 1827, when it was attached to the king's household, the budget of it amounted to more than 1,700,000 francs (£68,000). The receipts at the doors came to 670,000 francs (£26,500), the royal contribution was 750,000 francs (£30,000), and the remainder was made up by the annual rent of boxes, masked balls, concerts, rent of shops, and payment by other theatres, which last reached 185,000 francs (£7,400). The appointments of the dancers and singers were not at that time so heavy as they are now, Madame Damoreau receiving in 1829 only 16,000 francs and afterwards 24,000; whereas Taglioni received 36,000 francs (£1,440), Fanny Essler 46,000 francs (£1,840), Carlotta Grisi 42,000 francs (£1,680), Cerrito 45,000 francs (£1,800), and Rosati is now engaged at a salary of 60,000 francs (£2,400). But the sums paid to singers of both sexes have been much greater to Duprez, 70,000 francs (£2,800), to Baroilhet 60,000 francs (£2,400), to Levasseur 45,000 francs (£1,800), Mario had only 30,000 francs (£1,200) though now acknowledged to be the greatest tenor of all. Mdlle. Falcon received 50,000 francs (£2,000) Madame Gras 45,000 francs (£1,800), Madame Stolz 72,000 francs (£2,880), and lastly, Mdlle. Cruvelli, for an engagement of ten months, 100,000 francs (£4,000). In the year 1829 the twelve first performances of the Opera *Guillaume Tell* produced the sum of 71,000 francs (£2,840), but in the year 1837 the amount received for the same number of nights of the same piece reached as much as 121,000 francs (£4,840). This was caused by the debut of

Duprez, and had been predicted by Rossini himself, when asked at Boulogne to bring out some new works. "Wait," said he, "until the Jews have finished their sabbath." He envied Meyerbeer the long run of *Robert le Diable*. Since the year 1830, the position of the Opera has been altered. The state now gives only 600,000 francs (£24,000), the minor theatres contribute nothing, but the receipts at the doors have reached 1,200,000 francs (£48,000), and the rents of boxes and shops are quadrupled. A box pays from 7 to 8,000 francs. But how are the authors and poets paid? They each get for the first forty performances of a five-act Opera the sum of 250 francs a night, and then the payment falls to 100 francs. If the piece has only one or two acts, the sums are 170 francs and 50 francs respectively. M. Scribe, besides this, demands and obtains a bonus of 1,000 francs for each act; but then the musician has an advantage over the poet in the sale of the parts, the share of the former being two-thirds. One of Meyerbeer's Opera sells for 45 or 50,000 francs, which may contain some 3,000 verses. The poet gets out of this about five francs for each verse; not bad payment for the muses.

There is an inspector of the theatres attached to the Ministry of the Interior in France, whose duty is to be present at general rehearsals and performances, and to see that the actors speak only the parts approved of by the censorship, without adding a word against public morals or the government. One of the most remarkable men who filled this situation, was named M. Perpignan. He was generally liked, especially at the Opera, where opportunities of exercising his functions were very rare. Fond of repartee, he was not at all quarrelsome, yet this particular pleasure brought him once face to face with an adversary on the field of honor. His second was a somewhat coarse fiery man, and was engaged with the other second in loading the pistols, when Perpignan walked up to them and said in a jocular tone, "I feel myself somewhat nervous this morning; I shall never be able to kill that gentleman; it would be better to put the affair off to another day." His second began to get enraged, and still Perpignan excited him by saying, "I would prefer being kicked ten times than fight to-day." "Indeed?" asked the other. "On my honor I would," replied Perpignan. "Then here you are," was the response, accompanied with a real kick. Perpignan now jested no longer, but seized his own second by the throat, as if to

strangle him. They were separated; our inspector begged of his first adversary to allow him five minutes to arrange the matter. The new antagonists were placed opposite one another, and the second fell at the word of command. The first duel was very easily arranged after this. M. Perpignan had a habit whenever he happened to be at an idle moment, in a café, restaurant, or elsewhere, to get a pen and ink and make fancy sketches of imaginary horses. His mania in this particular was so well known, that those scraps often served as passes for his friends to the theatres, where they were duly recognised and honored. A horse with his head to the right meant a stall, to the left a reserved seat in the pit; if it was sketched on a small piece of paper, two places in a box were intended, if on a large piece, an entire box. This worthy inspector got married, but his wife did not relish his railery, and they agreed mutually to separate. He did not hear of her for fifteen years, until one fine morning when a gentleman with gilt spectacles, apparently a lawyer, visited him, and gave him some news of his better half. Madame had lost her mother, and in order to be able to enjoy her inheritance, the signature of her husband to a deed was necessary. The gentleman of the law suggested that by persisting in a refusal to grant the signature, M. Perpignan might obtain very advantageous terms, the value of the property being about 300,000 francs, and that he would arrange the whole affair for a premium of 5 per cent. Our inspector made an appointment with him for another day, but in the meanwhile had a deed drawn up by a notary, signed it and despatched it to his wife without any stipulations. His confidence was not misplaced, for he received in return a sum of 20,000 francs, and a deed settling on him an annuity of 6,000 francs.

In the month of January 1845, there appeared a new phenomenon in the dancing art, in the shape of thirty-six young ladies from Vienna, of all ages from five years up to twelve, upon the boards of the Opera. They were Jewesses, under the direction of a Madame Weiss, made their debut in the ballet of *la Jolie fille de Gand*, and performed their parts in the most accurate manner. They became so much the fashion, that the court wished to have them at the Tuilleries, but it was discovered that none of them fulfilled the proper duties of religion, and for a good reason, because they were Jewesses, so the idea was given up. At this time Fanny Essler was at Rome, Teresa

Essler had married a German Baron, and Madame Stolz was at Lyons, where she was hissed at two performances, and then returned to Paris. Here she met with the very same treatment; in *Robert Bruce* the whole house rose up against her, and vented a dislike which it had taken eight years to mature. Madame Stolz so far forgot herself as to burst into a rage, hurl words of defiance at the pit, stalls, and boxes, tear her handkerchief with her teeth, and finally depart, never to return. She repaired her fault to a certain extent, by returning to M. Pillet, whom she knew at the time to be very much in want of funds, a sum of 30,000 francs to assist him in his expenses. The money was delicately offered and as delicately refused.

M. Pillet retired from the management in June, 1847, having a year of his privilege yet to run. He must have felt himself happy to get rid of such an onerous burden, which had weighed on him for many years, and wasted all the fortune he possessed. M. Duponchel and M. Roqueplan entered upon a new directorship, and obtained ten years' lease of the speculation of this Operatic concern, taking on their backs at the same time the debt of 513,000 francs left behind him by M. Pillet, and an administration deprived of all the best singers and dancers. With such difficulties before them they were obliged to create a troupe, and to obtain music for it. Roge was engaged, which displeased the jealous Duprez. Madame Julian Vangelder was added with Alboni for the next year. Cerrito and St Léon were to be the heroine and hero of the dance. *La Fille de Marbre* of Adolphe Adam was put upon the stage and succeeded admirably in the month of October owing to the excellent performance of Cerrito, a short description of whose personal appearance may be here given.

Inferior to Carlotta Grisi, but superior to Rosati, small and plump, the bust well developed, and very fair, her arms perfect, her eyes quick and sparkling, her smile delightful, limbs stout, foot small and thick, her hair fair and floating to the winds. Cerrito is the first *dansuse* in the world for saluting the audience, after a loud echo of applause, thanking them with her mouth and look, placing at the same time her hand upon her heart.

She had two *pères*, that is gentlemen who managed her business, whether fathers or not, one at Paris, the other at London. The latter always called her his *Divinité*, had his pockets always crammed with her used up slippers, crowns of flowers, and declarations of love made to her. He could not

move out without an escort of Italian supporters. She danced a famous *pas de quatre* along with Taglioni, Carlotta Grisi, and Lucite Grahn, and subsequently came to Paris to support a difficult reputation in *la Fille de Marbre*.

Verdi's *la Jerusalem* was brought out in the middle of December, 1847, the part of *prima donna* being filled by Madame Julian Vangelder, whom the public received with delight, after their indignant rejection of Madame Stolz. The account given of the author of this opera in these *Petits Memoires*, is so interesting, that it would not be pardonable to pass over it.

Verdi was born in the Duchy of Parma, at Bussetto, a place so small that it is not even marked on the map. His parents, poor peasants, did not possess sufficient means to have him taught reading, besides that in the country parts of Italy, reading is a luxury which does not tempt any one. The village priest took a liking to him, and instructed him in the little he knew himself, in all his own knowledge, reading, writing, and music. In a few years the pupil knew more than the master, he composed military marches, church pieces, which commanded the astonishment and admiration of the good priest. Verdi left his village, went to Milan, and there, poor, unknown, without protection, he worked night and day, giving lessons at tenpence a piece when he could, and he was too happy to be able to do so. Sixtus the Fifth, of pontifical memory, began life as a swineherd. Fortune decided that Verdi should meet in his path Merelli, the great *impresario*. Merelli made him an offer to compose a partition for La Scala, and gave him the poem of *Oberto di San Bonifacio* to work upon. There is in Italy such a great consumption of operas and musicians, that managers are obliged often to hazard a master stroke, to have recourse from time to time to some young unknown musician. If he succeeds, they pay him, not in money, but in fame, and the theatre possesses an additional composer; if he fails they pass on to another; the trouble all falls on the performers, who have lost their time in studying, learning, and singing music which only lasts a day. The *Oberto di San Bonifacio* succeeded, and Verdi very properly did not touch a single copper; but Merelli ordered a second work, *Un Giorno di regno*. A violent fit of sorrow from the loss of his wife, whom he adored, weakened the rapture and the inspiration of the young *maestro*; it is his only work that has failed. Verdi was not discouraged, he had tasted success and applause, he placed himself in a position to taste them again. Convinced that a true musician should be acquainted with all the great masters in literature and poetry of every country and age, he subjected himself to a monkish labor. He studied at the same time Victor Hugo, Lamartine, Schiller, Goëthe, Shakespeare, Dante, and the historians of antiquity, and with that perseverance, that power of will which genius gives, he found himself one day capable of addressing to every nation, to every hero, the musical language appropriate to each.

Merelli understood the cause of the failure of *Un Giorno di Reano*; he appreciated Verdi, and did not hesitate in proposing to him the poem of Nabucco, which he had unsuccessfully offered to several composers. Struck with the grandeur of the subject, Verdi treated it in a masterly manner. Its success was immense, still it brought him more fame than money, 2000 francs at the utmost. This was magnificent after a first success, a failure, and a second success; his fortune was made. From this moment the managers were all at his feet; Merelli merited the preference and obtained it. Verdi composed for him *I Lombardi*, which brought him in 10,000 francs in cash. Then came *Ernani* at the *Fenice* theatre in Venice, and the *Due Foscari* at Rome in the theatre of Apollo. Verdi dictated terms to the managers, he was in a position to do so, for his titles were written in letters of gold on all the theatres of Italy. In the midst of the intoxication of glory, he had only one aim in view, that of purchasing the cabin in which he was born, and forming about it an extensive estate. He paid for the cabin with *Nabucco*; and by his operas he acquired a property which is now not less than three leagues in extent. His greatest happiness is to live on his own lands, among his own country people, who are familiar with the best parts of his operas. At Busseto, while making the harvest, they sing the choruses of *Rigoletto*, *Ernani*, *la Traviata*, and *il Trovatore*.

Naturally sensitive, though rough in his manner, Verdi does not care for society, and avoids honours. He received the Cross of the Legion of Honour after his *Jerusalem* appeared, and *les Vêpres Siciliennes* earned for him that of officer in the same body, without his having asked for either the second or first distinction. He had only to solicit the Cross of Parma, which is granted to the most inferior composers, but it should be solicited. He was offered the place of Chapel-master to the Emperor at Vienna, and refused it. His art was enough for him. Early in the morning he goes to work, places himself before the piano, repeats if necessary the same passage a hundred times, until he is perfectly content; each note costs him a drop of perspiration, he is not a quick composer.

Not to allow this extract, which has already grown too long, to weary the reader, it may be sufficient to state here the result of his labors. Verdi has realised a colossal fortune; his last works brought him in 60,000 francs each, paid by Ricordi at Milan. Besides this, a composer in Italy sells his works to a publisher, who lets them out by seasons of three months to the different managers. *Il Trovatore* was paid for at the rate of 5,000 francs per season; there are four seasons, and twenty-four theatres in Italy; all certainly do not pay the full sum, but this last opera gained in one year 80,000 francs. Compare this with Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable*, which in 25 years only gained some 45,000 francs. Verdi's last works, *la Traviata* and *les Vêpres Siciliennes* are

in a much more Frenchified style of music, than his first compositions, which had more of the Italian roundness and softness of melody.

Such was the master, who had charmed back success to the Académie de Musique, when the Revolution of 1848 burst out; the people rushed into the opera house, but did no other injury, than that of seizing on some rusty old arms. When the first rage of insurrection was somewhat cooled down, the doors were again opened at the command of Caussidière, that well-known leader of the Parisian mob, but the crowds of fashionable habitués were afraid to come, Madame Aguado alone had courage enough to continue to occupy her box. *Le Prophète* was brought out and well sustained by Madame Viardot in her part of *Fidès*. This lady, the sister of Malibran, is more of an artiste than a *cantatrice*; she is not handsome and has not much voice, but her style of singing is full of expression, dramatic and passionate, and pleases without exciting excessive admiration. Carlotta Grisi and Perrot contributed their part to the success of the season in *la Filleule des Fées*, a ballet in which Perrot was able to recover his position in the theatre.

The years 1850 and 1851 were principally marked at the Académie de Musique by the appearance of Alboni. She had been going the rounds of all the theatres of Europe, yet none of the Parisian managers wished to have her on their stage; her voice was not considered suitable for the Parisian taste. She purchased a magnificent mansion in the year 1848 at the Cours la Reine, furnished it very richly, and caused all her family, some of whom had been soldiers under Garibaldi, to come and live with her at Paris. Her republican enthusiasm went so far, that she gave the name of an unfortunate Viennese tailor, Blum, shot during the troubles in that city, to one of her horses. The great and good point of her character is her generosity, not only towards her own family, but towards all classes of persons. She made her debut at Paris in four concerts, which created such a *furor*, that Vatel the manager of the Theatre Italien, engaged her at the large figure of 5,000 francs a month. After a year's experience of the French language, she was sufficiently perfect to be able to appear at the opera in the part of *Fidès* in *le Prophète*. Her success was complete; her singing was at once pronounced to belong to the very highest school of art. In the year 1851

a piece written for her by Scribe, *la Corbeille d'Oranges*, produced in fourteen performances the enormous sum of 120,000 francs, (£4800,) the very best test of her capabilities. The same year was distinguished by the debut of a Russian danseuse, Mlle. Nadedja Bagdanoff, whose peculiar manner of appropriating to herself the entire stage, did not obtain for her the good will of her companions of the dance. She was even accused of being a secret diplomatist, sent over by the Court of St. Petersburg to gain intelligence at Paris. When the Crimean war commenced she fell into such bad repute, and became so obnoxious to her sister *danseuses*, that she was obliged to return to her native land, where she complained of the persecutions she had been subjected to on account of the names of her brothers, Nicholas and Alexander.

The principal artistes, who have since appeared at opera, are Madame Bosio, Madame Rosati, at present the first danseuse, and earning more money than any of those celebrated names which went before her, and Mlle. Cruvelli. Rosati at one of her performances was very nearly buried under an avalanche of flowers. The mania for bouquets had at this time gone so far, that a nosegay ordered by some one of her admirers, was exhibited in the window of its manufacturer as a curiosity, drew immense crowds and had very nearly created a riot. The stem of it, which in ordinary bouquets is enveloped in paper, was wrapped round with lace, worth nearly 1200 francs, (£48.) Very wisely the owner of this expensive piece of manufacture, did not hurl it at the head of his *déesse*, along with the others which covered her, it might have permanently put an end to her triumphs. It was sent to her apartments, where no doubt the giver had afterwards an opportunity of receiving the thanks of the fair *danseuse*.

M. Roqueplan engaged in 1854 the services of Mlle. Cruvelli, a German by birth from Prussia, her name Italianised from *Cruvell*, at the high figure of 10,000 francs a month. She was said to be married to Duprez, who knew well how to obtain the largest sum she could command. Her debut was made in *les Vêpres Siciliennes*, and the beauty of this opera contributed very much to establish her reputation. She has since appeared in this country, and it is needless to give any description of her person or voice, now so well known.

In the month of November of the same year the French

Government took this theatrical speculation out of the hands of private enterprise, and put it under the management of an administrator general, M. Crosnier, at a salary of 30,000 francs. During the next season Mlle. Cruvelli and Madame Rosati reigned supreme in their different departments of the song and dance, the principal opera being *les Vêpres Siciliennes*, and the Ballet *la Fonti*. Another piece, *Pantagruel*, it is supposed drawn from the witty pages of Rabelais, only suffered one performance and has not reappeared. The staff of danseuses at present consists, besides Mlle. Rosati, of Mlle. Claudina Couqui the *premier second sujet*, with a salary of 12,000 francs, seven *figurantes* paid at the rate of from 3 to 5,000 francs, four *media* from 1500 to 2500 francs, and nine *coryphées* with from 1,000 to 1200 francs of appointments. It is now to be seen whether the state direction will produce better effects than private management with a large subsidy.

Under the directorships of M. Véron and M. Duponchel respectively the opera flourished, and the managers were able to lay by considerable sums. The former had the advantage of the recent appearance of Meyerbeer, and the furor which his works created, without counting the large state subsidy of 800,000 francs. His expenses amounted to very nearly an average of 1,600,000 francs, yet he was able to make a handsome profit, as has been seen. M. Duponchel came next on the stage, with the same subsidy and the same debts, but also with a burthen of 250,000 francs, which he paid his predecessor for eighteen months of his lease. Nevertheless he managed to save very nearly as much hard cash, and gave somewhat more satisfaction to the public. Both these directors were powerfully supported by the talents of some of the most celebrated artistes of modern time, Nourrit, Levasseur, Duprez, Mario, Mlle. Falcon, Mme. Gras, Mme. Stolz, in the singing, and Taglioni, the two Esslers, Lucile Grahn, and Cerrito in the dancing department.

Then comes the management by M. Pillet and M. Roqueplan; neither of these gentlemen were able to make anything of the speculation; on the contrary the former is understood to have lost very considerably. What was the cause? In the first place the state subsidy was reduced to 600,000, and the expenses were found to have increased to 1,800,000 francs, 200,000 francs less in the former and more in the latter,

than under the first managers. This is nearly sufficient to account for the non-success of M. Pillet, but there were other reasons for M. Roqueplan's failure. He is said to have been a witty man, but that is not the quality most useful for a man of business, though it may be particularly pleasant after dinner at the dessert, or in a drawing-room with his back to the fire-place. Another accusation has been brought against him of dressing too well, and spending the time requisite for conducting his affairs in adorning his person. His white morning cravat, or choker, as we call it in this country, was somewhat conspicuous for its neatness and singularity in France, where black is the *couleur de rigueur* of the ante-meridian neck-cloth. But why should not a man dress himself neatly and respectably, and use whatever style of clothes he may wish, without incurring the censure of the public, and losing his money in a bad speculation? Foolish public; not to know the worth of a man with a perfumed beard, embroidered shirt, and white cravat!

Is M. Crosnier in a proper condition to succeed as manager? He has not done much in the last two years, notwithstanding his experience at the *Porte Saint Martin* and the *Opéra Comique*. His 30,000 francs appeared to satisfy his ambition, and the public did not expect so much from him as from a private speculator, whom they always suspect of sacrificing the interests of the theatre and of art to his own private gains. Such is the advantage of the government management of a theatre which may be called strictly national, as opposed to others in which a foreign language and foreign artistes are almost exclusively employed. Then there is the large, almost unlimited, support by the state, and the responsibility of the manager to the Ministry of the Interior. A great change has also been effected in the manner of pensioning off the used up materials of the chorus and dancing room. The musicians may be still of great use in the orchestra, even after thirty years of service, so that their pay is not in any manner thrown away. But the old choristers and *coryphées*, whose hoarseness or spindles would completely ruin the best presented piece, cannot be retained on the effective staff, they must be paid off in some manner, especially the former, whose services and old age deserve some consideration. The latter, however, usually pass their youth in that state of luxury and dissipation incidental to their position. Their salaries of perhaps 1,000

or 1,500 francs are given up to their *femmes de chambre*, *claqueurs* and other parasites, and yet they are often seen to possess vehicles, horses, country houses, and to spend on their toilets perhaps 20,000 francs in a single year. This blaze of expensive luxury lasts only for a few seasons; the effects of dissipation and increasing age carry off the charms, and scatter the admirers, never to return; the *danseuse* then sinks to that position, which she at first despised, of dependance on the pension allowed her by the Opera. She becomes lazy, idle, sickly, a burthen on the management and a source of annoyance to the director.

The greatest source of expense to the theatrical chest is the enormous sums paid to stars, particularly those of the first magnitude. The manager must wait on them at their leisure, ask their terms, perhaps 100,000 francs, and pay them without wincing. The state requires a drawback of ten per cent. on all salaries paid by the opera, but stars never submit to this; they must have a certain sum net, and the administrator is obliged to charge this percentage to the funds of the theatre. When the short engagement of the star has expired, he or she flies off to other climes, and leaves the unfortunate manager to the pleasant task of hunting up another to replace this shooting meteor, and but too happy to give almost any price for a substitute. Such are some of the evils of all directorships, and they apply with much greater force to that of the Académie de Musique at Paris, which requires a particular class of French singers, whose number is very limited, and no choice left or competition to be dreaded. The Italian Opera is not so much subject to this inconvenience, because its artistes may be recruited from these numerous roving bands drilled on the four-and-twenty Italian stages, and afterwards spreading themselves with rival locust powers over the surface of Europe to the confines of Asia, the North of Africa, and even some parts of America and Australia.

M. Crosnier did not remain long administrator general of the opera, whether the Minister of the Interior was not well satisfied with him, or he was not content with his salary, but in November last M. Alphonse Roger, formerly manager at the Odéon, was put in his place. This gentleman is a distinguished literary man, somewhat of the old school, and has not been a complete stranger to the *Académie de Musique*, having formerly brought out there *La Favorite* with great success. Time only

can tell whether the choice of the Government be such as to insure success to the National Theatre under his administration.

On looking back over this short sketch of the history of the French Opera, it is astonishing to consider the perseverance with which the original ideas of its founders have been carried out and perpetuated. There is in fact nothing in these our own countries to be compared to it, the rage for Italian music being here so exclusive as to crush at once and level with the dust all attempts to set up a rival in the national manner. Fashion has a great deal to do with this, but still more is this result brought about by a complete absence of proper academical education in the Orphean Art. We are accustomed to regard French music and singing as something not to be compared with the Italian, but that arises principally from the difference of the two languages in natural melody, the rotundity and fullness of the latter being more suited to our ears. The English tongue is much more capable than French of being blended into harmony, and yet what futile attempts have been made, at great loss to speculators, to lay a foundation for national operatic performances. The Germans, on the other hand, whose language is more nearly allied to, and perhaps less harmonious than our own, have completely succeeded in establishing amongst them a rival worthy of the Italian music, and a peculiar style of their own more scientific and profound in artistic study, if not so full of flowing melody. The German composers have for many years divided the spoils with those of the Peninsula, Meyerbeer and Beethoven marching arm in arm with Rossini, Donizetti, and Verdi, from stage to stage and clime to clime. All this is due to the improved system of musical instruction instituted in the Fatherland, where the principles of the humanizing art are considered as necessary a portion of public learning, as the classics have been hitherto in these Islands.

ART. VI.—MACAULAY A HISTORIAN.—HOW
NOT TO DO IT.

The History of England from the Accession of James the II.,
By Thomas Babington Macaulay.—Vols. I. to IV. London :
Longmans.

In our early youth we read, as doubtless have many of our friends, the adventures of Robinson Crusoe and his man Friday. Charmed by the beauty and apparent consistency of the tale, we believed it true ; but time, the disenchanter, has robbed us of our greatest pleasure by destroying our conviction of its veracity. So it is with the volumes now before us, for as Time in the former, so Knowledge in the latter case, has rudely raised the veil by which the fables of the narrator were concealed, and has displayed in their true colour the false foundations upon which these pleasing superstructures have been built up. On our first hasty perusal we confess we were fascinated by the picturesqueness of the narrative now under consideration, but on re-perusal and reflection, were reluctantly compelled to admit that it lacks the chief ingredient, without which history becomes a romance—Truth. Full of political prejudice and partisan advocacy, it renders the facts of English history as fabulous as the fictions of Roman tradition, and we feel bound to say that no amount of eloquent antithesis, classical terseness or vivid portraiture, can compensate for this most substantial defect. We do not wish to be hypercritical, neither shall we take exception to an exordium equally if not more applicable to other countries, nor join issue with Mr. Macaulay as to whether Procopius' description applied to Brittia or to Britain ; we have not time for such trifles, and we think such a course would argue rather the anxious craving of a partizan to magnify the trifling errors of a political opponent, than the earnest wish of an impartial critic to discover and bring to light the material misstatements of a historian. Style is so various that it is invidious to cavil at particular modes of expression, unless they clearly violate some well-established canon. And this is the case especially in considering a historical performance, where what is told is much more essential than how it is related, and therefore we shall direct our attention rather to the facts stated, than to the manner in which they are narrated. In truth, so anxious have we been to be above suspicion and to act with even-handed justice, that we have refrained till the present from commenting upon these volumes, in the hope that those

grave errors which deprive them of all claim to rank with the historical literature of the country, would when pointed out have been expunged from future editions. But in this, our expectations have been disappointed. For, notwithstanding the clearness with which many of these mistakes have been corrected, notwithstanding the weight of evidence which has been brought forward to refute the charges therein contained, they are still persisted in, and edition after edition has passed through the press without withdrawal or explanation. Therefore we consider it a duty we owe our readers to direct their attention to some of those errors which appear to us most to need exposure. The man who discovers a danger, and yet himself incurs it, surely deserves to be the object of our scorn and contempt. Yet, Mr. Macaulay, who, in his review of Mackintosh, admits that all the distinguished writers of English history are advocates, and in his own history assigns the cause, is not himself certainly free from the reproach. Formerly history was considered to be a truthful narrative of facts, a dispassionate summary of the evidence adduced in support of the statements advanced, a faithworthy index of authorities, which sustained the views they were quoted to confirm, and the test of its value was its conformity to this standard; but Mr. Macaulay would teach a different lesson. In his vocabulary, history is defined as the medium for the misrepresentation of facts, the misstatement or suppression of evidence, an index of authorities which satisfactorily refute the statements in proof of which they are adduced, and in accordance with this high standard of historical excellence, the test of its value is the success with which the student, bewitched by oratorical sorcery, is made to oscillate between facts which every one knows, and consequences nobody can admit, until, completely mesmerised by ingenious manipulation, his reason succumbs to the power of the operator. The errors and falsehoods of these volumes are so numerous that it is no easy task to extract particular passages as striking proofs of this accusation. In ordinary writers there are usually some salient points, which may be referred to by the critic, but here hardly a page can be pointed to in which evidence of bad taste, bad feeling and (we regret to add,) bad faith, cannot be discovered.

"Every one," says Archdeacon Paley, "who knowingly excites expectation in another thereby tacitly promises to fulfil it." Now a writer who undertakes a history of any country or any period, pledges himself to the public to furnish an impartial

and reliable record of that country or that period of which he proposes to write. Novelists or essayists contract no such obligation, and therefore cannot be said to violate any confidence. The former are confessedly free from such ties and may revel in the unrestricted liberty of the grossest anachronisms, and certainly they cannot be charged with neglecting to avail themselves of this privilege. The latter are known to be uttering their own peculiar views upon the subjects of which they treat, and no person would be insane enough to deny their perfect right to do so. For it is admitted that the same subject may be differently viewed according to the different points of observation from which it is regarded. One man may consider a free press one of the greatest blessings which a country can boast, the ægis which protects the liberty of a people from the innovations of a despot. Another may with equal sincerity consider it as the greatest curse with which a nation can be afflicted, a sort of barricade from behind which democratic malecontents may assail the just prerogatives of the king. A Whig of the reign of Queen Anne looked upon the Revolution as the most glorious event recorded in our annals, whilst a Tory of the same period considered it to have been a gross violation of the most sacred duty a subject owes to his sovereign. And both may be right, and each is entitled to entertain and express his own opinions upon these or any other subjects when treating of them in this particular manner. But when a man sits down to write a history, be he Whig or be he Tory, should cease to be either, the distinctions of party should be merged in the dignity of his theme, private feeling should yield to public duty, and he should approach his task with a mind untrammelled by prejudice, a conscience free from the influence of factious bias, prepared to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. With him the interests of the few should be subservient to the interests of many, the claims of party should be sacrificed to the demands of truth, and his motto should be "*fiat justitia ruat cælum.*" In these characteristics Mr. Macaulay is deficient, he lacks the courage to break up his old connexion, to abstract himself from old prejudices and former habits of thought, lest in the effort some ray of light might gleam upon the darkness in which he seems to be enveloped, manifesting to his astonished gaze the startling fact that virtues do exist beyond the narrow limits of the Whig coterie, and men may be patriots who are not Whigs. Fearful of this terrible consequence he resolutely refuses to judge for

himself, and sinks the historian in the Whig. Hence his history is but a continuation of those brilliant essays by which some years ago the public were dazzled and delighted, itself an essay and nothing more. Of course he abuses Catholicism; in this, however, he is consistent, and as in his earlier literary efforts he never loses an opportunity (nay often makes one) of vilifying us, so in his latest he does not spare the lash. For this we were prepared, for experience has taught us that the most polished periods fall dully on the ear of Protestant England, unless quickened by the censure of that "Gorgeous Superstition" to which nevertheless her people are entitled for whatever of liberty they now have the happiness to enjoy.

We do not complain of this (a distempered appetite must be gratified even with garbage, but then proper ministers should be found to furnish forth the repast), but we do complain that history should be degraded by an alliance with those puny abortions which hebdomadally issue from the press full of the most hideous obscenities—scoffing at religion, ridiculing morality, jesting with Hell, and insulting Heaven. We do complain that men of genius should pander to the foul passions of besotted prejudice, and seek to win the worthless applause of ignorant and misguided zealots by the sacrifice of honor, of justice, and of truth. Can Mr. Macaulay forget that to the period when the Bishop and the Thane sat together on the judgment seat must be referred those merciful dispensations by which the justice of the common law is tempered? Shall he be permitted to repudiate the debt of gratitude posterity owes to those pious men (whom modern latitudinarians denominate *lazy monks*) by whose labors have been preserved those masterpieces of the classic genius of antiquity, which else had perished beneath the overwhelming torrent of barbarism, which on Rome's destruction swept over the fairest provinces of Southern Europe? Shall he be suffered to depreciate the services of the Catholic Church to the cause of humanity, in achieving during the twelfth and thirteen centuries the most wonderful revolution of ancient or modern times, and by attempting to lessen our estimation of the agency by which that revolution was accomplished, rob the Church of the glory to which her patriotism is entitled? "A purer religion," he writes, "might be a less efficient agent." Really we must protest against this and such like unfair insinuations. If possible let the fact be denied, but if not, let it be stated, fairly and honestly. If any of the surrounding circumstances suggest the idea of improper motives

in the inception, improper acts in the execution, or improper designs in the consummation, state them, comment upon them, produce the evidence which is relied upon to sustain the view; but in the presence of a great fact, in the absence of every suspicion which could excite a doubt of the good faith of the chief agent in its achievement, we object to private religious opinions being foisted upon the public as the result of historical research and philosophical reflection. Mr. Macaulay may hold whatever religious opinions he considers best calculated to promote the ultimate purpose of man's creation, but we do object that he should set up his private creed as the standard by which every other religion is to be judged. We know it is the historian's province to comment upon the events he relates, and intersperse his narrative with reflections fairly suggested by the subject matter, but we have yet to learn that any historian (deserving the name) should graft upon his narrative personal opinions at variance with acknowledged facts. Were we to attempt the confutation of Mr. Macaulay's falsehoods with regard to Catholicity, the whole Review would be insufficient to contain our remarks, and as we have but a small portion of its space allotted to us, we must pass over many points, warning our readers, however, to receive with caution every statement he makes with reference to the Catholic Church. But while we pass by many particulars we cannot abstain from referring to one passage, a passage which disgraces not alone the man who uttered it, but the age which could tolerate its utterance. We grieve to be obliged to speak thus harshly of the expressions of one for whose services to the cause of emancipation every Catholic must be grateful, but we cannot admit that because as a politician he advocated the extension to a large portion of his fellow subjects of a right to participate in the benefits of a constitution which their ancestors had created and fostered—a right which the entire civilized world demanded, and which the Government declared they could no longer safely withhold—we cannot admit that this confers upon him any privilege to insult the feelings of the Catholics not alone of this Empire, but of the universe, by misrepresenting the doctrines of the religion which they profess. "Eloquence," the present Pope is reported to have said when addressing a gentleman who had then recently distinguished himself by his brilliant advocacy in a very remarkable case, but whose reputation, like that of single speech Hamilton, seems to rest upon this solitary forensic effort, "Eloquence, when properly directed, is the noblest gift of God."

But surely when that great gift is diverted from its legitimate office, and made the tool of bigotry and malevolence, it becomes a curse instead of a blessing, and from being the noblest gift of God becomes the most efficient agent of the devil in working out his diabolical schemes. We can freely admit that Mr. Macaulay does possess great powers of fascination, but we fear truth is often sacrificed to effect, and he frequently exceeds the latitude which even the exaggeration of fictitious narrative allows.

In his sketch of George Fox he permits himself to be betrayed into an exhibition of vulgar bigotry of which the most ignorant fanaticism would be ashamed. Forgetful of his own antecedents, false to the traditional glory of that party, to whose interests he so willingly sacrifices truth and candour, forgetful of the noble stand which Fox and Burke made against the enormous injustice of that oath by which the Sacrifice of the Mass is declared *damnable and idolatrous*, unmindful of the sentiments which the most distinguished Bishops of the Establishment have entertained and expressed on this subject, regardless of the well merited rebuke by which the great English lexicographer silenced the impertinent sneer of his Scotch lackey, Mr. Macaulay deliberately insults the religion of that nation whose troops have preserved our army from the ruin and disgrace to which ignorance and incapacity had consigned it, outrages the feelings of his Catholic compatriots, whose blood has fertilized the classic soil of the Tauric Chersonese, and whose bleaching bones mark the spot whereon a mighty armament has tasted the bitterness of defeat, by the dull sneer of self-sufficient ignorance at that most Holy Sacrament in which all Catholics believe their God to be present. What does he say?—and now, readers, mark well this passage; he is accounting for the phenomenon that George Fox's theories should have had any disciples amongst the well informed:—

“Thus we frequently” see inquisitive and restless spirits take refuge from their own scepticism in the bosom of a church which *pretends to infallibility*, and AFTER QUESTIONING THE EXISTENCE OF A DEITY, BRING THEMSELVES TO WORSHIP A WAFER!!!”

If this were a matter of opinion we should not have referred to it, but it is an admitted fact, admitted by every one, that Catholics do believe in the real presence; and the

most fertile theme our adversaries possess, (a theme on which the recipients of our forced contributions love to dilate,) is, the folly, the madness, the stupidity of those deluded papists who *believe* a priest can create a God. We shall, however, offer no further comment upon this elegant extract; it is a comment upon itself; and so we leave it to speak for itself.

Having thus shown how Mr. Macaulay speaks of Catholics, we shall next proceed to shew how he deals with history.

Charles the First having been beheaded by a sentence the injustice of which few now are found to question, a period of anarchy succeeded, which gradually subsided through the consecutive phases of republicanism, and a military dictatorship into the old and well loved form of monarchical government. Charles the Second was restored, and after a gay and dissolute life, yielded his place to his brother James, who in spite of the unfair attempt to exclude him, now came to the throne without any opposition. Few can praise the entire course of this King's conduct, and least of all have we as Irishmen any reason to revert with pleasure to the period when he held the sceptre of these kingdoms, or to that subsequent period, when, deprived of his Crown, he sought refuge in Ireland, and requited the loyalty and hospitality with which her people welcomed him, by betraying the cause he had summoned them to support, and abandoning them to the measureless vengeance with which their generous efforts in his behalf were visited. Still we cannot join in that indiscriminate censure with which it is sought to ruin his reputation. We have no desire to screen from just reproach the man who merited the expressive, though not very flattering, soubriquet by which he is still known in many parts of Ireland, but we think there are circumstances which, if fairly stated, would palliate if not excuse many of those acts which otherwise appear indefensible.

Called to the government of a country whose people differing from him in religion, looked with suspicion upon every act by which he sought to extend freedom to the professors of his own creed, anxious himself to be free from that foreign influence which had been the bane of his brother's career, but compelled to act under the advice of men corrupted by french gold; disliked by the Whigs, distrusted by the Tories, unsupported by the Parliament, and

doubtful of the feelings of his subjects, fearful of engaging in a war which the resources of the country were inadequate to maintain, and threatened by a rebellion he might be unable singly to repress, he became the creature of France, a pensioner on foreign bounty. These circumstances are carefully concealed by Mr. Macaulay, certainly not stated with that prominence they are entitled to. He would represent James as a most powerful Prince untrammelled by restrictions; his enemies disorganised and subdued, his friends, triumphant and zealous in their affection towards his throne and person; in fact the whole nation Jacobite, omitting to mention that those friends most trusted by James were the spies of William, and betrayed to him secrets their oaths bound them to preserve inviolate. Scarcely had James succeeded to the Crown, when the nation was astounded by the intelligence of the landing of Argyle in Scotland, followed shortly after by the news that Monmouth had landed at Lyme; had been received with transports of affection; had published a declaration in which he accused the king of the most heinous crimes; had assumed the regal title; had proclaimed against his uncle a war without quarter, and had been joined by many thousands of the commonalty, who crowded to his standard. And here we find a remarkable instance of Mr. Macaulay's *impartiality* (?) Conscious of the connexion between the Prince of Orange and Monmouth, yet faithful to the interests of that party whose cause he has been retained to advocate, he boldly asserts in the face of fact, and in defiance of evidence, William's entire disapproval of Monmouth's attempt to subvert the established government of the country. But knowing he cannot traverse the allegation or adopt that plea, permitted by our courts of law, of confession and avoidance, he with all the recklessness appertaining to a bad cause, seeks to shelter himself behind a vague generality, and under cover of a random volley to make a safe retreat; he says:—

"It is not worth while to refute those writers who represent the Prince of Orange as an accomplice in Monmouth's enterprise."

We do not wish to speak harshly of Mr. Macaulay, we respect genius, though we must deplore its prostitution to an unworthy purpose; yet we cannot but think this a disingenuous method of evading a difficulty it was found impossible to over-

come. It is strange that an authority to whom in other instances, Mr. Macaulay attaches so much weight, should suddenly sink into such total insignificance as to be classed with those writers whose statements it is not worth while to refute. The passage to which we refer must have escaped Mr. Macaulay's attention, for had he observed it, we are confident he would not thus summarily have dismissed a topic so interesting to every student of history, and on which every true worshipper of the "glorious," "pious," and "immortal memory," would wish to be correctly informed. However this may be, the fact is that D'Avaux, whom he constantly cites as an unimpeachable witness on other transactions, says:—

"That William obtained a full renunciation of Monmouth's pretended legitimacy, and *thereupon* they entered into a mutual agreement to unite their interests and assist each other, and it was then was formed that alliance which has caused so many disorders, and which cost Monmouth his life, and James his kingdom."

We might quote many writers of equal, if not greater respectability, but as we purpose again referring to this subject when we come to consider Mr. Macaulay's view of the character of William, we content ourselves for the present with directing the attention of our readers to the above pertinent passage. Upon the news of Monmouth's insurrection reaching the capital, the Parliament passed a bill of attainder. Without entering upon the justice or injustice of such a proceeding, it will be sufficient for us to say, that its effect was to place the attainted in the position of a person charged with high treason, found guilty of the offence, and sentenced to undergo the punishment affixed by the law to such a crime. We shall not particularize Mr. Macaulay's topographical errors; suffice it to say, that after many mistakes in his account of Monmouth's route and its attendant circumstances, he proceeds to attack James, (a pleasing task it would seem,) for his barbarity to his brother's reputed child. To understand this fully, it is necessary to premise, that Monmouth, having failed in his attempted insurrection, fled from the field, which his misguided dupes had watered with their blood, but was soon captured and conveyed to Ringwood; arrived there, he addressed a most suppliant letter to the king, requesting an interview, on the plea of having some information to communicate which would secure the country against any future such attempt. It is believed

that he intended to disclose the machination of William against James, but was induced by those in the interests of the Prince of Orange to conceal his share in prompting him to undertake this wild and unsuccessful enterprise. Be this as it may, James received him, but finding that he refrained from making the disclosures he had promised, and unconvinced by his protestations of his personal innocence, saw no reason to interfere with the effect of the attainder, and Monmouth was removed to the Tower. This proceeding seems to excite Mr. Macaulay's most violent indignation ; he writes :—

“The king cannot be blamed for determining that Monmouth should suffer death. Every man who heads a rebellion against an established government, stakes his life on the event: and rebellion was the smallest part of Monmouth's crime. He had declared against his uncle a war without quarter. In the manifesto put forth at Lyme, James had been held up to execration as an incendiary, as an assassin who had strangled one innocent man and cut the throat of another, and lastly, as the poisoner of his own brother. To spare an enemy who had not scrupled to resort to such extremities, would have been an act of rare, perhaps of blameable generosity, but to *see* him and not to spare him was an outrage on *decency* and *humanity*.”

This is mere nonsense. It is another instance of that straining after effect to which truth (inadvertently we hope) is not unfrequently sacrificed. It is another instance of that personal antipathy which Mr. Macaulay seems to feel towards James, and which induces him to be sometimes illogical, always unjust. If it were proper for James to have determined on Monmouth's death, how can the propriety of that determination be altered by his admitting to a personal interview the man from whom, by his own promise, he might expect to derive some valuable information on a subject on which he was desirous of obtaining reliable intelligence? This interview, mark, was not sought by the king, but was conceded to the remorseful appeal of a man whom craven fear had made insensible to shame.

James had long suspected (and with reason) that his son-in-law was conspiring against him, and he hoped to gain from Monmouth some insight into the full extent, and various ramifications of his intrigues. And had the Duke acted up to the spirit of his promise, and made the disclosure he then intended, we may presume he would not have suffered the extreme penalty of the law. In his letter he had stated that he had

that to reveal which he could not commit to paper, that which would secure to the monarch a long and happy reign. A single word, did he dare write it, would be sufficient to prove his repentance for the past and his loyalty for the future. But unfortunately he was cajoled into a suppression of his knowledge of the design of William by crafty politicians, who hesitated not to sacrifice him to the purpose of their own personal aggrandizement; accordingly when brought into the presence he had nothing to tell, but flinging himself at the feet of him whom he had so recently held up to public execration, he exclaimed, "Life, life, grant me life, at any price, even the sacrifice of my religion—I am not guilty, it was Ferguson who lured me on to my destruction." But to James his protestations of remorse appeared too vehement to deserve credit, and his abject proposal to save his life by forfeiting his faith appeared too degrading to purchase pardon. Had James refused this meeting, might not his conduct have been with greater reason adduced as a proof of cruelty? Would not the circumstance have been seized on with avidity as a further proof of the utter heartlessness of that cold-blooded monster whose stern religion had blunted all his natural feeling, whose snivelling superstition had subjected him to the influence of priestcraft, and placed him under the control of self-seeking celibates, who, deprived by their vows of the enjoyment of domestic delights, are ever plotting the destruction of kindred ties? But he did receive him, therefore he committed an outrage on decency and humanity. Is a Secretary of State charged with cruelty because, when a recommendation to mercy is forwarded to him for presentation to Her Majesty, he does not conceive that sufficient cause has been shown to justify him in advising his sovereign to grant the prayer of the petition, and by the exercise of her prerogative cancel or commute the sentence that has been pronounced? But would he not be obnoxious to public censure and parliamentary rebuke if the remonstrance were allowed to remain unheeded, and he permitted himself to continue ignorant of facts which if known might have induced him to interpose? This was just the position of James, for his determination to do justice on the wrong doer was no more than the determination every loyal subject should feel to vindicate the insulted majesty of the law. He heard whatever the unhappy prisoner could plead in his own defence urged with all the pathetic eloquence the near approach of death could inspire, but unconvinced of

his innocence took the course every honest man must applaud, permitted the sentence to remain in force. But James was a Papist—all Papists are cruel and vindictive ; therefore an act which in another is considered to be prompted by a desire to maintain law and order, becomes in him *an outrage on decency and humanity*.

It is needless for us to refer to the misstatements made with regard to William Penn, the founder of that great colony which still bears his name. The refutation of these errors has been undertaken by an abler pen than ours, and our readers may be well assured the character of this philanthropist has not suffered under the judicious treatment of the able and learned advocate. Nor is George Fox without a champion ; he has found a vindicator in the person, we believe, of the same gentleman who has distinguished himself so much in the Penn controversy ; and though we have not had the pleasure of reading this book, we have been told that it is a full and satisfactory defence of this great apostle of Quakerism. We confess we honor and respect the Quakers—distinguished in public for honesty, integrity, and patriotism ; in private equally entitled to our admiration for their charity, their simplicity, and their individual devotion to the advancement of the interests of the less fortunate members of their community. We cannot comprehend why Mr. Macaulay so dislikes the “ Friends,” unless it is that when he hates he hates with a will. We hope the converse is equally true, and that his affections are as strong and unvarying. Passing over a large portion of the reign of James—omitting too any reference to Mr. Macaulay’s other Biographical Sketches—we come to that of William, Prince of Orange. Born in 1650, he was the posthumous son of William the Second, Stadtholder of Holland, who had married Mary, the daughter of Charles the First. Deprived of the judicious instruction of paternal experience (for his father had died a week before his birth), opposed by the aristocratic republicans among the Dutch who were hostile to the ascendancy of the house of Orange, and surrounded by the officers and spies of a jealous government, he early acquired, as a defence against their snares, the reserved manners and crafty habits which were his chief characteristics through life. At the early age of twenty-one he was elected by the people, who were terrified at the disasters of the English and French wars, to the offices of Stadtholder, and Captain General. It is a deep blot on his fame that he

permitted De Witts to fall a victim to the infuriated populace, and *never took any steps to bring the murderers to justice.* This was but the precursor of that still deeper blot on his fame to which we shall subsequently have to direct our readers' attention. Elected to this high position, he faithfully discharged his duty to his country, and though he met with frequent reverses, he won the admiration of Europe for his bravery as a general and his wisdom as a statesman. In 1678 he concluded the peace of Nimeguen, and in the same year married the daughter of James the Second, and from this period he looked upon England as his birthright. Mr. Macaulay, however, not satisfied that we should regard William as a warrior, a statesman, the opportune though irregular instrument of a necessary Revolution, labors to prove that his claims to the crown were founded upon his many private virtues, and the concurrence of the person in whom those claims legally centred. That the Prince of Orange long regarded the English throne as his heritage, few, we think, will have the hardihood to deny. His court had been the refuge of those who had either supported the Exclusion Bill, or favored the pretensions of Monmouth. He had given encouragement to the Rye-house plot, had aided the advocates of the Exclusion Bill, and, as we have seen, had used Monmouth as the stalking horse of his ambition. But what interest, it may be asked, could the prince have had in disturbing the peace of a country over which his father-in-law reigned, and in seconding the enterprise of one whose success would have defeated his own projects. This is capable of a simple solution. He hoped by constantly keeping the nation in a state of excitement, to create disturbances which he himself might be called upon to compose, and he knew that the failure of Monmouth's insane attempt would be followed by executions which would disgust the public mind; and he foresaw that James would be likely to adopt a line of policy which would soon alienate the affections of the people. And should the worst happen, should Monmouth be victorious, he could very soon be rid of his opposition, for we have seen that he had in his possession Monmouth's renunciation of his pretended legitimacy, and, better still, he knew that no one was ignorant of the falseness of his claim, and he was well aware that the English people, when the first fervour of enthusiasm had subsided, would ill brook the rule of a bastard. In fact, in the words of D'Avaux, *the prince felt*

that if the king were once disposed of the duke would give him no great trouble. This was William's opinion and policy throughout, and hence he never interfered to prevent the departure of the expedition of Monmouth and Argyle. Dalrymple, who, though a Whig is an honest historian, thus writes on the authority of D'Avaux:—

"These preparations, (meaning those of Argyle and Monmouth,) made a considerable noise, even in Holland. But as rumours increase by the distance they have to run, they made a much greater in England. James, therefore, applied by Skelton, his ambassador, to the Magistracy of Amsterdam, and afterwards to the States General, to stay the embarkation of Monmouth. But both, under pretence of the forms of office, connived at his escape, either from dislike to James, whose connexion with France they dreaded, or from respect to that refuge they profess to afford to the unfortunate of all nations. The Prince interfered, not excusing himself because his assistance was not asked, and perhaps not displeased to see one expose himself to ruin, who had been rival to the Princess for the succession, the English tried in a cause that was given out to be that of religion and liberty, and disturbance raised he might himself be called to compose. He even pretended that he gave no credit to the reports of the projects of Argyle and Monmouth, although he knew that one was gone, and the other just ready to go. James then insisted with the Dutch to seize all the British rebels who had at any time taken refuge in their territories. But Fagil in public, and the Prince in private, opposed the success of the application. James, in the last place, applied to the Prince for the assistance of the British regiments in the service of the Dutch. The Prince, without giving a refusal, threw difficulties and delays in the way. Soon after he offered to go himself into England with his own guards, but received this ambiguous answer—That it was more for the King's interest he should remain where he was."

And Lingard, (a historian whose varied, accomplishments and profound knowledge eminently fitted him for that office, whose impartiality all are obliged to admit, and whose just views of men and principles none have ever dared to impeach;) thus observes to the same effect:—

"William's advocacy of the Exclusion Bill, and his reception of Monmouth during the life of Charles, were offences not easily forgotten, and the reconciliation he sought and obtained on the death of that monarch was soon afterwards shaken by his ambiguous conduct in relation to the expedition of Monmouth and Argyle. From all the circumstances, it is plain, that if at first, he knew not of the design, it was because he *preferred to be ignorant*, and that if his orders to prevent their departure were subsequently disregarded, it was because he did *not mean them to be adopted*. James, however, deemed it prudent to dissemble, the plea of ignorance advanced by the Prince, was accepted, though not believed, and his offer of coming and fighting against the usurper, was declined under the pretence

that his presence at the Hague was necessary to prevent the transmission of succour to the enemy."

These extracts, we think, go to prove William's complicity in Monmouth's enterprise, and entirely negative the presumption that he used his very best endeavours to stop the sailing of the fleet. Mr. Macaulay takes credit for William's readiness to send over the English regiments in the Dutch service, which readiness is more than doubtful, and even if it were not, by whom were these regiments officered? Why it was a piece of the deepest policy to send those regiments; they were officered by the well-wishers of the Prince, and when James desired to remove the staff, William refused to approve of the officers James proposed; in fact, they became, on William's landing, the most efficient auxiliaries in his cause. Yet Mr. Macaulay would have us believe, that William was sincerely anxious to sustain his father-in-law, and that the Crown was the voluntary offering of the nation, rather than the interested proposal of a political party.

In selecting William's conjugal life as an instance of his private virtues, Mr. Macaulay is really unfortunate. By an apparently frank avowal, he seeks to throw us off our guard, but the least attentive reader will see through this unworthy artifice. He says:—

"For a time William was a negligent husband; he was indeed drawn away by other women, particularly by one of her ladies, Elizabeth Villiers, who though destitute of personal attractions, and disfigured by a hideous squint, possessed talents which well fitted her to partake his cares. He was indeed *ashamed* of his errors, and spared no pains to *conceal* them, but in spite of all his precautions, Mary well knew he was not strictly faithful to her. Spies and tale-bearers encouraged by her father, did their best to inflame her resentment. A man of a very different character, the excellent Ken who was her chaplain at the Hague during some months, was so much incensed at her wrongs, that with more zeal than discretion he threatened to reprimand her husband severely. She however bore her injuries with a meekness and patience which deserved, and gradually obtained, William's esteem and gratitude."

There is but little truth in this statement. It was NOT for a time, but during the entire period of his union with the Princess, for Miss Strickland states that "Elizabeth Villiers was the canker of Mary's life from her marriage to her grave."

He did *not* conceal it; he carried on his amour openly, and so far from being *ashamed* of it, he, when his succession to the English throne gave him the power, created her husband

Earl of Orkney, and gave her some of the forfeited estates in Ireland to the value of £25,000 per annum, a grant so flagitious that the Parliament subsequently revoked it.

In truth, however, high his name may stand on the roll of fame as a general and a statesman, there is much in his private life to condemn and deplore. United to a young, amiable, intelligent, though not beautiful Princess, he treated her with all the coldness and insult of which his jealous temper was capable. He was a most unfaithful husband to a young and confiding woman, and a most careless protector of one who loved him fondly and truly, who was spotless in her own character and conduct, and whose life his indifference and neglect steeped in unimaginable bitterness. Had William been engaged previous to his marriage in such unholy connexion, some palliation might perhaps be proffered; though we consider it should not be accepted, for this the most nefarious outrage that can be committed on a trusting woman as former ties, old associations, and the difficulty of suddenly bursting the bonds with which vice ever enthralls its votaries. These might be urged, though we cannot admit that they afford any extenuation of his guilt. But that he should inaugurate his nuptials by a liaison with a stranger, and that stranger herself a married woman, shocks and disgusts the mind. Base indeed must be the man who could thus set at defiance public decency and private morality; proclaim his contempt of the sanctity of the marriage vow, and fly the endearing joy of truth-tied love to bask in the bought smiles of a harlot's passion, loveless, joyless, unendeared; but baser still the man who insults religion, and outrages humanity by the public defence of the character of him who has dared to violate one of the holiest ties by which the various members of society are united. We have been taught to regard as an inexpiable stain the unmanly desertion of his wife by England's greatest naval hero, and now, forsooth, we are to be told to reverence and respect in the King what we loathe and abhor in the commander. What plea can be advanced for the one, that can not be urged for the other? 'Tis true that Nelson did not, as William did, inflict upon his wife the pain of daily witnessing her own humiliation by the constant presence of his paramour. If this refinement of cruelty be an excuse, we give the Prince the full benefit of it.

To us it seems to aggravate, if possible the insult to her

whom by all law, human and divine, he was bound to love and honor. But then William esteemed his wife. Good heavens! is it not too bad to have such statements put upon record; is it usual for those who feel esteem for a person to do, or continue to do, that which they know to be injurious and distressing to the person so esteemed. Is it usual to exhibit gratitude for forbearance, by persisting in that line of conduct, the forbearing to expose or punish which is the subject of gratitude. Really we have no patience with such trash, and we fear, did we further comment upon this passage, we should be tempted to infringe upon the limits of that moderation which is the distinguishing characteristic of our Review, and which has won for it the position it now so justly occupies. For who can be temperate in speaking of such utter nonsense, and asking readers to have common sense. Why it would be an insult to their judgment to ask them to disbelieve a statement that no man of common understanding can credit. Did William esteem his wife? No. Was he grateful for her patience under his insults? No, he could not have been, for even the facts stated by our author, distinctly disprove its possibility, and we confidently appeal to our readers for a ratification of our deliberate opinion. Spies continually informed Mary of William's peccadilloes. If Mr. Macaulay knew a little more of human nature, he would have known that no subterfuge can succeed in blinding the penetrating eyes of a wife even to the most trivial neglect of a husband, and how much more easily would she discover the gross infidelity of her lord. But no more of this. Not content, however, with thus insulting Mary's feelings as a wife, he outraged her affection as a child, and regarded as puerile, and contemptible her filial piety, that virtue which is most deeply rooted in the human heart, and twined within the cords of life itself, which in the words of a distinguished orator is the "*Sacrament of our nature*." For, on that solemn day, the anniversary of that most hapless one, on which English fanatics glared with sacrilegious hand to slay the Lord's anointed—a day which then was and still is kept with reverence by Englishmen in whatever land chance may have cast their lot, whether

"In climes where southern suns unclouded glow,
Or northern regions of perpetual snow—"

A day on which an entire people seek by prayer and

humiliation to avert from themselves the punishment due to the crime of their ancestors. If such be the feelings of an entire race, how much more sacred must that day have been to her in whose veins flowed the blood of the martyr king. How must she have wished to retire to the seclusion of her chamber, and, laying aside the paraphernalia of her rank, weep not merely in sorrow for the past, but also in fear for that future which loomed dismally on her father's path, for well she knew the dark designs with which her husband's brain already teemed, well she knew the deep laid schemes by which he hoped to compass his ambition, and much she grieved that she should be the instrument by which her father's downfall should be wrought. But William was a stranger to such tender feelings, and despite his own near relationship to the victim whose immolation that day was instituted to commemorate, he, with that callousness for which he was remarkable, ordered her to put away such puerility, to cast off such effeminate sentimentality—forced her to array herself in costly attire, to dine at the public table, and further to mark his utter contempt for her delicate sensitiveness, compelled her to attend the theatre. Hear how an impartial witness describes the scene; a witness whom Mr. Macaulay loves to quote when his testimony is calculated to impeach the integrity of James, but whose evidence it is found convenient to overlook or class with that of those writers whom it is not worth while to refute when it clashes with his preconceived estimate of his hero's character. Thus writes D'Avaux to his master:—

“Your majesty knows how the English are in the habit of observing the anniversary of the death of Charles the First. On that day the Prince of Orange forced the Princess instead of her intended mourning to put on full dress. He next, in spite of her entreaties and prayers, forced her to dinner. The Princess was obliged to submit to have all the dishes brought to her one after another.”

This we presume is an instance of that esteem and gratitude which the forbearance and patience she exhibited towards William's infidelity merited and obtained—obtained we have no doubt, for his cold heart, steeled against the influence of natural affection, dead to the demands of conjugal duty, knew no better recompense for such generous devotion, but surely such generous devotion deserved a more worthy requital. Hear further:—

"'Tis true she ate little or rather nothing, and in order to make public the insult he meant to the king by all this, he, forced her to go to the *play-house*."

Now Mary was a religious woman and did not like plays or players, and, however we may dissent from such strict notions, still we respect religious scruples when sincerely felt and honestly acted upon. Many of our friends still continue to regard the theatre as the temple of vice, and some object to certain representations as apotheosising lewdness, and introducing, decked in histrionic garb, characters from whom, when met in the public way, we turn with loathing eyes. And if now, when the stage is to some extent purified by the lynx-eyed morality of a generation which wishes to assume a virtue if it have it not, persons are still found who object to enter within the dwelling of Thespis, how much stronger and more seasonable was the objection then, when the stage was but the reflection of the licentiousness of private life, when were performed Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, in which virtue was held up to scorn; when actor was but another name for vagabond, and actress the synonyme of bawd—can then a chaste and virtuous woman be blamed for adhering to her religious teaching, and refusing to witness the representation of a libel upon the purity of her sex. But William had no moral susceptibility to be offended, no religious teaching to be undermined, no virtuous feelings to be outraged. The adulterer could not understand why Mary should refuse to participate in a spectacle at which Villiers loved to be present. And it is ever the consequence of this debasing sin of lust that men who are its victims regard the most virtuous as virtuous only because they lack the opportunity of secretly and securely indulging their evil propensities. And hence William forced his wife to the play-house, and thus afforded another example of that gratitude and esteem which he experienced towards her. But listen still to what this veracious informant states:—

It is to be remarked, that though there have been plays *four times a week*, the Prince has been there *but twice* before in the last three months, which shows that his going to the play that night was a mere piece of parade!!

A mere piece of parade! Wherefore?—for what purpose?—for whom? That's the question. Now hear the reply. He had failed in the Rye House Plot—he had failed in the Exclusion Bill—he had been defeated in his attempted insurrec-

tion—he feared the Tories would cling to the principle of non-resistance to legitimate authority—he feared the Whigs would strip the executive of those powers he thought necessary to its dignity and efficiency, and thus make the Crown not worth the wearing, and therefore, the grandson of Charles the First, sought by desecrating his memory to win the support of those ruffian regicides who had defiled the throne, broke the sceptre, trampled on the Crown; whose hands still reeked with the life blood of their king, and whose deed posterity has “damned beyond the infinite and boundless reach of mercy.” These were the men on whose aid he counted, for them was that degrading scene enacted, for them were Mary’s feelings slighted, her affections mocked, her duty to her father ridiculed, and—oh! most disgraceful record in the book of time—her duty to her God made the object for “the type of scorn to point his low unmoving finger at.” And yet this monster passed through the crucible of Mr. Macaulay’s imagination, his guilt effaced, his crimes blotted out, is presented to the wondering gaze of posterity—a Hero. To proceed:—

Yet there still remained one cause of estrangement. A time would probably come when the Princess who had been educated only to work embroidery, to play on the spinet, and to read the Bible and the *Whole Duty of Man*, would be the chief of a great monarchy, and would hold the balance of Europe, while her lord, ambitious, versed in affairs, and bent on great enterprises, would find in the British Government no place marked out for him, and would hold power only from her bounty, and during her pleasure. It is not strange that a man so fond of authority as William, and so conscious of a genius for command, should have strongly felt that jealousy which during a few hours of royalty put dissensions between Guilford Dudley and the Lady Jane, and which produced a rupture still more tragical between Darnley and the Queen of Scots. The Princess of Orange had not the faintest suspicion of her husband’s feelings. Her preceptor, Bishop Compton, had instructed her carefully in religion, and had especially guarded her mind against the arts of Roman Catholic divines, but had left her profoundly ignorant of the English constitution and of her own position.

The poor Bishop, like many of his episcopal brethren in our own times, was so infected by his dread of Popery, as to neglect his proper duty, and see the result which followed.

She knew her marriage vow bound her to obey her husband, and it had never occurred to her, that the relation in which they stood to each other might one day be inverted. She had been nine years married before she discovered the cause of William’s discontent; nor would she ever have learned it from himself. In general his temper

inclined him rather to brood over his griefs than to give utterance to them, and in this case his lips were sealed by a very natural delicacy. At length, a complete explanation and reconciliation were brought about by Gilbert Burnet.

We pause to draw our reader's attention to this rather remarkable circumstance :—"She had been nine years married before she knew the cause of William's discontent." It will be recollected that William was married to Mary in the year 1678. Nine years brings us to the year 1687. Then William saw that the consummation he so ardently desired was approaching, the long coveted object of his ambition within his reach, yet he felt that all his efforts would be vain, unless his wife could be induced to concur in his assumption of the regal title. Vain had been his labors, fruitless his intrigues, unless Mary would be satisfied to ignore her rights. For, by the law of succession, she, and she alone, was entitled in default of male issue, to ascend the throne. Therefore, he was desirous of gaining from her an acknowledgment of her willingness to assent to his supremacy. But how was this to be effected? After nine years of unkindness, neglect, and infidelity, how could he ask his slighted wife for this high mark of her esteem and confidence. How could he demand any favor from her, whose honor he had betrayed, whose life he had rendered wretched, and whose forbearance he had requited with careless indifference. He could not, he dared not; for even his cold heart, case-hardened, though it was, would be wrung by the indignant reclamations of his injured wife. This is the "natural delicacy" of which Mr. Macaulay speaks. But Burnet, aye that's the man. Friend Burnet will hold forth on the abomination of a doctrine that would set the wife above her husband, and will thus extort from her religious fears what I could never demand from her affection, and he succeeded.

He (Burnet) plainly told the Princess what the feeling was which preyed upon her husband's mind. She learned then, for the first time, with no small astonishment, that when she became Queen of England, William would not share her throne. She warmly declared, that there was no proof of conjugal submission and affection which she was not ready to give. Burnet, with many apologies and solemn protestations that no human being had put words into his mouth, (hypocrite) informed her that the remedy was in her own hands. She might easily, (she did not find it so), when the Crown devolved on her, induce her Parliament not only to give the regal title to her husband, but to transfer to him by a legislative act, the administration of the Government. But, he added, your Royal Highness ought to consider well before you announce any such resolution,

for it is a resolution, which when once announced, cannot safely or easily be retracted.

This looks very like trying, as lawyers say, to pick out an assumption. It is a custom when a man wants to found an action on an unwritten contract to send a mutual friend to the party he wishes to charge, for the purpose of pumping him, and in the course of a friendly interview extracting an acknowledgement of the promise, to which he afterwards swears. But this method of sustaining an action is generally looked on with great suspicion by courts and juries.

I want no time for consideration, exclaimed Mary. It is enough that I have an opportunity of shewing my regard for the Prince. Tell him what I say, and bring him to me that he may hear it from my own lips. Burnet went in quest of William, but William was many miles off after a stag. It was not till the next day that the decisive interview took place. I did not know till yesterday, said Mary, that there was such a difference between the laws of England and the laws of God, but I now promise you, you shall always bear rule, and in return I ask only this, that as I shall observe the precept which enjoins wives to be obedient to their husbands, you will observe that which enjoins husbands to love their wives. Her generous affection completely gained the heart of William (of course he dismissed Villiers?). From that time till the sad day when he was carried in fits from her dying bed there was entire confidence and friendship between them. Many of her letters to him are still extant, and they contain abundant evidence that this man, unamiable as he was in the eyes of the multitude, had succeeded in inspiring a beautiful and virtuous woman, born his superior, with a passion fond even to idolatry? (*Oh Prodigious!*)

For the entire of this long extract Macaulay gives not a single authority. We suppose that as the stereotyped announcement of play-house bills say, "they are too numerous to mention in this advertisement." It must be manifest to all who read our pages, that William employed Burnet to terrify the poor Princess into a declaration that on coming to the Crown she would bestow upon the Prince not merely the regal title, for that he cared not, but that which he did prize highly, the administration of the Government. It is ridiculous to suppose that Mary, educated by a man of learning, could have been permitted to remain ignorant of the laws of the country which it was not improbable she might one day be called to govern. And even if this subject did not form a portion of her educational course, no one can suppose she was not thoroughly conversant with the rights and privileges of her position, James was not the sort of man to refrain from reminding her of

the high destiny that awaited her. The attempt which "*bloody Mary*" had made to obtain for her husband the regal title, and her failure therein, must surely have been frequently referred to by her pious tutor in his anti-popery predications as an instance of the insidiousness of a priest-ridden monarch in plotting the subjection of Protestant England to Popish Spain. The tragical disputes between Darnley and the Queen of Scots, Mary's own ancestor, cannot surely have escaped her attention. The fact is she knew it very well, but Macaulay throws in this insinuation to save his friend Gilbert, of whose reputation, by the way, he is not always so careful. For when Burnet speaks unfavourably of Sir William Temple's religious opinions, Macaulay fires up at once, and stigmatizes the "vague assertions of so rash and partial a writer as of little weight."

Burnet knew very well that Mary knew the law, and therefore never touched upon this topic, but directed his discourse entirely to the discrepancy between the law of England and the law God, pointed out to her that all human rules should be founded on, and subservient to, the rules propounded by the Supreme Being for the guidance of his followers, and that when He commanded wives to be obedient to their husbands, it was irreligious and unchristian in any legislature to prescribe that husbands should be subject to their wives. And so skilfully did he excite her feelings of conjugal duty and religious obligation, that she sent him at once for her husband. But William was "off after a stag." This is really ludicrous:—"off after a stag," leaving Gilbert, we suppose, to take a shot at the more domestic game. Having killed his stag, he returned to his dear; (forgive the pun,) and found Burnet in a state of awful excitement, lest the Princess should, in the interim have changed her mind, and then adieu to all visions of episcopal promotion. In hurried accents he acquainted his master with the success of his mission, and communicated her message, which having received, the Prince flew on the wings of anticipation to the woman that loved him to idolatry. Then, as Macaulay represents, took place that most important conversation on which depended the fate of the Revolution, the Whigs, and England. In his sparkling page, however, it reads like the happy denouement of some lively farce, in which the fashionable wife extends her pardon to the repentant rogue, on condition of his future good behaviour, and we can imagine William, like Charles Torrens in "*The Serious Family*," declar-

ing as loud as he could in his own mind, that in return for this frightful bore, a connubial tête-a-tête "he would have a good day's shooting." "*Sedamoto queramus serialudo.*" Let us turn to the pages of one who never derives his information from dubious sources, nor draws on his fancy for facts, but who has carefully collated his authorities and founded his narrative on the faith of original documents. Let us see how Dr. Lingard treats this subject :—

Burnet's knowledge of men and parties rendered him an invaluable counsellor, and his reputation as a *theologian*, enabled him to do his patron a most acceptable service, by persuading the feeble mind of the Princess that the law of England, which in the event of her succession to the Crown would give her the superiority over her husband, was contrary to the law of God, which made her at all times subject to his authority, and that she was therefore bound in conscience to transfer to the hands of the Prince the sovereign power which she might subsequently inherit as her birthright. Under this impression, sending for William, she made to him, in the presence of her instructor, a solemn promise that whatever authority might subsequently devolve upon her, should be possessed and exercised by him, he should bear the sway, she would demean herself as a dutiful and loving wife; nor did she ask any return for this proof of affection, than that as she practised one command, "wives be obedient to your husbands in all things," so he would practise the other, "husbands love your wives." *By these words she alluded to his amour with Mrs. Villiers, afterwards Lady Orkney, but William, though he exacted from her the benefit of the promise, was careful to absolve himself from the obligations of complying with the condition.*

This extract relates the circumstance with much more seemly gravity. Here we have nothing about being "off after a stag," but we have that which is of much greater importance, the object of Mary in using the remarkable words attributed to her. It is the innuendo points the libel, and these few lines, like a lady's postscript, contain an explanation of the entire proceeding. They prove that Mary knew why it was that her husband, who would have been the proper person to treat with her on such a subject, held back, and employed his friend to mediate. She hoped that this shame might be the forerunner of amendment, and therefore, admonished him as stated in the text. But she was a fool if she supposed that William, once he had carried his point, would pay the slightest attention to her observations. This, however, would not suit Mr. Macaulay's book; it would not answer to represent William as obtaining a promise on a condition, and then exacting the performance without observing the condition.

We do not find in this extract any mention of Burnet's protestations, and therefore we think it not irrelevant to consider was he really commissioned by William to perform this difficult task. Who was Burnet? He was the friend, the intimate, the bosom friend, of the Prince of Orange—familiar with all his thoughts, his feelings, his hopes, his fears; deeply engaged in all his schemes for compassing the darling object of his life; and rewarded for his fidelity to the cause of his patron with the bishopric of Salisbury. In truth so identified was he with the intrigues of the period, that James was compelled to require and William to submit to his temporary removal from court. But though ostensibly exiled, he still continued to guide by his counsels the acts of the Prince, and the latter never engaged in any enterprise without the consent and approval of his secret adviser. Considering then the intimate relations which subsisted between them, can it be conceived that he was ignorant of the feelings which preyed upon his master's mind. The supposition is negatived by the admission that he was the first to inform the Princess of what those feelings were. How then did he obtain that knowledge? Why by the simple process of hearing the Prince give expression to his disgust at the idea of being tied to a woman's apron strings. In what manner was this information conveyed? was it merely by an expression of his annoyance at the anomalous position in which the British Constitution placed him simply, and did no suggestion rise to the lips of his confidant; or is it not more natural to suppose that in the course of a conversation with the embryo prelate he disburdened his mind and requested his advice and assistance, and would not the very phrase used by Burnet imply that his act was not the result of his own mere motion, but the result of a preconcerted plan?

Lord Dartmouth naturally infers from the narrative itself that Burnet was employed by the Prince. And we ourselves being desirous of giving Burnet credit for common sense, would much prefer supposing that he was sent than that he took upon himself that precarious office of a go-between, which might expose him to the severe animadversions of Mr. Macaulay, who administers so stern a rebuke to poor Ken for proposing to interfere between man and wife, by stigmatising his single-minded offer as characterised by "more zeal than prudence." These are trifles no doubt, but a straw thrown up shows how

the wind blows, and these little minute circumstances, trivial in themselves, acquire a prominence otherwise unmerited when regarded as the sign-posts by which the route pursued may be discovered. Thus Mr. Macaulay himself speaks in one of his essays of such trifles—"The poisoning of an emperor is in one sense a far more serious matter than the poisoning of a rat. But the poisoning of a rat may be an era in chemistry, and an emperor may be poisoned by such ordinary means, and with such ordinary symptoms, that no scientific journal would notice the occurrence." And thus it is in history, a great and well-known fact can rarely be mis-stated without exciting inquiry and challenging contradiction. If any one expressed a doubt of the existence of William III., except in the manner and for the purpose with which the "Historic Doubts" were published, the whole press of England, Ireland, and Scotland, would be down on him, the reviews would tear him in pieces, or perhaps a commission *lunatico de inquirendo* would be sued out and he shut up in an asylum. But admitting the great fact, by skilful manipulation the individual and minute traits of character may be so turned and twisted as to preserve but few traces of the original. A sly insinuation, a covert sneer, a significant hint, a pregnant suggestion, a scientific combination of light and shade, and an ingenious admixture of truth and falsehood, may so change the face of the picture, that were the subject evoked from the tomb he would be unable to recognise his own features in the varied portraits by which different parties seek to perpetuate his memory.

Our object has been in being thus minute, to warn our readers from accepting anything from Mr. Macaulay without strict investigation. Even when he makes an admission, *anguis in herba*, *Beware*, *Timete Danaos et dona ferentes*. Be not deceived. Never permit yourselves to be led away by the false glitter of a meretricious eloquence from the necessary consideration of facts, for it is ever to be remembered that true eloquence consists in saying all that is necessary and nothing but what is necessary.

William having thus received the concurrence of Mary—how gained it is needless further to remark—began to make his preparations for the invasion of England. He made considerable augmentations to the Dutch fleet, additional troops were also levied and with more ingenuity than honesty he contrived to obtain a sum of money from Pope Innocent XI. on the understanding that in conjunction with the Emperor he was about to undertake an expedition against France. The conjuncture was

favorable for his attempt upon England. The haughty character of Louis XIV. and the aggrandising nature of his policy, had arrayed all the continental sovereigns, not excepting the Pope, against him, and poor James from his connexion with the King of France, though deriving from it no material advantage, was made to feel the effects of the general enmity which existed against his ally. Hence the eagerness with which the pope was induced to give a sum of money for the purpose he thought, of humbling the French monarch, and hence too the readiness with which the powers at the league of Augsburg received William's representation, that the expedition then prepared in Holland was for the purpose of reconciling matters between James and his subjects, and getting him to join the league against France. "If," says Dalrymple, "the Prince of Orange in coming to England had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope." "In his box there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor a short time before he sailed." We shall merely give a couple of extracts. Having referred to the misunderstanding that unhappily existed between James and his subjects, he proceeds.—"*J'ai voulu, Sire, assurer par cette lettre votre Majesté Imperiale, que quelques bruits que l'on puisse avoir déjà semés, et non obstant ceux que l'on pourra faire courir à l'avenir je n'ay pas le moindre intention de faire aucun tort à sa Majesté Britannique, ny à ceux qui ont droit de prétendre à la succession de ses royaumes. ET ENCORE MOINS D'EMPECTER MOY MEME SUR LA COURONNE OU DE VOULOIR ME L'APPROPRIER.*" He says he had no design to destroy the Catholics, but merely to correct the disorders which had arisen through evil counsels, he wishes to give freedom to the Parliament, procure the elections of proper representatives and place in security the rights of the Protestants, the liberty of the clergy, the nobility, and the people,—"*Par ce moyen seulement il y a lieu d'esperer qu'il s'ensuivra une bonne union et une sincere confiance entre le Roy et ses sujets, AFIN D'ETRE EN ETAT DE POUVOIR CONTRIBUER PUISSEMENT AU BIEN PUBLIC.*" He wishes to establish this union on a solid foundation! "Je dois Prier votre Majesté Imperiale de s'assurer que *J'employeray tout mon crédit pour moyenner que les catholiques Romain de ce pays la jouisse de la liberté de conscience et soient mis hors de toute inquiétude d'être persecutez à cause de eur religion et que pourveu qu'ils en fassent l'exercice sans bruit et avec modestie ils ne soient point sujet à aucuns punitions.*"

"J'AY EN DE TOUTE TEMPS UNE TRÈS GRANDAVERSION POUR TOUTE SORTE DE PERSECUTION EN MATIERE DE RELIGION PARMI LES CHERTIENS." We are not accountable for orthographical errors.

Having by these unworthy tricks silenced the representations of those who else might have opposed the execution of his design, having by the confederacy he organized against France given occupation to Louis at home, and thus prevented his impeding him in carrying out his project, and having by his agents in England cast suspicion on the parentage of the heir which had recently been born to James, having under the pretences of asserting the people's liberties and securing their religion, procured himself to be invited over for the purpose of composing the disturbances he himself had excited, he set sail for England, and after some failures landed at Torbay on the 5th November, 1688. James, deserted by his ministers and abandoned by his children, terrified at the approaching danger, and devoid of that moral courage which in such a crisis should have sustained him, sought refuge in flight, thus abdicating in fact though not in deed his throne. For though possessing, we believe, in an eminent degree that physical courage which wins renown in the deadly conflict of battle array, he lacked that nobler spirit which endures with fortitude the stings and arrows of adverse fortune. He seems indeed to us to have been characterized rather by that impetuous valour which in the olden time would have enabled him to achieve the laurels of the hero than to have been endued with that dignified virtue which would entitle him to claim the palm of the martyr. The throne being declared vacant by the representatives of the people, William and Mary were elected to discharge the function of sovereignty.

We do not wish here to enter upon a discussion of the doctrines of revolution. Nor is it our province to lay down any rules by which the boundaries between unlawful resistance to the constituted authorities and legal opposition to the undue exercise of power, may be accurately ascertained and clearly defined. Such a subject, though interesting, as affording an opportunity for the exercise of the mental faculties of the reader, is foreign to our present duty, and belongs rather to the constitutional philosopher than to the critic. The former may theorize on what ought to be, the latter can deal only with what is. We consider it therefore most consonant with the principles of

free discussion to hold our own opinions on this matter, extending to our readers the same privileges we claim for ourselves, *et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim*. Right or wrong, expedient or inexpedient, necessary or unnecessary, the Revolution was accomplished, the throne was offered to William and Mary; the latter enjoying the honorary distinction, whilst the former possessed the real power, of sovereignty. Their acceptance of it, however, was clogged with such impolitic restrictions as had not the spirit of a more liberal legislation intervened, might have caused the disruption of this empire, the loss to England of no inconsiderable portion of her dominions, and the total alienation of the most loyal population that ever rallied round the standard of a king. William having thus gained the object of his ambition, he proceeded to strengthen his government, and having quelled all opposition to his authority at home, he turned his attention to Ireland, which country was then much disturbed by the supporters of James's rights to the throne, from which he had been expelled. Thither he had retired after his flight from England, and had summoned her people to aid in his restoration. It will not, we hope, be considered uninteresting or irrelevant to give a short sketch of the state of that country, previous to, and at the time of, the Revolution of 1688. Though enjoying many of those elements which contribute to the agricultural and commercial prosperity of a country blessed with a fertile soil, and genial climate, possessed of great natural advantages for the advancement of the manufacturing interests, and peopled by a race inferior to none in the possession of those qualities which are best calculated to promote the essential interests of a nation, Ireland has yet from various causes been impeded in her efforts to promote the development of the industrial resources of the country. In the earlier periods of her political existence, the continual hostilities which the clannish or feudal state of society engendered, exercised a fatal influence upon her progress. "One of the worst results," says Mr. Moore in his history, "of that system of law and government in which Ireland first started into political existence, and retained in full vigour of abuse for much more than a thousand years, was, the constant obstacles which it presented to the growth of a public national spirit, by separating the mass of the people into mutually hostile tribes, and accustoming each to merge all thought of the general peace or welfare in its own

factionous views, or the gratification of private revenge." To this unhappy propensity of preferring private interest to public welfare, were the Danes indebted for the footing they were able to maintain so long in the country. Even when the Romans held Britain one of the native princes promised to put Agricola in possession of the Island. Agricola however, kept him by him for a fitting opportunity. "Agricola, says Tacitus," *expulsum seditione domesticâ umun ex regulis gentis exceperat, ac specie amicitie in occasionum retinebat.*" We need not refer to the period when Ireland was sacrificed to the private feelings of a petty prince, and deserted by her faithless son, fell into the hands of Henry II. Then a continued persecution of the original inhabitants commenced, the consequences of which are not yet completely obliterated. A frightful war sprung up between the invader and the invaded, but even in presence of this great evil the private quarrels of the petty princess still continued, and by impeding all unanimous opposition to the attack of a stranger, achieved for him a conquest which the unaided efforts of the assailant never could have gained. Then were incorporated the subdued counties into what has called "the English pale," to be without which was synonymous with annihilation.

But when James the First ascended the throne a new element of discord was introduced into this already distracted country. The doctrines of the Reformation had found few followers amongst the Irish, but at this period a fertile source of discontent was created by the establishment of a Protestant colony in the north, which adding to the many causes of discontent already existing that of difference in religious belief, gave rise to those frightful scenes of unavailing resistance and unrighteous persecution to which the history of no other country affords a parallel. To the hatred which the Celt felt towards the Saxon was now added the animosity between the Catholic and the Protestant. The entire English population clung so closely to the interest of the country of their birth, that frequent quarrels, reciprocal enmity, and mutual retaliation, were the consequences of this unwise policy. In other countries, as in England, the conquerors coalesced with the conquered, and their united exertions secured the acknowledgment of their common liberty. But Ireland, cursed by the domination of race over race, and religion over religion, presented the anomaly of a people differing in language, in customs, and in

religion, dwelling, it is true on the same soil, but drawn by feeling and interest wide as the poles apart. Some indeed, influenced by upright motives and sound policy, sought a union with the original possessors of the soil; but the purity of their motives was doubted, the soundness of their policy was questioned, and, mistrusted by those whose alliance they courted, despised by those whose party they had deserted, they exercised little influence upon the course of subsequent events, and either sunk into total insignificance or rejoined the ranks of their compatriots. During a period so disastrous little progress could be made; for as *leges inter arma silent*, so a time of intestine strife is but ill adapted for the cultivation of peaceful arts. Nevertheless the Irish people were even then remarkable for their woollen fabrics till Strafford interdicted their manufacture, lest it should interfere with the English trade in this commodity, which was then becoming the chief article of export with her merchants. Then the great factories were closed and thousands were deprived of the means by which they had been enabled to earn an honest livelihood. It is needless to draw attention to the frightful massacres which distinguished Cromwell's career in this Island; they are too deeply impressed upon the minds of the people to need a reference, nor do we wish at all to touch upon exciting themes save only so far as they are necessary for the due performance of our present duty. On the accession of James a gleam of hope shot athwart the darkness and despair which had hitherto enshrouded the nation, but alas its short duration only served to render by contrast the subsequent desolation more intolerable. The feelings of James naturally impelled him to extend to his Catholic subjects a participation in those liberties which their forefathers had won when the mitre of Langton proudly glittered in the van of England's chivalry, and the crosier and the sword were united to wrest from a false and pusillanimous prince the charter of a people's independence. He wished to grant to them a fair portion of a those liberties of which their immediate ancestors had been so unjustly deprived. But while thus anxious to gain for his co-religionists admission within the pale of the constitution, he never dreamt of disturbing the members of the established church in the possession of those rights they were entitled to enjoy. Unlike his son-in-law, who, with toleration on his lips, but persecution in his heart, plotted the extirpation of the popish clans in the Highlands, by an act of inhuman barbarity, and with no less disgraceful duplicity drove forth from

the land of their sires the loyal Irish Catholics to seek beneath a foreign flag that glory, in a foreign clime, that freedom denied to them at home; unlike him James ardently desired to maintain the spirit of toleration—that boast of the English constitution—in its integrity, and to vindicate from the unjust aspersions which religious intolerance had cast upon it the glorious principle of universal emancipation. In England the besotted ignorance of Parliament impeded legislation on this subject, and forced James to adopt a course which, though not strictly constitutional, is yet not wholly indefensible. For however we may blame him for violating one of the fundamental principles of the constitution, we very much question if Parliament be not open to severe animadversion for abrogating another, not less necessary for the well being of the nation, viz., universal freedom. However then we may censure James's measure, we must at all events accord to him our full meed of praise for the wisdom of the policy he sought to carry out, a policy to which a subsequent government was forced to conform, as the only means of preserving the integrity of this Empire. We do not mean to become the advocates of James. We have already expressed our opinion upon his conduct, but we must again deprecate the uncandid criticism by which rules of government which hold in the nineteenth century are applied to acts done at a time when, though undoubtedly these rules existed, the line of demarcation which separated the right of the Crown to control the Parliament, and the authority of parliament to resist the exercise of the prerogative, had not been accurately ascertained or clearly defined. James had sought to place the constitution in the position it should occupy. But the English, who forgot in their new-fangled notions these very privileges for which before they had fought and bled, drove him from his throne, and placed thereon William and Mary.

But in Ireland things were differently managed. Then as now her interests were little attended to, and by means of a courteous Viceroy many things could be accomplished which in the sister isle could never be achieved. By gradual steps the power formerly wielded by the Protestants to the exclusion of the Papists came to be shared in by the latter without material injury to the professors of the reformed faith, and surely it was not unnatural that the preponderating element of the population should become the preponderating element in the council by which that population was governed. But when William landed this state of things was altered, and the

power of the sword was again handed over to those who had before so flagrantly abused it. In England those who fought for William fought for an abstract principle of constitutional right, but when we cross the channel we find the same class which had sustained his pretensions seeking to abrogate a much more clearly established principle of the same constitution, and to invade not merely the political liberty but the personal existence of a long oppressed people, whose deserted schools, ruined shrines, and desecrated temples, proclaimed in language not to be misunderstood the horrors of that system, compared with which all the terrors of the Spanish inquisition sink into significance. Whilst admitting to some extent this state of things, whilst blaming us for ignorance when education was proscribed, whilst insulting our poverty when to be otherwise was penal, Mr. Macaulay educes from these circumstances an excuse for retaliations which never occurred. For when rebuking us for a legislation unwise and unmerciful, he seeks to justify our conduct on grounds repugnant to morality and Christianity. He says:—"Of legislation such as this it is impossible to speak too severely, but for the legislators there are excuses which it is the duty of the historian to notice. They acted unmercifully, unjustly, unwisely, but it would be absurd to expect mercy, justice, or wisdom, from a class of men first abased by many years of oppression, and then maddened by the joy of a sudden deliverance and armed with irresistible power. The representatives of the Irish nation were, with few exceptions, rude and ignorant, &c., &c." It is not necessary for us to give the extract in full; it will be found in page 209 of the third volume of his history. Now, let us ask, what was this legislation so unjust, unmerciful, and unwise? Before entering upon this subject it may be as well for us to observe that the chief source whence he derives his information is "King's State of the Protestants in Ireland," a sufficiently suspicious authority. But Mr. Macaulay even goes beyond his authority, and states as facts matters which King himself, with all his bigotry, does not dare to affirm. Mr. Macaulay's other sources of information are equally respectable; viz.:—"A true account of the present state of Ireland, by a person that with great difficulty left Dublin." "Walker's true account." "Ireland's Lamentation;" "Sight to the Blind," &c.

But what was this legislation? This unmerciful, unjust, and unwise parliament passed thirty-five bills—many of which Mr. Macaulay altogether ignores. But those he does refer to, he refers to only to misrepresent. One of the first measures of this parliament

was one which reflects credit on James's consistency, it was "An act for liberty of conscience." Now, kind readers, follow us, and then read Mr. Macaulay; another was concerning tithes and other ecclesiastical duties. This is represented by him to have been an act which transferred the greater part of the tithes from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy. Keeping in mind the fact, that the Papists were paupers, while the Protestants revelled in wealth, we shall consider the clauses of this statute which refer to this subject. It enacts:—

"That the Roman Catholics shall and may set out and pay their own tithes and oblations to their own clergy, and to no other of what religion or persuasion whatsoever, all tithes paid by Protestants to be paid as before to the Protestant clergy." Just the system for which now so many distinguished men in England are laboring, and which we poor Irish would wish to see established, the voluntary system, by which each creed should support its own pastors. Then would that bloated enormity which even its friends cannot defend, the Irish Church Establishment, be torn up by the roots, that degrading institution which, like an incubus, broods upon this unhappy country would be removed, those vultures who gorge themselves on the very vitals of the people with an appetite which grows by what it feeds on, would be driven out, and peace, prosperity, and happiness would reign in this then united country. For it is our deliberate opinion, arrived at in no inimical spirit, that despite Emancipation acts, despite Maynooth grants, despite every liberal measure a liberal minister may propose, or an enlightened legislature sanction, the Irish Catholic can never feel himself on an equality with his Protestant fellow-countrymen until that most obnoxious enactment is repealed which forces him to contribute to the maintenance of those whose chief mission seems to be to vilify that religion from the professors of which their chief support is derived, by representing its doctrines as blasphemous, its worship idolatrous, its pastors impostors, and its followers dupes. Let us not be misunderstood. We mean not to offend those who while differing from us on conscientious grounds, would wish to accord to us the same liberty they claim for themselves; we assail a system under which such abuses as confessedly exist in this country, could arise, and arise too from the very nature of the institution.

What would be the opinion entertained by rational men of the sanity of the individual who should propose that lawyers

should receive fees from those who never go to law, and should defend his measure on the ground that they had the opportunity of doing so if they had wished to avail themselves of it. Would Parliament enact such a measure—would the people tolerate its enactment. Never! This parallel suggests to our recollection a story we once heard, of a barber who was called upon by the parish clergyman for his dues. "Why should I pay," said he, "I never enter your church." But you might if you liked, replied the apostle of toleration. Convinced either by the logic of the divine, or by the more formidable argument, the presence of a pair of bailiffs by whom this meek disciple of reformation (?) was accompanied, he paid the money; shortly after, the barber sent in to the minister a bill for shaving; the indignant parson exclaimed, "you never shaved me, I never entered your shop for the purpose." "Ah yes," replied the astute barber, "but I would have shaved you had you come, and my shop was always open." We know not if this as it may be termed retort courteous had the desired effect. But between the church and the barber we have neglected our subject. His next object of antipathy is the "Act for the Repeal of the Act of Settlement." Mr. Macaulay says, there was no provision made for the innocent purchasers of the estates which had been forfeited under the act of settlement. So far from this being the case, King distinctly admits the existence of an express clause for indemnifying purchasers. We do not mean to enter into a detail of this statute, but commend it to the perusal of our readers. We shall conclude this portion of our subject by mentioning the parties who constituted this assembly. Mr. Macaulay makes the number of peers spiritual and temporal who attended this parliament, thirty-five, there were fifty-six. He mentions four bishops, in this he is correct; but he forgets to mention that two more acted by proxy, the bishop of Meath holding that of the Primate, the Bishop of Ossory that of the Bishop of Waterford; all of these were Protestants, and not one single Catholic Bishop was summoned. The commons, he states, to have numbered 250; King says 230, of whom, judging from the list he furnishes in his appendix, 169 were English and some of the Celts were Protestants. So much for Mr. Macaulay's impartiality (?) and James's bigotry. We again warn our readers to receive all Mr. Macaulay's statements cum grano, and certainly they do require a deal of seasoning to make them palatable.

Having thus disposed of the civil, we now take up some of the military events of this period, and in his account of these Mr. Macaulay will be found to be equally correct?

Whilst the country was agitated by these opposing interests, what was William doing? Tying with Villiers, we suppose, anticipating the time when he should have an opportunity of rewarding her disinterested affection. However he was occupied, he neglected to send succours to Ireland. He would scarcely listen to accounts brought from that country, or see those who brought them. It was said he had been led astray by Richard Talbot, who was viceroy under James, and who had acted in that capacity for the furtherance of his royal master's interest. This nobleman had been sought to be made the victim of Oates' lying testimony; but, by an opportune flight, he escaped the danger which others less fortunate incurred. His policy was to place the Irish Catholics in the position to which by their numerical superiority they were entitled, and thus make friends for James in the hour of trial, which his sagacity led him to believe was not far distant. The English and Scotch settlers of the North, sought to repair the losses they sustained by Tyrconnel's measures of disbanding Protestant corps. Swords were sharpened, and fire-arms were regarded as priceless treasures, and they prepared to stand on the defensive. In his account of James's army Mr. Macaulay represents them as totally deficient in discipline, and indulging in the most cruel barbarities towards the Protestant inhabitants. Now Sir John Hill, afterwards governor of Fort William, tells in a letter to Thomas Pottinger, the sovereign of Belfast, how well grievances were redressed, and King James's army kept to strict discipline, and Dr. Leslie observes, "had the Protestant officers of King William's army been as careful of their fellow Protestants in that country, Ireland had not been the wilderness and desolation which we see it at this day." "It is just and commendable," he continues, "to give our enemies their due, and not to conceal or lessen what they do worthily. Many of the Irish officers were kind to the Protestants, not only in making good their protection to them, but even when they had no protection and were at their mercy." James himself endeavoured to give them every protection. Notwithstanding the badness of the weather and the difficulties of the journey, he, soon after his first arrival in Dublin, went to Derry to prevent injury to their property, or insult to their persons;

but he was fired at from the town. Nevertheless as many as stayed at home and trusted to the king's protection, preserved their goods and property. But then, as now, doubtless there were erratic spirits who wandered about the country insulting the people, and reviling their religion, calling them bloody papists and telling them to remember "'41." Very probably they got mobbed and properly, but this should not be charged against the tolerant spirit of James, nor the just administration of the law; for they who seek protection from the law, should not themselves be seen to violate it. Such, however, was James's desire to guard his Protestant subjects, from danger, that even in his last address to the citizens of Dublin, in which he bid them farewell, previous to his final departure to the Continent, he expressly desires his followers to be kind to the Protestants. This speech, Mr. Macaulay disgracefully misrepresents, and suppressing all mention of this passage takes occasion to drag in a eulogy of William, quite out of place and totally at variance with truth. It is too bad, it vexes us to see this constant effort to elevate at the expense of others, the character of a man who was certainly not a whit better than his neighbours.

Mr. Macaulay devotes an immense number of pages to the siege of Derry, whilst he dismisses the much more important ones of Limerick, particularly the second siege of that city, in a very curt manner. We shall not offer any remarks upon the details of these military transactions, except to state a few facts. Mr. Macaulay takes great credit for the defence of Derry, and no doubt it was a brave thing to do; but he was perhaps misled into believing it of much greater brilliancy than it was, by the account which Walker gives of the strength of the besieging army, and the great numerical inferiority of the besiegers. The following statements will show that it was by famine alone the Irish soldiers could hope to gain possession of the town; for though Walker states the number of armed men in the town to have been 7,500, other accounts more to be relied on, give the number at 10,000 fighting men, and a contemporary Williamite authority mentions 12,000 men in arms, and besides these were 30 pieces of cannon on the walls. Walker says the Irish were 20,000 strong, whereas in fact there were but 5,000 or 6,000, and the battering train was but six guns of heavy calibre, and these they could not always direct against the town, being obliged to remove them from before the walls

towards Culmore, to prevent Kirk's ships from getting on that side with provisions into the town. The same exaggeration is to be found in the account given of the Battle of the Boyne. Macaulay sets down the Irish as 30,000, the troops of William as 36,000. The fact is, the troops of William numbered from forty to fifty thousand men, well disciplined and accustomed to war; the Irish about 25,000, mostly raw recruits unused to battle. The former commanded by a man animated by the resolve "*flectere si nequit superos acheronta movebit*," for the destruction of the Irish Catholics; the latter officered by brave warriors, but headed by a chief who seemed to be laboring under the influence of some fatal spell; for when he saw the regiments of his opponent crossing the ford, he exclaimed, "Well done, my noble English." But when the gallant Irish repulsed the attack, the cry of the craven was, "Oh spare my English subjects;" and then he ran away to Dublin, and set off as soon as he could for France. Of course it is not necessary to mention the result of the battle, commenced under such auspices; nor need we again refer to the speech James made in Dublin. But we shall turn our attention to the second siege of Limerick. Every one is acquainted with the chief events of this siege. Every one knows the daring valour of Sarsfield, his courage and his skill, his love for his country, and his loyalty to his king. Whatever he did was well done, was nobly done. Perhaps his highest praise will be considered to be in the fact, that he alone of those connected with Ireland, he alone of those who followed faithfully the fortunes of James, has escaped the venom of Mr. Macaulay's anti-Jacobite, anti-Irish, and anti-Catholic malignity. All may be then well assured, that what man could do he did to preserve this last stronghold of his master's power. But finding resistance unavailing, and induced by the offers which William had made, he agreed to capitulate on certain conditions; these Mr. Macaulay considers unreasonable; they were:—That all offences should be covered with oblivion, perfect freedom of worship allowed to the native population, &c., &c. At the very moment of the capitulation, there was a proclamation in print, though afterwards suppressed, granting the very terms demanded, but when William got the poor Irish into his power, he forgot his former promise and suppressed his proclamation.

They were driven forth, those gallant troops, whose bravery

under the French flag has rendered the title by which they were known, the synonyme of courage, wisdom, honour, and virtue ; whose fiery impetuosity has astonished their friends, terrified their enemies, and wrung from the English king the highest eulogy he could confer, "Cursed be the laws which robbed me of such soldiers."

Having thus briefly referred to Irish affairs, we now come to the deepest stain upon the character of William, a stain which no arguments can increase, and none diminish ; an outrage on humanity no sophistry can palliate, no eloquence defend,—the Massacre of Glencoe. Yet Mr. Macaulay, who throughout has shown himself the advocate of William, through good report and evil report, hesitates not on the present occasion to do battle in his cause. It appears to us that those lines of Shakespeare might not unaptly be applied to his exertions in this behalf :—

"On horror's head, horrors accumulate ;
Do deeds to make heaven weep, all earth amazed ;
For nothing canst thou to damnation add,
Greater than this."

Nothing so surely lessens the influence of an advocate with the public, as an attempt to sustain a groundless defence by the distortion of fact and the perversion of reason. How much more then is he to be mistrusted, who prostitutes his noble talents to the petty purposes of faction, and seeks to justify by falsehood and misrepresentation a crime which successive generations, with all the materials for forming a judgment before them, have stigmatised as an act of black-hearted villany. Happily, a superstructure founded on falsehood, stands at best on but an insecure and unstable basis ; truth will out, and then the tottering fabric crumbles into dust ; *magna est veritas et prevalebit*.

Let us not be told that in a neighbouring nation, ruled by a great prince, unoffending Christians were, with his sanction, murdered for, as it has been often stated though untrue, worshipping God according to their conscience ; for admitting that many fell in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, though the details of the transaction have been greatly exaggerated, we have yet to learn that the crime of one man can be pleaded in justification of that of another. Will any one have the boldness to affirm, that because the Puritans decapitated Charles the First, the French Revolutionists were justified in bringing Louis the Sixteenth to the block ; or to take a more recent case ; what would be thought of the man, who, having murdered his friend and benefactor, should put

upon the record a plea setting out, that Palmer had done the same thing, (*and been hanged?*) would it not rather be considered an aggravation of his offence, than a palliation of his guilt? For what are the objects of punishment, but to chastise guilt for itself, and to warn innocence from those courses which will inevitably lead to its infliction? But of what utility it may be asked is punishment as a warning, to a then unborn people? None. Were it not that history draws from the example of the past, lessons for the instruction of the future, in order that by viewing therein, the motives which actuated kings, and ministers, and nations, to pursue a certain course, under particular circumstances, by witnessing the success or failure which attended their efforts, by weighing the soundness or unsoundness of the theories on which they acted, the policy or impolicy of the measures they proposed, and the propriety or otherwise of the means they adopted to carry them out, by testing the principles from which they reasoned, and the process by which they deduced the conclusions to which they arrived, their rashness and duplicity, their prudence and good faith, we may know how to guide our course in similar emergencies, due regard being had to the peculiar requirements of the age; that considering the vices by which some were debased, and reflecting on the virtues by which others were exalted, we may be enabled to avoid the former, and imitate the latter. How guilty then is he, who by falsifying a historical narrative, offends not alone against truth, but against virtue, and by misrepresenting a historical character, misleads the living and calumniates the DEAD. To little purpose has history been written if its pages are to be searched with scrutinizing eye to discover in the annals of a period long passed away, a justification of evils which may at present exist.

It is well known that the Scotch have ever regarded with peculiar reverence the House of Stuart, and notwithstanding the unwise policy which prompted its sovereigns to try to uproot the religious tenets of the people, and to impose upon them a form of worship they abhorred, the brave Gaelic clansmen were true to that dynasty during the most disastrous periods of its existence. It cannot be wondered at then that when James was expelled, and William elected to fill the vacant throne, these old royalists long hesitated to give in their adhesion to the newly established order of things. For this reason many were distinguished by the personal enmity of those in power, but foremost amongst these was one whose

tragic fate none can tell without a tear, and whose memory is embalmed by the horrible treachery of which he was the victim. This was Mac Ian, the head of the Clan Macdonald, a chieftain of venerable age, majestic appearance, and possessed in a large measure of high intellectual qualities; he dwelt with his clan far from the busy haunts of men, amid lofty mountains and huge precipices, whose summits were covered with almost perpetual snow, in a valley the name of which in the Gaelic tongue, signifies the Glen of Weeping. He had amongst others brought upon himself and his clan the enmity of three most powerful courtiers, Breadalbane, Argyle, and the Master of Stair, who used all their influence to procure the destruction of himself and his race.

Two years having elapsed, and many of the Highland tribes still holding out against the authority of William, it was determined that a proclamation should issue promising pardon to those who should before a certain day lay down their arms and take the oath. The three above mentioned hoped that none would submit, and the Master of Stair wrote to the commander of the forces in Scotland with terrible calmness and conciseness, directing him to use his troops for the destruction of the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glengarry, and Glenco's, promising him extensive powers, and expressing a hope that he would not trouble the government with prisoners. Their expectations, however, were partly disappointed, for all save one complied with the conditions, and took the oath within the prescribed period; that one was Mac Ian's clan. He, with the haughtiness which the long habit of unrestricted command naturally produces, refused to be the first to yield submission. But when he saw those chiefs whose ancestral glory was not inferior to his own quietly submitting to the ordinance of the usurper, he too determined to present himself before the officer appointed to administer the required test. Accordingly on the last day allowed for the purpose he repaired to Fort William attended by his followers, and offered to take the oaths. But Colonel Hill was not a magistrate, nor was there one nearer than Inverary. The governor, however, a gallant officer, pitying the miserable plight of these unfortunates, gave them a letter to the sheriff of Argyleshire, recommending them to his protection, and carrying this document they set out on their long and toilsome journey. Notwithstanding their desire to make all haste upon

the way, such were the obstacles that beset them and impeded their progress that they did not reach their destination until the sixth of January. On presenting themselves before the sheriff he hesitated, but such was the sympathy which the worn and travel-stained aspect of the venerable old man and his followers excited, that the magistrate relented, admitted them to take the oaths, and forwarded to the Council of Edinburgh a certificate setting out the peculiar circumstances under which he was induced thus to relax the stringest terms of the order. Satisfied that they had thus fulfilled the spirit if not the letter of the proclamation, they returned to their dwellings in the assurance that their submission would be accepted. Penal laws should ever be liberally construed, and the spirit much more than the letter regarded in the interpretation of their clauses. This is the rule laid down by our ablest lawyers, and maintained in our courts of justice. But if these unhappy men trusted to such a view influencing the councils of their enemies, their expectations were doomed to be miserably disappointed, for little they knew the insatiate fury which animated those who had vowed their extermination. The news that Mac Ian had not submitted within the prescribed time was received by the three courtiers with cruel joy. Stair is reported to have said in a letter to Levinge, "I could have wished the Mac Donalds had not divided," but there still remained for his consolation the knowledge that the Glencoe people had not succeeded in eluding his grasp. He therefore proceeded to arrange his plans for wreaking on this devoted tribe an unexampled vengeance, and obliterating the recollection of his former chagrin at the escape of so many of his predestined victims, in the blood of these objects of his hate. We shall allow Mr. Macaulay to tell the tale in his own words:—

An order was laid before him (William) for signature. He signed it, but, if Burnet may be trusted, he did not read it. Whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign, and indeed must sign, documents which they have not read, and of all documents a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers living in a wilderness not set down on any map, was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. But even on the supposition that he read the order to which he affixed his name, there seems to be no reason for *blaming him*. That order directed to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, runs thus:—*As for Mac Ian of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper, for the vindication of public*

justice, to extirpate that set of thieves. These words naturally bear a sense perfectly innocent, and would but for the horrible event which followed have been universally understood in that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first duties of every government to extirpate gangs of thieves. This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or that every thief ought to be publicly executed after a fair trial, but that every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely broken up, and that whatever severity is indispensably necessary for that end ought to be used. If William had read and weighed the words which were submitted to him by his secretary, he would probably have understood them to mean that Glencoe was to be occupied by troops, that resistance, if resistance were attempted, was to be put down with a strong hand; that severe punishment was to be inflicted on those leading members of the clan who could be proved to have been guilty of great crimes; that some active young freebooters who were more used to handle the broadsword than the plough, and who did not seem likely to settle down into quiet laborers, were to be sent to the army in the Low Countries; that others were to be transported to the American plantations; and that those Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in their native valley were to be disarmed, and required to give hostages for good behaviour.

We have given this passage in full as well in justice to the writer as to relieve the tedium of the dry criticisms in which we have been indulging. We shall now consider it in detail, and we hope we shall be able to show that it is at variance with fact. The reference to Burnet is introduced as a saving clause to relieve the historian from the liability of stating what he knew to be false. But it seems inconsistent with Mr. Macaulay's acknowledged industry to suppose that he to whom every source of information was willingly disclosed, from the secret archives of state paper offices to the carefully guarded arcana of private libraries, should have been compelled to resort for evidence in support of his statement to the authority of this rash and partial writer. We cannot imagine that he could have been ignorant of the existence or unacquainted with the contents of documents which are to be found in Dalrymple's collection and Mr. Burton's works. From the former it would appear that Breadalbane had suggested a project for prevailing on the Highland clans to lay down their arms. His scheme was that a pardon and £12,000 should be given to the Highlanders in arms, and that pensions should be given to all the Highland chiefs in Scotland under a condition of their holding 4,000 of their people disciplined for war, and ready at a call to serve at home or abroad. This plan, which was communicated to Sir John Dal-

rymple, the Secretary of State then in attendance upon the king in Flanders, was by him readily adopted and laid before the King, who approving the suggestion, commissioned Breadalbane to adjust the terms, which he had nearly succeeded in doing when the jealousy of the Duke of Hamilton prevented the conclusion of the treaty. Many accusations were made against Breadalbane, but William disregarded them, observing with his usual brevity, "men who manage treaties must give fair words;" with these observations he proceeds to quote Dalrymple's account :—

Breadalbane retained deep in his mind the sense of the Highlander's breach of faith, and of the injury which they had attempted against him. He communicated his own passions to Sir John Dalrymple, and the King, who had been long teased and stopped in pursuits he had more at heart by the turmoils of Scotland, was himself irritated. A new scheme was suggested by Lord Breadalbane, adopted by the Secretary, and assented to by the King, for cutting off all the Highland rebels who should not take the oaths to the new government within the time prescribed by the proclamation. The mode of the execution was intended to be by what was called in Scotland "*Letters of fire and sword*," an inhuman, but legal weapon in the law of that country against attainted rebels. The order was sent down to the privy council which, without remonstrating against it, appointed a committee to carry it into execution, and ordered money, a ship, and other military preparations for that purpose. Breadalbane, Torbet, and Argyle, had privately agreed to give their assistance if necessary. The King's troops were properly posted; the Marquis of Athole, who by means of General Mc Kay, had for some time been paying court to the new government, had a hundred men ready. And there is reason to believe that some of these lords were flattered with the prospect of part of these rebel's estates. It is probable that some of the privy council gave warning to the rebels of their danger. For all the attainted chieftains with their people took the oaths before the time prefixed except one; that one was Mac Donald of Glencoe.

He then relates the circumstance of Glencoe's presenting himself to take oath, which we have already related, and then proceeds :—

Advantage was taken of Glencoe's not having complied literally with the terms of the proclamation and a warrant to proceed to execution was procured from the King, which was signed both *above and below with his own hand*.

True he signed it, but did not read it, says Mr. Macaulay; paltry excuse. Were it similar in character and extent to those dry and voluminous protocols which now-a-days are considered

necessary for the adjustment of the most trifling difficulties, some such apology might perhaps be accepted, but when we consider that this document could not have exceeded one or at most two lines, we confess we are unable to admit the validity of the excuse. He did not read it, very good, he did not, he had no occasion for he well knew its contents and the purpose for which it was obtained. For taking the order in conjunction with the proposal to which without doubt he had assented, it will manifestly appear that order was only an authority to the Commander of the Forces to proceed to execute the design the king had previously sanctioned, which was to cut off all the Highland rebels who should not take the oath in the prescribed time. For it is clear from the statement of Dalrymple, founded on the original documents, that William was consulted at every stage of the proceedings.

But if the perusal of these documents to which we have referred above, would not have enabled Mr. Macaulay to arrive at a sound conclusion on this matter, we are sure that the courtesy which prompted the Marquis of Breadalbane to permit to a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* an inspection of the family papers, would have induced that nobleman to afford every facility to Mr. Macaulay for informing himself thoroughly upon this interesting subject. In the observations of that critic upon this point we fully concur, although we dissent from his unqualified praise of Mr. Macaulay's former volumes. We are indebted to this gentleman for furnishing us with some selections from the Breadalbane collection to which we would otherwise have no means of access, and which render the materials for forming a correct estimate of William's knowledge of the intrigues of his courtiers still more complete. Acknowledging our obligations to this writer, we shall make no apology for using those documents in the noble cause in which we are embarked, the vindication of truth. We shall not insert the entire number of letters, nor the entire contents of each, but only those portions we consider most to bear upon the view we have adopted, leaving it to the discretion of our readers, to refer to the January number of the *Edinburgh Review* for the entire of their contents. On the 27th October, 1691, Stair writes to Breadalbane. He says :—

“You have done very generously, born a Campbell, to have favored so much for Macdonalds, who are the inveterate enemies of your clan, and both Glengarry and Keppoch are

Papists, and that's the only Papist clan in the Highlands. Who knows, but by God's Providence *they are permitted to fall into this delusion, that they may only be extirpate, which will vindicate their Majesties' justice, and reduce the Highlands, without further severity to the rest.*"

The snare which had been spread to catch the Papist clans, enclosed in its toils the unhappy Glenco. On the 31st, Linlithgow writes :—" Business at home and abroad, go as well with the King as is possible. Ireland is entirely reduced, and Parliament here is going on with all the cheerfulness and frankness imaginable ; so that if some of your clans do all by themselves, it will be very metttled. *But the last standers out may pay for all,* AND BESIDES, I KNOW THE KING DOES NOT CARE THAT SOME DO IT, THAT HE MAY MAKE EXAMPLES OF THEM."

This affords us evidence, not alone of William's knowledge of the state of the negotiations, but of his opinions with regard to those who stood out, and the policy he meant to pursue towards them. The letter of Stair, of the 3rd November, is if possible, still more conclusive. He writes :—" My Lord—I ~~SHAW~~ (SHOWED) YOURS OF THE 27TH OF THE LAST TO THE KING. I am sorry for the difficulty you find, &c." After referring to Catholic scruples about the oath of allegiance, he says :—

" I wrote to you formerly that, if the rest were willing to concur, as the crows do, to pull down Glengary's nest this winter, so as the King be not hindered to draw four regiments from Scotland ; in that case the destroying him and his clan, and garrisoning his house, a middle for communication betwixt Innerlockey and Inverness, will be as acceptable as if he had come in: This answers all ends, and satisfies those who complain of the King's too great gentleness. The King hath said to the D. Q., (Duke of Queensbury), that he will very shortly end all Scots' affairs, but it you be here any time in November, you will not come after the mercat."

There are many other letters in this collection which we refrain from quoting, as we consider it would be unfair to trespass too largely upon the materials furnished by the industry or influence of a fellow laborer. We have, therefore, only presented to our readers, those of them which we consider sufficient to produce conviction. This able reviewer, in commenting upon these letters, observes :—

" It is plain enough that the Government were desirous of an opportunity to strike a blow which should be remembered. That Breadalbane, and his negotiation, and its pro-

bable result were talked over from week to week in the highest quarters ; and above all that King William, so far from being indifferent to the affairs of Scotland, was cognizant of all that passed ; that he discussed the whole affair with Stair, with Queensbury, with Torbat, with Linlithgow, and with Craufurd, at each turn of events ; that the Queen herself had taken part in the deliberations, and *that the King was thoroughly acquainted with the intended course of his ministers.* The Glencoe people are not once mentioned in the whole correspondence, but the interest attached to this sanguinary transaction lies in the policy or the craft which dictated it, not in the individual character of the victims. Mac Ian of Glencoe, fell into the toils spread for Keppoch, and Glengary."

What now becomes of Mr. Macaulay's magnanimous declaration, enunciated with all the pomp and circumstance of an ex cathedra dogma, sustained by the *valuable* evidence of his friend Burnet? In fact the public are now placed between the horns of a dilemma. If Mr. Macaulay be right, the original documents are wrong, and if the original documents are right, Mr. Macaulay must be wrong, and wrong too when he had every means of setting himself right, for to whom would it be probable a writer would apply for information if not to the descendant of one of the chief actors in the negotiations of the period, unless indeed he is to be classed with those, than whom none are more blind, who do not wish to see. Mr. Macaulay is very severe, and justly, upon those courtiers who first planned this diabolical scheme; he hopes to screen the arch delinquent from the obloquy to which his conduct has exposed him, by holding up to public execration the subordinates in this transaction, in imitation of those modern flagellants, who, with rigid fidelity, whip the enormities of great criminals upon the vicarious backs of small offenders, but it won't do. For if he read the order, is he not guilty of great cruelty in not demanding an explanation of its terms if he had any doubt of their meaning? If he did not read it, is he on that account less culpable? Oh, but it is the custom of princes and ministers to sign documents without reading them; granted. But will even Mr. Macaulay, with all his knowledge of official routine, be bold enough to assert, that ministers are ignorant of the substance and intent of their dispatches, and can he forget that they are open to enquiry, and obnoxious to the censure not alone of that august assembly which guides

the destinies of the kingdom, but of a still more formidable tribunal, before which even parliaments stand awed, Public Opinion. Let us suppose that such an order had emanated from the Home Office at the present day, and an enquiry instituted, and suppose a minister so totally devoid of reason as to defend himself on the ground that he had not read it. What would be the result? And shall we permit such a justification to be pleaded at the bar of the unanimous judgment of posterity. Great was the outcry, just the exasperation, with which was heard the intelligence, that in the black-hole at Calcutta a multitude of Englishmen had been entombed. How then can Mr. Macaulay who has arraigned the tyranny by which such an outrage was perpetrated defend, how can the descendants of those whose horror was excited by the recital of this ferocity, tolerate him while defending William from just censure for participating in an outrage not inferior to that which then evoked so unanimous a burst of national indignation?

What, let us ask, would have been Mr. Macaulay's estimate of the king's guilt had James and not William then filled the throne? Would he have alleged that he never read the order though he signed it. Would he have justified this course by a reference to the custom of princes and ministers? Would he have hinted that even had he read it *there seems no reason for blaming him*; that the order was perfectly innocent, and the king's mind too much preoccupied with the affairs of Europe to attend to the interests of his subjects? Would we have been gratified with the perusal of that ingenious theory on the duty of government with regard to thieves which at present is made public most opportunely? Many of our most distinguished men are devoting their talents to the elucidation of the vexata questio, "What is to be done with our criminal population?" some suggesting education, which perhaps might in time effect the desired object. Tickets-of-Leave have not been found adequate to the evil. But Mr. Macaulay's plan meets every difficulty, cuts the gordian knot, and does away with all necessity for penal settlements, bridewells, and reformatories; and his plan is this, beautiful in its simplicity, **EXTIRPATE THEM.** This, my Lord Palmerston; you must do, and if you do not you abdicate one of the highest functions of your office, for "*It is the duty of government to extirpate gangs of thieves.*"

Gentlemen of the Reformatory Association, you lose your labor, a discovery has been made to which that of Archimedes was but child's play, and our historian may now imitate the example of that hardy sage, and cry aloud, I have found it out, I have found it out. We are very sorry we have been betrayed into this departure from the course of our parallel; but being interested in the discovery of the best means for decreasing crime, we were very much struck by this really admirable suggestion of our author. We shall now resume.

Would Mr. Macaulay, in fact, have urged any one of those pleas in defence of James? We think not, judging from the unqualified terms, in which he refers to his conduct towards Monmouth, and from his interpreting a passage from James's Memoirs, relating to the efforts made to obtain his sanction of Charnock's plot (which he refused,) for carrying William off *alive*, to mean, of course, assassination. We incline to the opinion that the sentence would run thus:—The King cannot be blamed for signing an order to extirpate such a gang of thieves, for it is the duty of all governments to extirpate all gangs of thieves. To read a document such as this would have been an act of blameable mistrust of his ministers. But to sign it, and not read it, it was an outrage on decency and humanity.

Had Mr. Macaulay been contented to admit that in this one instance William had erred; but that his good qualities, and the advantages he had conferred upon these realms, are sufficient to outweigh, or at least may be set off, against illegal barbarity. We should not perhaps have objected to this course. But this would not answer his purpose. William must be apotheosised at all risks. He is a great king, giving freedom to a nation, and granting toleration to his subjects of all creeds, because he hates religious persecution; a domestic husband loving his wife, though not strictly faithful to her, and by treating with harshness and duplicity inspiring her with a passion fond even to idolatry; a man in whom vice becomes virtue, and virtue, supernatural, in fact a living, breathing, acting, impossibility. But admitting that he did or did not read the order, which ever Mr. Macaulay likes better, that he was not aware of the plots of his courtiers, how comes it that after he came to the knowledge of this scandalous butchery, he refrained from punishing the actors in it. There are three classes of offenders; those who

incite to or furnish the means of committing a crime; those who themselves are the actual criminals; and those who protect offenders from the pursuit of justice. Mr. Macaulay says that William cannot be placed in the first class. Many will be of opinion that he cannot be classed in the second category; but all will admit that he must be included under the third head of accessories after the fact. Even Mr. Macaulay concedes, that it is impossible to acquit the King of a great breach of duty. But after this frank admission he goes on in his old special pleading way, concerning the King's imperfect information as to the circumstance of the slaughter. In 1695 a commission of enquiry was issued, to investigate this matter upon which the public mind was so strongly excited. In return, the Scotch parliament, with all the obsequiousness of new born loyalty, passed a vote of thanks to the King, for this instance of his paternal care. The commission sat with closed doors; the commissioners and clerks were sworn to secrecy. After more than three weeks' delay, a report was produced purporting to be founded upon the evidence, and the conclusion at which the commissioners arrived was, that Stair was the cause of this barbarous murder. That Breadalbane was an accomplice was not proved. The report of the commission was considered by the estates. They sent forward an address to the King, in which, instead of demanding the punishment of Stair as a murderer, they left it to the royal wisdom to deal with him in the manner best calculated to vindicate the royal honor; and the royal wisdom very wisely allowed Stair to go unmolested. Mr. Macaulay says—"In return for many victims immolated by treachery, only one victim was demanded by justice, and it must ever be considered as a blemish on the fame of William that the demand was refused." Does this look like an accessory after the fact? We think it does, for what is the definition given by Blackstone? "One who aids in the escape of a criminal from justice, knowing him to be a criminal." Did William know Stair to be a criminal? The report of the commission was before him. Did he favor his escape from justice? Mr. Macaulay gives the answer. And if the law of England, usually so just in its judgments, allots to the accessory a penalty, little, if at all, inferior to the principal, by what law is William to be held guiltless of participation in

this treacherous massacre? We know not. Hallam who is not unfavorable in his view of William's character, says:—

"It is an apparently great reproach to the government of William that they (Stair and Breadalbane) escaped with impunity, but political necessity bears down justice and honor."

Mr. Macaulay, while confessing that it was a blemish on William's character, forgets to assign a probable cause for his conduct. And indeed, from his peculiar position, we could not expect him to allude to it. But Dalrymple, who wrote for the benefit of the public and not for the interests of a party, boldly affirms, that—

"The king would not permit any of those who were concerned in it (the massacre) to be punished, conscious that in their cause his own *was involved*."

With this extract we shall conclude. We have endeavored to shew how Mr. Macaulay has discharged the duties of the office which he undertook to perform, and on a deliberate examination of the contents of these volumes, of which our extracts are but meagre examples, we are confirmed in the opinion; that, notwithstanding his great reputation in politics, eloquence, and literature,—notwithstanding that singular felicity of style which causes page after page of his narrative to vanish under the entranced eye of the reader,—his book is a political romance, a work of genius, it is true, but of imagination also, a perfect illustration of *HOW NOT TO DO IT*; very agreeable to read, very unprofitable to study, an invaluable book for a circulating library, but a worthless addition to the collection of a student; false in its facts, uncandid in its criticisms, illogical in its reasoning, and unjust in its conclusions. We have now done. We are conscious of many defects, written during hurried intervals snatched from the more serious avocations of life; we fear our production is inaccurate in some respects, incomplete in all, for who can review Macaulay as Macaulay would review. This much we may safely assert, we have acted throughout with impartiality, extenuated nothing nor set down aught in malice, and we confidently ask for the integrity of our motives the sympathy of our readers, if our manner of carrying these motives into effect does not entitle us to their critical applause.

ART. VII.—THE ENGLISH FOLLY FORT—THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN IRELAND.

1. *Tracts of the British Anti-State Church Association.* London: Cockshaw, 1857.
2. *A Proposal for Religious Equality in Ireland, and for a Charitable Settlement of the Irish Church Question.* Addressed to his Constituents by William Shee, Sergeant-at-Law, M. P. for the County of Kilkenny. Dublin: Richardson, 1857.

A piece of sound advice never since acted upon was given by Bacon in the year 1617 to Sir William Jones then lately appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland.—“My last direction,” he says, “though first in weight, is, that you do all good endeavours to proceed resolutely and constantly, and yet with due temperance and equality in matters of religion, *lest Ireland civil become more dangerous than Ireland savage.*” The same course of action then recommended, is equally advisable to-day, and the like evil result as then, is still to be dreaded from its non-adoption. We require a government that will be resolutely and constantly neutral between all religions, that will quietly reduce them all to perfect equality, and that having once made the law respectable, may hope for the first time to make it respected. Until this be done the expectation of lasting tranquillity for Ireland is quite delusive. The very circumstances on which small politicians found their hopes, are of all others the least favourable to a continuance of the stagnation which they call repose. In proportion as Ireland becomes enlightened and prosperous will her sense of dignity increase; in proportion as her power advances will she be resolute to use it; and in the inverse ratio of her drunkenness and her ignorance will be her toleration of the Church Establishment; a wrong which can only be perpetuated amongst sots and dunces. Ireland civil must become more dangerous than Ireland savage. The vile old type of the Irish peasant, we mean the stage peasant, the popular-tale-and-story peasant, the whisky-bibbing, jig-dancing, hooping, hiccoughing, cudgel-flourishing peasant is almost worn out, and we have broken the mould in which he was cast; the penal code of Christian England. The Church Establishment had nothing to dread from an enemy

of that stamp, nor on the other hand was it much in danger from what remained of the Catholic gentry. They too formed a portion of Ireland savage. Excluded from every career, without education, without spirit, without refinement, equally degraded by oppression and by pity, dwarfed in mind and faint of heart, they contracted themselves to their position, and bad as it was they made the worst of it. But we might easily be too severe, for we cannot quite realize that position. Every Catholic gentleman lay under a mountain of obligation to some Protestant neighbour who in disappointment of the law he had himself framed, and which he would probably have maintained to the last extremity, held under a secret trust for the wretched Catholic, the property which the latter was disqualified from holding in his own name. The Catholic thus held his own life and the lives of all he loved, at the mercy of a single man. In spite of himself and by mere instinct he composed his face and assorted his words when dealing with a trustee who in five minutes might consign him to hunger and to rags. He learned to be meek, but not for God's sake, to be abject of neck, not humble of heart, to shiver at a frown that might be his sentence, and to play for a smile which he might note as a reprieve. Unlike the English Catholics who had a shelter for their dignity in the reserve and coldness of the national character, the Irish owing to their more genial and impulsive disposition were seduced by the coarse pleasures and low ambition that solicited them. It was not for them to strive with the eloquent in oratory, with patriots in virtue, or with the brave in valour; their rivalry was with the gamester in gambling, with the sot in drinking, and with the bully in brawling. They could score bottle for bottle with any man; they could register feats of prodigious debauchery; they could tell the personal history, and deduce the pedigree of all the game-cocks or blood-horses within the four seas, but they could do no more, and were fit for nothing else. This portion therefore of Ireland savage was not very formidable to the Church Establishment, and what remained of Ireland savage was of course its champion. Never certainly had any institution of as vicious a character defenders of a much more savage nature. It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Protestant was many stages in civilization before the Papist. The latter was brutalized by defeat, the former by victory. The Protestant it is true was within the reach of civilizing influences, but they failed to civilize him. The English settler in Ireland after

one or two generations lost every trace of English character. To some of the rude virtues he added all the coarser vices of the natives and superadded all his own. He became ruinously hospitable, stupidly confiding, madly brave; but on the other hand he was sudden and brutal in anger; headlong in debauch; aduellig exactly as the New Zealander is a cannibal, by appetite; arrogant where he durst be, and cringing where he durst not; of a corruption so enormous as to make ordinary profligacy seem virtue by comparison; and of a tyranny so monstrous that its cold and advised cruelties were more shocking than the sportive wickedness of Phalaris or Domitian. In fact refinement of cruelty was the only refinement known to Ireland previous to the year 1793. This, however, was another feature of barbarism. The Indian that scalps his enemy with a hatchet of flint or bars his arrow with a fish bone, is astute in the contrivance of tortures that never occurred to the ingenuity of Greece or Rome, and it is not surprising that the Irish barbarian should have contrived a penal code the most perfect for its purposes that could be framed by man or demon.

It is perhaps fortunate that the laws were so very abominable, so utterly intolerable; as otherwise, and under a somewhat more indulgent rule, the Catholic population might have settled into an abject contentment, and have fared thankfully upon humble pie for centuries to come. The Dutch Protestants, quite as intolerant as the English, but more cautious, adopted the milder course of dealing with their Catholic countrymen, and Sir William Temple has stated the result. "The Roman Catholic religion," he says, "was alone excepted from the common protection of the laws. * * * Yet such was the care of the State to give all men ease in this point, who ask no more than to serve God and save their own souls in their own way and forms, that what was not provided for by the constitutions of their government, was so in a very great degree by the connivance of their officers, who upon constant payments from every family, suffer the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in their several jurisdictions as free and easy, though not so cheap and so avowed, as the rest. This, I suppose, has been the reason that, though those of this profession are very numerous in the country among the peasants, and considerable in the cities, and not admitted to any public charges, yet they seem to be a sound piece of the state, and fast jointed in with the rest; and they have neither given any disturbance to the

government, nor expressed any inclination to a change, or to any foreign power, either upon the former wars with Spain or the later invasions of the Bishop of Munster"—(Observations upon the United Provinces of the Netherlands—Works, vol. I., p. 58). The Irish Protestants, both before and after the Revolution, adopted a different course, and framed the obnoxious laws with whose history we are only too familiar. Yet these men were naturally nothing worse than other men—on the contrary it is to be presumed they had an average share of the good qualities that belong to the English nation, and it is evident there was in them no principle of repulsion to hinder their complete union with the kindly and forgiving people amongst whom they had come to live. The fault must be charged upon their position; but that position was made for them by the Church Establishment of which they were members, and for the best of all reasons, the reason that such a position was the only one in which such an Establishment could live secure and undisturbed. It was only in the meridian of Beresford and Hepenstall that the Establishment was vigorous and threatening. Outside an unmistakable and very peculiar state of barbarism, it may vegetate, but it cannot be said to live, or thrive. For the last eighty years every advance in civilization has been marked by some inroad upon the Establishment; but by inroads indicative rather of the native energy of civilization than of the well directed energy of the people. The tithe system, for instance, was felt to be incompatible with the peace and order that belong to a civilized community, but had the movements of the people been well advised, the system, instead of being reconstructed and adjusted to the imperfect civilization of the time, must have been destroyed at once, and not reserved to provoke new discontents, new agitation, and new conflicts. The natural effects of civil liberty—though clogged by religious inequality—are, however, beginning to show on the Establishment. The effects of education and reform are every day becoming more apparent, although undoubtedly, if we are to judge of Ireland by this single test of the Establishment, she is even yet one of the most uncivilized nations in the world. So late as the year 1845 Sydney Smith declared that there was no abuse like the Established Church in all Europe, in all Asia, in all the discovered parts of Africa, or in all that we had heard of Timbucktoo; and in the year 1857 we are entitled to presume that Dr. Livingstone has

found nothing like it on Lake Tchad, or he should have exhibited the uncommon monster in the Guildhall. There is, we believe, in Madagascar a something analogous. The king at his decease is buried with a gross of watches, the wardrobe of a regiment, pipes and tobacco for years, a plentiful commissariat, and a score or so of slaves to keep him company. We have thus in both countries a useless body lavishly endowed, but the analogy ceases here, for the Madagascar body is gorged once for all and dead, whereas the Irish body, far more noxious, is alive, has an appetite like Heliogabalus, and devours year by year a sum more than enough to buy the fee simple of Madagascar.

It is consoling, however, to know that although Ireland, the last born amongst the children of Europe as Bacon called her, is still under age; she begins to be of comely presence, and to give hope of a vigorous maturity. She has been for some time under a slow course of civilization, and every stage of her advance has been marked by danger and damage to the Establishment. It never could be otherwise, and those were right who held that the most minute atrocity of the penal laws could not be remitted with safety to the Establishment. That code was absolutely perfect *totus teres atque rotundus*. The current and the temperature are not more nicely adjusted to the constitution of the Victoria Regia in Chatsworth or the Regent's Park, than were the penal laws to the existence of the Establishment. Its life was purely artificial. Reduce the heat of bigotry, divert the current of passion, slacken the fires that maintain the one, derange the machinery that produces the other, and the Establishment, though it may survive, will certainly not flourish. Civilization is fatal to bigotry, it is fatal to unreason, it must therefore be fatal to the Establishment. Nothing could have been more frivolous than the attempt to secure the Establishment by the absurd and almost profane oaths imposed upon Catholics with reference to that Institution. They were so utterly futile and unmeaning, that Sir Robert Peel, the framer of them, declared, they left the discretion of Catholic members of Parliament as unfettered as that of any of their colleagues. If the Establishment had only the Catholic vote to dread it would be safe enough; but if the sense, the honesty, and the statesmanship of the Empire are concerned in its downfall, no Catholic disability can save it. The Church Establishment ran no

risk at any time from the mere increase of political power amongst Catholics. It was the breach in the system, the admission of air and light, the march of civilization, freedom of discussion, liberality amongst Protestants, education amongst Catholics; these it was that dealt the first blow against the Establishment; these it is that are in arms against it now; these are enemies against whom no severity can avail; and whoever promotes any of them must even without thinking or intending it, strike at the existence of the Establishment. In order to endanger the Establishment, it is not indispensable to vote with Mr. Miall or the voluntaries. The Catholic that uses the privilege of Parliament to promote education, to extend the franchise, to reform the administration, to raise the condition of the poor, does by a necessary implication use his privilege to the destruction of the Church Establishment. That institution has nothing to fear from the marksman or the pauper; but it has everything to dread from the pupil of the national school, and from the master of the national school, both perhaps prosperous men of the world through means of an education which the Establishment did its utmost to intercept. It is in danger from all who read according to their opportunities great or small; from those who in the most remote and rural districts continue to see their weekly newspaper, who perhaps beg or borrow or even buy Wyse's History of the Catholic Association, or O'Connell's speech for Magee, or perhaps a file of the old Evening Post itself, fearfully dog-eared and mutilated by tradition. It has still more to dread from the reading population of the towns, from the frequenters of Athenæums, and Institutes, and Young Men's Societies; whose small but frequent leisure has brought them into constant communion with minds not superior perhaps to their own, but better trained and furnished, and has enabled them to fill in from their own study and observation the outlines of knowledge mapped for them by lecturers or masters, and all this without prejudice to their earnest and practical religion. The Establishment may well look with apprehension to the independent farmer who in his unpretending but unincumbered affluence has time to think of politics and of Establishments as connected therewith; who has not death or the more abhorred work-house in prospect at the turn of every season, but may look to his deposit in the bank if his deposit in the earth should fail him. Although the man should not wear broad-cloth himself, he

has probably a son in preparation for the ministry, for there can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the priesthood of Ireland is recruited in any considerable degree from poor scholars, or from a class at all inferior in wealth and position to that from which most countries draw their working clergy. He has, it is quite as likely a son designed for some other profession, and perhaps a son who will ripen into the gentleman farmer, or into the small but substantial proprietor with a compact fee simple from the Incumbered Estates Court, and an ample capital to work it. These are precisely the men to feel inequality, to resent injustice, to be sensitive to dishonor. They are the representatives of Ireland civil, and events have shown that they must be more dangerous than Ireland savage.

The American and French Revolutions were the first civilizing agents known in Ireland since 1688. Under the salutary impression of these events the Penal Laws were slightly relaxed, and to instance only one indulgence, Catholics were allowed for the first time since 1703, to practise at the bar. The result shows how admirably the Penal Laws had been contrived, and how necessary was their bearing upon each other; for the man was already born, who by means of their relaxation, should within a few years be called to the bar, and from that place in the course of a few years more, destroy the ascendancy which had been built up at the cost of so much blood and crime, the ascendancy by which alone the Establishment could continue to live. Many, however, still continue under the influence of the curious delusion, that the Establishment can be maintained for ever by shifts and props, in defiance of circumstances not compatible with its existence. It is imagined for instance, that a technical and not very intelligible restraint upon the Parliamentary privileges of some twenty or thirty Catholic gentlemen will save the Establishment from common sense and statesmanship. The boat keeps its motion though the oars stop plying; the train runs after steam has been shut off; the Establishment lives after the death of ascendancy, but we can almost calculate how long. Indeed we are tempted to return to our old illustration drawn from the habits of the *Victoria Regia*, as furnishing to Mr. Spooner himself a sufficient proof that Ireland cannot be tied down by the disabilities real or supposed of Catholic members of Parliament. Suppose then Mr. Spooner's own house transformed into a conservatory for the *Victoria*

Regia by the Duke of Devonshire, without the master's consent, and in spite of his protests and resistance. The windows are shut down; the walls veined with flues; the slates replaced by glass, and the thermometer marks ninety in the shade. To make matters worse, the honorable member for North Warwickshire is tied hand and foot in the intolerable atmosphere lest, of his natural perversity, he should do some hurt to the Duke's favourite. While Mr. Spooner is agonising for breath, the Duke's servants composedly unlock his desk, appropriate his check-book, and open an account with his bankers for the support of the Victoria Regia. Not content with this, his Grace desires a new wing to be constructed, regardless of expense (the expense being Mr. Spooner's,) for the accommodation of Sir Joseph Paxton, the nursing father of the Victoria, and directs his man of law to raise a handsome rent-charge out of Mr. Spooner's estates, by way of salary for Sir Joseph, aforesaid. Mr. Spooner madly objects that he don't want the Victoria, he is vulgar enough to prefer the peep of a violet, or the blush of an English moss-rose to the loveliest exotic that ever bloomed or breathed. The Duke is inexorable; Mr. Spooner waxes faint; it is a question of your money or your life, and he prefers his life. He submits to any terms for a breath of air. The Duke relents, but he exacts an oath that Mr. Spooner will use no privilege about to be extended to him, for the destruction of the Victoria. Mr. Spooner consents; he is unbound, and the first use he makes of his hand is to open a window or to break one. He is immediately taunted with perjury, but he protests he has no wish to hurt the Victoria Regia; he rather respects it for the name it bears, but if he and it can't live together for five minutes, he must be excused for smashing the glass. We doubt not Mr. Spooner under the circumstances, would bring an action of Trover against the Duke for the check-book, and an ejectment on the title against Sir Joseph, without the smallest violation of his oath, or a suspicion that he was using any privilege, however acquired, to the destruction of the interesting, but unendurable exotic. And surely we are not to be blamed if we let in the light and air of reform, education and discussion, to search, to purify, to brighten the atmosphere of politics, although light and air may be fatal, and indeed are certain to be fatal, to particular abuses to the direct subversion of which we are restrained from applying our privileges.

No man now ventures to doubt that civilization and reform are inconsistent with the Church Establishment. No reasonable Protestant now thinks of addressing a liberal constituency without pledging himself to a substantial reform of the Establishment, and we believe there is hardly a Catholic that does not propose its abolition in a certain sense. We have stated our own views from time to time, and whatever be the value of these speculations, they must be taken in connexion with concurrent events, with the speculations of others upon which they are themselves a comment, and with the general state of opinion, as to this subject in particular. We do not care to weigh the effect of anything we have said ourselves; of anything that has been said upon our side; or of anything that has been said against us. We may overrate or underrate any of these things according to our vanity, our modesty or our prepossessions, of whatsoever kind. But in this we cannot be mistaken, whether we be praised or condemned; the Establishment is under discussion, and discussion will shake it asunder. "Cogito ergo sum" was the great starting point of Des Cartes. We discuss the Church Establishment, therefore it is questioned; the *Evening Packet* discusses it, therefore it is questioned; the *Northern Whig* discusses it, therefore it is questioned; the *Non-Conformist* and the *Liberator* discuss it, therefore it is questioned; the *Clerical Journal* discusses it, therefore it is questioned; all the candidates for liberal constituencies propose to deal with it, therefore it is questioned. Desiring nothing but a free and full range of opinion, we have had the benefit of it in our favour and against us. We must be wrong in some respects; our critics on the other hand are not infallible, but whatever we represent individually, the sum of our sayings and doings must be taken to represent a search into the title of the Establishment. There is evidently a nervousness amongst its adherents, and a movement amongst its adversaries that must result in something. A Dublin Journal in the obstructive interest, (to call it conservative would be too heavy a pleasantry,) has said as many naughty things of our last paper, as could with any regard to convenience be crowded into a single article. We do not allude to the circumstance by way of controversy with any portion of the press, but we notice it as evidence of the ventilation which the subject is undergoing. The *Northern Whig*, on the other hand, is half complimentary,

half severe. The same may be said of the *Liberator*, and in these latter instances we accept the praise with pleasure, and the censure with respect, as they both proceed from the sincerity and freedom of friendship. We do not pause for the present, to enquire whether, as the *Liberator* suggested, we are wrong in not proposing a specific agitation ; nor whether, as the *Whig* affirms, we are narrow and sectarian in our views, because we give ourselves out for what we are ; nor whether again we have miscalculated the available strength of Presbyterian opinion, seeing it is represented, if it indeed be represented, by a solitary member of the House of Commons ; but we take the entire as evidence that there is a pressure of opinion behind us all, Catholic, Presbyterian, Dissenter, and Episcopalian, which drives us forward, and compels us to speak and to write, upon one side or the other of the subject. For ourselves merely, we cannot say that any thing has been suggested or has occurred to alter our general views. Mr. Spooner has been defeated for the present by a trifling majority, but if the majority were decupled, and the Maynooth Grant stood as safe as the Army Estimates, the circumstance would not touch the question in the least. The idea of accepting Maynooth as a set off against the Establishment has never been entertained by Catholics, and can never have been seriously ascribed to them. It would argue a stupidity uncommon in any country, but certainly not usual in Ireland. An Irishman under excitement is more likely perhaps than others to act intemperately and rashly, but it is a task of some difficulty to outwit him in a quiet bargain, and we have never known him to take sixpence in the pound from a creditor who can give twenty shillings. Every country may at certain periods under influences less depressing than those which have affected Ireland since the year 1844, suspend the agitation of the most vital questions ; but no civilized community will deliberately ratify an engagement to entertain which would qualify an individual for St. Luke's

Mr. Sergeant Shree, whose appearance in those discussions we are quite disposed to welcome for the same reason that we bid welcome to friend or enemy who deals with the Establishment, has put forward what he calls a proposal for religious equality in Ireland, and for a charitable settlement of the Church question. We are perfectly unable to follow the

process of reasoning by which this excellent gentleman has been able to convince himself that the settlement he recommends does in fact amount to religious equality in Ireland. His plan is in outline the following:—It has been embodied in a bill which forms part of the pamphlet, embracing a provision for the security of vested interests, a graduated scale of payment for the Protestant clergy, and the redistribution of a considerable amount of Church property amongst the three principal denominations of religionists in Ireland. We omit several details, as it is with the principle only we have any concern, or are likely to have any, and it will be sufficient to state that the funds in question are to be distributed in the proportion of two-fifths to certain Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical Commissioners, two-fifths to the present Ecclesiastical Commissioners who are to be the paymasters of all, and one-fifth to the Presbyterian Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The monies coming to the hands of the Catholic Ecclesiastical Commissioners are applicable by them to the building of Churches, and decent support of worship generally, while provision is also made for securing to each Parish Priest and to his successors ten acres of glebe. A corporate character is also given to the Catholic Bishops and Parish Priests, the existence of the one being certified to the Government by the Catholic Visitors of Maynooth, and of the other by the Bishops of the respective Dioceses or Districts. The bill includes various measures of reform, which as they effect the Protestant Church mainly, we have no desire to notice, but before offering to examine the principle of Sergeant Shee's proposal we think it only right to quote his own introduction:—

I gave a silent vote during the last Session of Parliament in support of a motion "to consider the temporalities of the Irish Church, and other pecuniary provisions made by law for religious teaching and worship in Ireland."

For Mr. Miall, by whom that motion was made, I entertain sentiments of the highest respect. He is an able, liberal-minded, and sincere man. It was impossible to refuse assent to a proposal so cautiously and judiciously worded. I agree with him as to the urgent necessity of ascertaining and making known, to what extent the present distribution of Church Property in Ireland has conduced to the object which, in the opinion of Bishop Warburton and Dr. Paley, is the only justification of a Church Establishment,—the civil utility of preserving and communicating religious knowledge. But I totally differ with him as to the policy of disendowing Maynooth, of withdrawing the *Regium donum* from the Ministers of our Irish Presbyterian fellow subjects, and of subverting the present Church Establishment by the Appropriation of the Church Revenues to Secular purposes.

For this last object of Mr. Miall's scheme, I have a clear conviction that Catholic members, however strong may be their impression of its expediency, ought not to vote so long as a solemn abjuration "of all intention to subvert the Church Establishment," and a solemn promise "not to exercise any privilege to which they are, or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant Religion," continue to be among the conditions on which they are admitted to seats in Parliament. The faith plighted by those words has been hitherto preserved inviolate. It is free to them, as was done under the guidance of Mr. O'Connell by their predecessors, to assist the Queen's Government, the members of which are bound, as respects the Church of England, by a still more stringent pledge—in correcting the abuses and retrenching the superfluities of the Establishment. It is their duty to take care that those superfluities are not wasted by reason of the inadequacy and unsuitableness of the channels through which they are distributed, upon purposes which have no connection, or only a nominal connection with the propagation of religious truth. But they took upon themselves the office of Legislators, with knowledge that a solemn abjuration of all intention to subvert the Church Establishment would be required of them. Having made that abjuration, they are committed by it to a loyal acquiescence in the retention by the Protestant Episcopal Church, of a temporal provision adequate to secure its efficiency, and the maintenance of its Bishops and Clergy in competence and honour. What would be thought in private life of the man who having been suspected by a society into which he was desirous of admittance, of an intention inconsistent with its most cherished interests—and elected on his solemn denial of it, should avail himself of the privileges of a member to promote the intention which he had disclaimed?

If my opinion were less decided than it is, on the meaning of the Catholic Oath, and I deemed the policy recommended by Mr. Miall more hopeful than I believe it to be, I should still think our adoption of it unwise. The Church, by law established in Ireland, is the Church of a community, everywhere considerable in respect of property, rank, intelligence, and the power of avenging a disgrace on the religion of the Irish people. It is strong in the supposed identity of its interests with those of the Church of England. Nothing short of a convulsion, tearing up both establishments by the roots, could accomplish its overthrow. Nor is it by any means clear that its overthrow would benefit our religion. With the exception of the zealots who disturb the dioceses of Dublin, Ferns, Cashel, and Tuam, the "sapping and mining" of religious belief has not been thought a worthy occupation by the prelates and clergy of the Establishment. Who shall measure the effects which might be produced upon the half-informed, the irreligious, and the indigent, by the spirit of Proselytism which has of late broken loose, if universally quickened in the breasts of unendowed perverters, without standard, articles, or creed, by the lust of uncertain and indefinite gain?

The *Regium donum* is but a niggard compensation to the successors of the Scottish Presbyterian Clergymen, who were found at the Restoration in possession of the Churches and tithes of numerous

benefices in the northern province, and in the City of Dublin, and respecting whom it was provided by the Act for the Uniformity of Divine Worship.

“That from and after the 29th day of September, 1667, no person who should then be incumbent, and in possession of any parsonage, vicarage, or benefice, and who not being already in holy orders by Episcopal ordination, should not before the said 29th day of September, be ordained priest or deacon, according to the form of episcopal ordination, should have, hold, or enjoy the said parsonage, vicarage, benefice, with cure, or other ecclesiastical promotion, within the kingdom of Ireland, but should be utterly disabled and *ipso facto* deprived of the same, and all his ecclesiastical promotion should be void as if he were naturally dead.” In the most Protestant province of Ireland our fellow subjects to whose spiritual needs these clergymen minister, are more numerous by 100,000 than those who are members of the Church by law established. They have no Glebes or Glebe houses,—very few of their flocks are the lucky possessors of Church leases or purchasers for a song of Church Perpetuities. Their churches are not built, rebuilt, enlarged, repaired,—nor are the graveyards around them planted and fenced, nor are bibles, prayer-books, stoves, candles, surplices, and sacramental elements, provided free of cost, to those who worship in them, by a Government board.—Excluded like their Catholic fellow-subjects from all participation in the ecclesiastical revenues of their country, they are on every ground entitled to be considered in any plan for their more equitable distribution.

The Maynooth Endowment, the relinquishment of which would be the first, and probably the only practical step in the course proposed to us by Mr. Miall, is in the judgment, as I have reason to know, of our most eminent Prelates, indispensable to the adequate supply of a succession of Bishops and Priests for the service of the Catholic Church. Originally granted by a Protestant Irish Parliament, its increase to its present amount was the well-weighed proposal of the ablest statesmen of our times, and sanctioned after long debate by a Legislature, constituted as the Legislature now is. To almost every Irish Protestant institution for charitable objects, Literary and Missionary Societies, Hospitals, Infirmaries, Schools, Colleges, Universities,—facilities of endowment by incorporation, had been conceded,—to no Catholic Institution, Church, Convent, Hospital, School, College, or University—except Maynooth. Our Catholic foundations had only just been relieved by the Irish Courts of Equity from the pressure of the English law of superstitious uses, when the administration which is now so much blamed for the augmentation of the Maynooth grant, fastened for the first time upon Irish Charitable Institutions the fetters of a Mortmain Act. Shall we play the game of our bitterest enemies, by surrendering the one great advantage which we derive from that policy of restrictions and compensations, of which Sir Robert Peel was the well-intentioned author, but of which, the good to us and to our Church was not unalloyed with evil to our independent educational establishments and religious institutions of all kinds? The Maynooth endowment is safe

enough,—safe with the English public, safe in the Cabinet, safe in the Commons, safe in the Lords,—if the Representatives of the Irish Catholic People, have the courage and disinterestedness which are required for its protection. Whether we succeed in our defence of it or not, the shackles of the Charitable Donations' and Bequests' Act are rivetted upon us for ever.

Do you then counsel us, it may be asked, to become accomplices in the wrong which afflicts a majority of the Queen's subjects in a large portion of the Irish benefices—a church supported by the State without a people—a people without a church acknowledged and cherished as a good by the Government under which they live? Far from it. But what I do ask of the Irish People, offering to them at least such earnest of my good faith as the study of a complicated question, perseverance and consistency afford,—is, that correcting the fatal habit of hot pursuit, too peremptory dictation, and too quick discouragement which is the real cause of more than half their disappointments; they familiarize the minds of those among their Protestant fellow subjects who are considerate and just, with some Catholic-born scheme of Irish Church Reform, which recommending itself by its manifest reasonableness to their consciences, may harmonize with that system of publicity and accountability which is the sure protection of all good institutions—be compatible with, and in completion of, previous legislation in our favour—with the independence secured by that legislation to our Church—with the 21 and 22 George the 3rd., c. 24, by which its Bishops and Clergy were relieved from the merciless laws of the Revolution, declared “entitled to be considered good and loyal subjects “of His Majesty, his Crown, and Government,” and to use the emphatic language of Mr. Flood, “embosomed in the body of the State,”—with the Maynooth College Endowment Act, the Easement of Burials' Act; the Catholic Emancipation Act; the Act which secured to pauper and orphan children the religion of their Catholic parents, and with that express condition, on which the immunities, privileges, and exemptions which the more important of those acts contain, were offered and accepted—the continuance of the Church Establishment as settled by law within the Realm.

It is now twenty years since a Whig Government, backed by large majorities, presented in the person of Lord Morpeth, its Irish Secretary, to the House of Commons a “Bill for the better regulation of Ecclesiastical Revenues, and the promotion of moral and religious instruction in Ireland.” Twenty years!! What a multitude of vested interests in Ecclesiastical superfluities have grown up during their course! Shall the Vice Royalty of Lord Carlisle expire to be remembered only for the profanations and blasphemies of a proselytism which, in the diocese of Ossory at least, in defiance of the remonstrances of the most attached and influential members among the Laymen of the Established Church, has roved under Episcopal patronage and special government protection about our streets and market-places, unawed even by that wholesome fear, which shields in all other civilized countries the religious convictions of the people from insolence and outrage? Shall the trust of the Irish Represen-

tation be surrendered, and restored under his influence to the supporters of a liberal Government; and no security obtained for the redress of the great wrong which frustrates the Legislative Union? Well do I remember how the People of our county crowded about the stone in their church-yards on which was placed for signature, the heartfelt expression of their regret at his resignation of the office of Irish Secretary. Shall no attempt be made to awaken the now experienced Statesman to the promises of his mature age, and to the sorrowful disappointment occasioned by his forgetfulness of them? Are the Irish Catholic Constituencies and their Representatives so "lost," as Mr. Miall says, "to all self respect" as to be content with Church matters as they now are?

I trust, I earnestly hope not. But I should infinitely prefer the apathy which Mr. Miall condemns, to an adoption of the agitation which is now proposed to us. My object in publishing the following pages is to prove to them, and to our Protestant and Presbyterian fellow-subjects, how easy it would be to secure religious contentment, and put down sectarian ascendancy in every parish of Ireland, without subverting the Church Establishment, repealing the laws of the Reformation, or compromising the religious consistency of the State.

The greatest of all the difficulties in the way of Irish Church Reform, is the doubt, an utterly groundless one, whether anything short of a total deletion of the Protestant Establishment would satisfy the Catholic Church and people. By that doubt multitudes of right-minded men in England, the supporters upon principle of Church Endowments, are deterred from helping us. "*Nusquam tuta fides*," is their lament when irritated by unmeasured language in and out of parliament, they refer to the Catholic Oath. Naturally reluctant as we also in their places should be, wholly to withdraw a light destined as they fondly hope, in its appointed time, to lead their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen from error unto truth, they are not to be confounded with the selfish few in Ireland, who look upon the sinecures and rich benefices of the Church as means of patronage and provision for their families, to be preserved at all hazards to the loyalty of the people and the peace and safety of the empire. Detesting ecclesiastical abuses as much as we do, they would cheerfully assist in any fair and honest plan for their correction. It is our duty while exposing the enormities of the existing system, to indicate by what means other than the havoc of destruction—they may be removed or mitigated. "Show us," said Sir George Grey, in one of the debates upon the Irish Church, "some well considered plan of Church Reform which we could consistently adopt, and which would be acceptable to your own prelates and people, before you call upon us to enter upon the thankless course of remedying the evils, which we, as well as you, deplore." It is impossible to deny the justice of that answer, or the wisdom of regulating our conduct on this question by it.

That my reasons for what I now suggest for consideration may be apparent to the general reader, I have appended to some of the

sections of my proposed Bill, notes, explanatory of the nature and extent of the modifications which they would effect.

I feel very confident that its provisions will recommend themselves to many sincere members of the Protestant and many sincere members of the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches.

Although, regard being had to the available amount of the Irish Ecclesiastical revenue, it would eventually be sufficiently effective as a measure of justice and reform—there would be nothing sudden, violent, or humbling in its operation. Under it the diminution of income in every Bishoprick and Benefice would be contemporaneous with promotion, increase of rank and of worldly means to a new incumbent. It preserves to the Prelates of the Protestant Church the legal precedence which is the fitting attribute of their connexion with the Ecclesiastical Establishment of the Seat of Empire. It leaves all vested interests and all episcopal and parochial incomes during the lives of those who now enjoy them, untouched. It deprives no Protestant congregation of the opportunities of Religious worship or the blessing of pastoral superintendence. It increases the incomes of the incumbents of small livings, and of the working curates. It retains the Church patronage in the hands of those by whom it is now dispensed. On terms undeniably just to all parties, it gets rid of the perpetual pother about the flea-bite of Ministers' Money. It relieves the clergy of the Established Church from the disheartening consciousness that for spiritual service to a small and rich minority they receive the whole of the Ecclesiastical Revenue of their country.

Without departing from the settled policy of the Catholic Church of Ireland, which rejects all connexion by means of pecuniary provision between its clergy and the State, it secures to every parochial minister a suitable residence, and a certain amount of visible inalienable comfort, leaving him still dependent for support on the voluntary offerings of his flock. It preserves to the Catholic Prelates—restored to the legal status for which, after two centuries of outlawry, they had for seventy years acknowledged a debt of gratitude to the House of Brunswick—that entire freedom from control, influence, or interference, which is much better than temporal dignity or State favour, and essential to the independent exercise of their authority and jurisdiction. It relieves the Catholic People from the burthen of maintaining the fabrics of the National Churches, and throws it, as in all other countries, upon, without increasing the burthens of, the land. It secures as much of religious equality in every parish as is consistent with the connexion of the Protestant Church with the State, and the repugnance of the Catholic Church to such a connexion.

I am much mistaken if any person well informed upon the subject with which it deals, can say that is not a just arbitrament between the claims of the three Religions professed in Ireland on the Irish Ecclesiastical Revenues.

It is published in the firm belief that until Protestants and Catholics are convinced of the wisdom of effecting a settlement of the Irish Church question, in a spirit of religious respect for solemn engagements—of thrifty appreciation of advantages already gained—and of

doing as respects further reforms to others as they would have done unto themselves—its adjustment on any satisfactory or equitable basis is impossible—but that if it were once commenced in a conciliatory temper, and with the approval of the Catholic Prelates and Clergy—the wounds of the Reformation, the Restoration and the Revolution would ere long be healed, the Union would become a reality, and Ireland cease to be a cause of difficulty and anxiety to the Empire.

My place in Parliament, I may be told, is the proper place to moot this question. And I agree that it is. But having made the endeavour in the Session of 1854 and failed, mainly as I believe, for lack of Catholic support, to obtain even permission to bring in a Bill,* I am satisfied that public opinion, not only as to the necessity of Ecclesiastical Reform in Ireland, but as to the character, the limits, and practical objects of that Reform, must accompany all hopeful parliamentary effort to effect it, and that until that opinion is formed and pronounced, no government can reasonably be expected to peril the success of its general policy, on what would probably be a very thankless attempt at Irish Church Legislation.

We pass by for the present the plausible, and we doubt not well considered and honestly believed arguments in the pages just quoted. Looking to the Bill itself, two considerations occur to us, and we are prompted to enquire, first:—is the measure practicable? and secondly:—would it be satisfactory? It would be difficult, we should think, in the present temper of the English mind, to induce Parliament to consent that any fund hitherto applicable to the endowment of the Established Church, should be diverted from its present use to the endowment of other churches, and more especially of our own. If it be a task

* "A Bill to alter and amend the laws relating to the temporalities of the Irish Church, and make provision for the increase and maintenance of Church accommodation for her Majesty's Subjects in Ireland." I did not propose this Bill without good advice, nor without being fully satisfied after many years attention to the question, that all attempts to induce the House of Commons to embark, without chart or compass, on the Sea of Irish Church Reform—or in any course of deviation from the Settlement of 1829, would fail as they had before done, though made by able and eloquent men, Mr. Hume, Mr. Ward, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Bernal Osborne, Mr. Moore. I was met by daring denials from Mr. Napier of incontrovertible statistical facts. It was of little use to expose as I did, the recklessness of those denials. I had no effective Catholic support, and the government would have been less wary than governments are, if it had allowed itself to be much troubled about a matter which had slept quietly for some sessions, and about which, when presented in a practical business-like shape, nobody seemed to care. It was intimated to me afterwards that a vague but wholly unfounded impression prevailed, that the bill contained clauses to secure a pecuniary provision for the Catholic clergy.

of some difficulty to maintain the Maynooth Endowment from the general resources of the State, who would have the courage to propose a Catholic endowment out of what has always been considered a purely Protestant fund? The State might possibly consent to any other application of the fund, how remote soever from its original purposes; but we cannot realize it to ourselves that England could ever be brought to strip a Protestant corporation of any portion of its revenue in aid of Catholics and of Catholic Priests, as such. On the part of Catholics themselves, the idea, we believe, is entirely discountenanced. They would not fail to consider an endowment of this description as involving a connexion with the State, although it might not imply any actual dependence. They make no claim to the enjoyment of Church property, for Church purposes, but they certainly cannot, without deep dishonor, in any way sanction its enjoyment by the present occupants. Their acceptance of any portion would imply an acquiescence in the possession of the remainder by the Established Church, a thing which, although they may endure, it would be criminal in them to approve. Looking upon Church property to be held in Ireland by no right more sacred than the right of the highway-man, they would be answerable to conscience for compounding a felony did any consideration induce them to give a direct sanction to the retention of any, even the smallest portion, of the ancient Church Property by its actual holders? It is one thing to forbear the prosecution of their own claim, and another to admit the claim of a pretender; a claim too upon which they might rightly charge three hundred years of bloodshed, confiscation, disgrace, enforced ignorance and its attendant barbarism; a claim which has within the last twenty years been urged to keep them in ignorance still, by the obstruction of the National System of Education; a claim which, while it continues to be acknowledged, depresses the spirit, lowers the character, tarnishes the honor, distracts the councils, and deadens the energies of the nation.

But there is another feature in Sergeant Shée's proposal for religious equality strangely inconsistent with its professed object. It maintains and confirms the supremacy of the anti-national institution over the national Church, a thing, as we before observed, to which submission may be inevitable, but to which it is impossible that Catholics could give consent. We do not allude to the wretched question of precedence; we lay no claim to Lording or Gracing for our prelates; for we may

force a government to pass good laws, but we cannot force it to have good taste. We speak now of that odious supremacy which, in defiance of truth and reason, is assigned by law to the Establishment, when in its favour the very existence of our Church is affected to be denied and at most connived at. A Roman Catholic religion is to be sure acknowledged for certain purposes, but according to law, and even according to the law as it would be fixed by Sergeant Shee, there no more exists a Roman Catholic Church in Ireland than there exists an Anglican Church in France. We need hardly say that we here restrict the term Church to our system of pastoral government, which the secular government knowing to exist, and knowing to be as legitimate, as vigorous, as highly disciplined, as well organised, and as firmly established as any in the world, has the incredible stupidity, and the no less incredible insolence to treat as non-existent. To judge from the statute book no one could tell that the Catholic population of the Island lived in towns and villages, that it was occupied in steady and stay-at-home pursuits, that it consisted of noblemen, gentlemen, merchants, farmers and labourers, under the spiritual government of regular pastors with jurisdiction geographically limited. For ought that appears in the statute book the bishops might be gipsy patriarchs fixing their diocese wherever the camp-kettle should be slung for the night, and shifting it when the hen-roosts in the neighbourhood should cease to be productive. Dr. Newman has somewhere observed that Protestants reason as if they spoke from a drawing-room window and their opponents were in the channel. Certainly Sergeant Shee lifts up his voice to the sublime Establishment as if he and we with him were in the mire. He introduces into his bill the detestable jargon of "Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese or district," and for the better understanding the geographical boundaries of the district, every mortal parish in the entire district is to be enumerated.

"The Turk that two and fifty kingdoms hath
Writes not so tedious a style as this :"

and the accession of this "Roman Catholic Archbishop or Bishop of the Roman Catholic diocese or district," is to be certified to the Government by the Roman Catholic visitors of the College of Maynooth. It is not suggested in virtue of what authority the certificate of these respectable individuals is to be the title deed of our prelates, but it is apparent that Sergeant Shee

is bent upon humouring one of the most contemptible littlenesses in the English character where so much is great, that littleness of quibbling which induced Englishmen upon a question of barren title to drench with bitterness the few and evil days of their great enemy in St. Helena, and to cover their own name with dishonor by the affectation of denying his. True it is, the learned Sergeant practises some legal sleight of hand, and sidles in with a casual recognition of some Catholic titles, just as he might endeavour to steal up illegal evidence to a jury. But surely it is not this small dexterity that can earn the respect of honest Protestants, or command the support of earnest Catholics. Why not rely upon justice, common right, plain reason, and good policy? Might he not refer to Canada, and insist upon the same measure of justice for Ireland? In Canada there is no Established Church in the odious sense, and why should there be in Ireland more than in Canada? In Canada, the status of the Catholic clergy is acknowledged without circumlocution or ordnance surveys, or enumeration of parishes. Why not in Ireland? The practice is attended with no danger or inconvenience in Canada; why should there be any in Ireland? The Canadian Catholics enjoy those rights in consequence of treaty obligations with an enemy; are the Irish to expect no favour in the character of fellow-subjects? The Canadians fought gallantly against Wolfe, and they are rewarded for their gallantry by religious equality; the Irish fought victoriously under Wolfe, and they are rewarded by inferiority. Within the last few years, a Catholic University for Canada was solemnly inaugurated by the governor, and on what principle, it may be asked, should there be one rule of conduct for Canada and another for Ireland? This would be the direct, the manly, the respectable and eventually the successful course. We hope to see it adopted, and not in a tone of supplication, any more than in a tone of bluster, but in a tone of energy, quietness, and determination.

We now return to the introductory portion of Sergeant Shee's book, and it cannot be denied that what he urges with respect to the Catholic oath and the obligations growing out of it, is entitled to grave consideration, and that the import of the oath is not to be explained away by minute criticism. Admitting, however, to the fullest extent, that the Catholic Member of Parliament binds himself in no way to disturb or

weaken the Protestant religion, or to subvert the Church Establishment, we neither can take from Sergeant Shee what logicians would call the comprehension of the term Establishment, nor can we think that any interference with its emoluments would amount to its subversion; nay we do not believe that it could be even weakened or disturbed by such.

In the first place, our inquiry may limit itself to the discovery of what really constitutes an established religion. The case of Ireland is proof demonstrative, that it need not be the religion of the people, and in one view, a religion is entitled to be regarded as established, if it be acknowledged by the law as the religion of the State. That is the one constituent idea of a Church Establishment. The State is an abstraction, and so must be its religion; but treating the State for the purposes of our inquiry as a person or a corporation, it certainly may have a religion without paying for it. The pauper who pays nothing is as good a Protestant as the peer who pays his hundreds; and if the State paid nothing it would not for that be the less Protestant if it insisted upon being called so. It is not difficult to imagine the case of a country, which for some reason or other might be unable or unwilling to give its clergy State support, and which, notwithstanding, should feel so strongly upon matters of religion as to prohibit the public exercise of any form of worship but the one. We think it cannot be doubted that the form of worship so protected would be regarded as an established religion, although unsupported by the State, and holding this opinion, we cannot but think that the duty of a Catholic Member of Parliament with reference to the subversion of the Establishment, is satisfied by his abstaining from the promotion of a formal severance between Church and State, in virtue of which the present ecclesiastical corporation called the Established Church, should be declared to be no longer the religion of the State. This we should hold to be the duty of the Catholic, even though his vote might not have the effect of diminishing the income of the Establishment by a groat; for although the case of an Establishment without State support is we believe imaginary, we have religion amply endowed in France where the law acknowledges no Established Church.

But we have also to bear in mind that we are dealing with a purely local question, and that such a thing as an Irish Church

Establishment is utterly unknown to the law. It would be as correct to speak of a Yorkshire Church, as of an Irish Church. No one pretends that a Catholic is precluded by his oath from voting for the consolidation, the division or the creation of English Sees, or that he is obliged to speculate upon the remote tendency of any measure of Church discipline that is submitted to Parliament. The Pope did not conceive that he subverted the French Church, when he consented to a re-arrangement of its ancient divisions, although it involved the suppression of numerous sees, and extinguished the rights of venerable bishops. If the present Irish Dioceses were by act of Parliament reduced to one, and that one annexed to the Diocese of Sodor and Man, with or without an augmentation of salary to the Bishop of that place, and suppose the Church Property applied in any manner the nation might think fit; so long as the style and title of the United Church should be acknowledged by law, and its discipline maintained, there would in no sense be a subversion of the Establishment. There has already been a Duke of Ireland, (Robert De Vere,) and why not a Bishop of Ireland? The Irish Protestants in communion with the Establishment, are not half as numerous as the Protestants in the Diocese of London, and no one could be heard to say that such a change, however he might deprecate it, would amount to a subversion of the Imperial Establishment.

As to the question of any disturbance or weakness in the Establishment resulting from interference with what is called Church property, Sergeant Shee would seem to insinuate that the disturbance and weakness would be all upon our own side. He says we should be inundated with unpaid proselytizers of a zeal more intemperate because more genuine than that of the common barrators we have to deal with now. We are once more at a loss for the learned gentleman's premises. We do not know that the Presbyterians, Methodists, Unitarians or Quakers are more successful even in temporary corruption than the people of the Establishment; they certainly are not so prominent. Indeed if we were to push Sergeant Shee's reasoning to its legitimate conclusion by taking for granted that the agents of proselytism are indolent in proportion to their affluence, we should subscribe to pay them still more largely, as degenerate and falling states have purchased the forbearance of invaders. But for our own part, as we have already said, we desire anything rather than the subversion of the English Establishment regarded as something distinct from that of Ireland, nor even

in the case of Ireland have we any desire to push things to an extremity. Some of our cotemporaries have considered us as speculative, but it certainly is our wish to be as practical as possible. Unlike our English friends, the voluntaries, we apply the voluntary principle, but we have not the faintest desire to analyze it or force it upon others. We make no appeal to Scripture. That *would* be speculative. In America, abolitionists and slave-holders and slave-breeders quiet their consciences with Scripture. If Catholics in this country object to a state endowment for themselves, that is a matter of policy, and they have no right to force their reluctance upon others; but they have a distinct right to their proper liberties, to a legal standing for their clergy, and to any adjustment of the burthens of the State which they can constitutionally enforce. If the State think proper to indulge in the luxury of a Church Establishment, it is an imperial concern, and the expenses should be borne by the Empire. It will not do for England to say, I support my branch of the Establishment, let Ireland support hers. Our answer is, you like your Establishment, it is your fancy, your taste, your weakness, your doll, anything you please, but we in Ireland don't want it, we don't like it, it don't serve us, it don't amuse us.

So far as Ireland is represented, whether by electors or non-electors, she repudiates an establishment for herself; but she might perhaps say, I have to some extent lost my individuality in the Empire; and the Establishment is one of the disadvantages attached to the countervailing advantages of the British connexion. The Established Church being a purely imperial institution, there is no reason why Ireland should be burthened with the exclusive support of a branch of it, and that upon a scale of the most wanton extravagance, any more than that she should pay out of her provincial purse, the regiments of the royal army that may be stationed in Ireland. We have no desire to impose our scruples or our policy upon the Protestant clergy. If they prefer state-payment let them have their preference, but let their payment be from imperial funds and upon a rational scale. We think that a plan could be suggested, which, without diminishing the funds of the Protestant church notably or almost at all, and without throwing much additional burthen upon the State, might be made to satisfy the reasonable requirements of all parties, and that without waiting for the voidance of benefices, an absolute and

final change might take place in the course of a single session. The Consolidated Fund taking upon itself the payment of the Established Clergy upon whatever scale a Church reformer might regulate, could recoupe itself out of the sale of Church lands at the full value, and with a parliamentary title—and also by compelling the landholders to redeem the tithe rent charge for a moderate composition as they have at present the option of redeeming their crown and quit rents. The sum so placed to the credit of the Imperial Exchequer would go a large way in diminishing the burthen justly thrown upon imperial resources, while every cause of complaint in Ireland might, by the removal of a few odious, although really inoperative restrictions from the Catholic clergy be totally at an end, without any approach to the subversion of the Establishment, or any state provision for the Catholic clergy. But under no circumstances can this question be allowed to sleep. The Establishment will not obtain easier terms by delay. There are those at work everywhere, Protestant and Catholic, who will not suffer it to stand. In a certain sense they are not free agents. They obey the bent and the current of the time. It is as much a matter of course for them to level religious inequalities, or to speak modern English, or wear modern costume. Civilization will of its own virtue abolish the present Establishment as effectual as it has abolished judicial astrology. Help who may, resist who will, “every valley shall be filled, and every mountain and hill shall be brought low.”

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ART. I.—ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

FOURTH PAPER.

Annales Typographica, Norimbergæ. 1793.

From a Dissertation annexed to Morgan's *Phœnix Britannicus* in the quarto edition of 1732, much interesting information may be gathered on the subject of Pamphlets.

The derivation of the word may be found in *Minsheu's Guide to Tongues*, fol. 1627; in the Preface to *Icon Libellorum*; Skinner's *Etym. Ling. Angl.* fol. 1671; and Spelman's *Glossary*.

The term *Pamphlet*, or *little* paper book, imports no reproachful character, any more than the word *great* book; it signifies a pasquil, as little as it does a panegyric of itself; is neither good nor bad, learned nor illiterate, true nor false, serious nor jocular, of its own naked meaning or construction; but it is either of them, according as the subject makes the distinction. Thus we read in Rushworth of scurrilous and abusive pamphlets, ordered to be burned in 1647; whilst the *Encomium of Queen Emma* is called a Pamphlet, in Holinshed.

Oldy's states:—As for the antiquity of pamphlets, it is not only questionable, whether the Art of Printing should set a bound to it, but even the adoption of the name itself, which yet I take to be more modern than that Art; for I look upon them as the eldest offspring of paper, and to claim the rights of primogeniture even of bound volumes, however they may be shorter-lived, and the younger brother has so much out-grown the elder; inasmuch as arguments do now, and more especially did in the minority of our erudition, not only so much more rarely require a larger compass than pamphlets will comprise; but

these being of a more ready and facile, more decent and simple form, suitable to the character of the more artless ages, they seem to have been preferred by our modest ancestry for the communication of their sentiments, before book-writing became a trade: and lucre, or vanity let in deluges of digressory learning, to swell up unwieldy folios. Thus I find, not a little to the honor of our subject, no less a person than the renowned King Alfred, collecting his sage precepts and divine sentences, with his own Royal hand, into 'quaternions of leaves stitched together;' which he would enlarge with additional quaternions, as occasion offered: yet he seemed to keep his collection so much within the limits of a pamphlet size (however bound together at last,) that he called it by the name of his hand-book, because he made it his constant companion, and had it at hand wherever he was.

"It is so difficult to recover even any of our first books or volumes, which were printed by William Caxton, though it is certain he set forth near half a hundred of them in folio, that it were a wonder if his pamphlets should not be quite lost. There are more extant of his successor Wynkin de Worde's printing in this lesser form, whereof, as great rarities, I have seen both in quarto and octavo, though holding no comparison probably with those of his also, which are destroyed.

"The civil wars of Charles I. and the Parliament party produced an innumerable quantity of these paper lanthorns, as a Wit of that time called them, which, while they illuminated the multitude, did not always escape the flames themselves.

"At this time might be mentioned the restless John Lilburn and the endless William Prynne, who wrote in earnest, for both bled in the cause. There are near a hundred pamphlets written by and concerning the first of these authors.—But, the labors of the last being unparalleled, I may here not improperly observe, that, during the forty-two years he was a writer, he published above a hundred and sixty pamphlets, besides several thick bound volumes in quarto and folio, all said to be gathered into about 40 tomes, and extant in Lincoln's Inn Library. I think the printed catalogue of his writings extends not in their whole number beyond one hundred and sixty-eight different pieces; but Anthony Wood to above one hundred and four-score; who also computes, he must needs have composed at the rate of a sheet every day, from the time that he came to man's estate.

"This particular notice of our most voluminous Pamphleteer will lead us to a general review of the numerous produce of the press, during that turbulent series aforesaid, wherein he was such a fruitful instrument, to impregnate the same and promote the superstation thereof. For by the grand collection of Pamphlets, which was made by Tomlinson the bookseller, from the latter end of the year 1640 to the beginning of 1660, it appears there were published in that space near thirty thousand several tracts: and that these were not the complete issue of that period, there is good presumption, and I believe, proofs in being: notwithstanding, it is enriched with near a hundred manuscripts, which nobody then (being written on the side of Royalists) would venture to put in print; the whole, however, for it is yet undispersed, is progressively and uniformly bound, in upwards of two thousand volumes, of all sizes. The catalogue, which was taken by Marmaduke Foster, the auctioneer, consists of twelve volumes in folio; wherein every piece has such a punctual register and reference, that the smallest even of a single leaf, may be readily repaired to thereby. They were collected, no doubt, with great assiduity and expense, and not preserved, in those troublesome times, without greater danger and difficulty; the books being often shifted from place to place out of the Army's reach. And so scarce were many of these tracts, even at their first publication, that King Charles I. is reported to have given ten pounds for only reading one of them over, which he could no where else procure, at the owner's house in St. Paul's Church-yard.

"By the munificence of his Majesty Geo. III. the British Museum was some years since enriched with this most valuable collection of 30,000 tracts, bound in 2000 volumes; 100, chiefly on the King's side, were printed but never published, the whole was intended for Charles the First's use, carried about England as the Parliament-army marched, kept in the collectors warehouses disguised as tables covered with canvas, and lodged last at Oxford under the care of Dr. Barlow till he was made Bishop of Lincoln. They were offered to the Library at Oxford, and at length bought for Charles II. by his stationer Samuel Mearne, whose widow afterwards was obliged to dispose of them by leave of the King, 1684; but it is believed, they continued unsold till his present Majesty bought them, of Mearne's representatives. In a printed paper it is said the collector refused £4,000 for them.

"Out of this immense collection Rushworth furnished himself with authorities; and, if the spirit of party was not so prevalent among them, we might still look them over with profit, but they are too much spoiled by the canting divinity of the times, which suits not the present age. Yet we have not been totally wanting in taste for these ephemeral productions, or of purchasers at an extravagant price, as Lord Somers, who gave more than £500 for Tom Britton the smallcoal man's collection in this way; and Anthony Collins, whose collection afterwards produced above £1800; encouragement sufficient to induce other collectors to gather what the squalls of fate and chance may throw up."

Dr. Francis Bernard, who was physician to King James II., was a man of learning and well versed in literary history. He had the best private collection of scarce and curious books that had been seen in England, and was a good judge of their value. He died Feb. 9, 1697, in his 70th year. The Catalogue of his books, which were sold by auction, is dated in 1698. The amount of this Auction (after deducting 4s. in the pound, which were the expenses of the sale) was £1600, a large sum in that time, when the passion for rare books was much more moderate than it is at present.

Pamphlets have been the terror of oppression. Thus Philip the Second's wicked employment, treacherous desertion, and barbarous persecution of his secretary Antonio Perez, upbraids him out of that Author's *Librillo*, through all Europe, to this day. Mary Queen of Scots has not yet got clear of *Buchanan's Detection*. Robert Earl of Leicester cannot shake off *Father Parson's Green-coat*—George Duke of Buckingham will not speedily outstrip Dr. Eglisbam's *Fore-runner of Revenge*. Nor was Oliver Cromwell far from *killing* himself, at the pamphlet which argued it to be *no Murder*, lest it should persuade others to think so, and he perish by ignobler hands than his own.

Oldys goes into a mass of arguments and valuable information, but we shall close with one of his arguments in favor of carefully *preserving* pamphlets:—"They stand in greater need of such care, than writings better secured by their bulk and bindings do. Many good old family books are descended to us, whose backs and sides our careful grand-sires buffed and bossed and boarded against the teeth of time, or more devouring ignorance; and whose leaves they guarded with brass, nay

silver clasps, against the assaults of worm and weather. But these defenceless conduits of advertisement are so much more obnoxious, by reason of their nakedness and debility, to all destructive casualties, that it is more rare and difficult for want of a proper asylum, to meet with some tracts which have not been printed ten years, than with many books which are now more than ten times their age."

Several scarce tracts have been reprinted and their ideal value of course lessened, scarce tracts have at all periods brought great prices, until reprinted. At the Auction of the Books of Mr. Charles Bernard, Sergeant Surgeon to Queen Anne, small tracts brought from 3 and 4 Guineas to £30.

The *Spaccio della Besta Triomfante*, by Jordano Bruno, an Italian atheist, is said in the Spectator, No. 389, to have sold for £30. But, by a priced Catalogue of this sale once in Mr. Bindley's possession, it appears, that the price actually given for it was twenty-eight; it was bought by Walter Clavel, Esq. The same copy became successively the property of John Nichols, of Joseph Ames, of Sir Peter Thompson, and of C. Tutet, Esq., among whose books it was sold by auction at Mr. Gerard's in Litchfield-street. A catalogue of Charles Bernard, 1676, is in the Sloane collection, No. 1770; and a letter says he was not himself witty; but he was at least the cause of wit in others.

"I went to-day," says Swift in his Journal to Stella, March 19, "to see poor Charles Bernard's books; and I itch to lay out nine or ten pounds, for some fine editions of fine authors." And on the 29th he adds, "I walked to-day into the City, and went to see the auction of poor Charles Bernard's books. They were in the middle of the Physic books, so I bought none; and they are so dear, I believe I shall buy none."

During the first French Revolution, we may consider that the epoch of Pamphlets and Caricatures was at its height. Such in fact was the state of public fermentation and excitement that the journals, no matter how numerous, were insufficient to assuage the morbid curiosity of the people, and their avidity for controversy either social or political. The pamphlet had moreover the contemptible privilege of being published under the seal of secrecy, a privilege to which the periodical journals could not well lay claim.

It is in this category of clandestine pamphlets that we shall be able to place the atrocious libels directed in such vast and

disreputable numbers against the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. They were: *L'Autrichienne en goguette, ou l'orgie Royale*, (1789). In these dialogues, composed by some scoundrel of the lowest caste,* and accompanied by engravings worthy of the subject; the queen, the count d'Artois, and Madame de Polignac, are represented as abandoning themselves to the most wicked licentiousness;—*La Messaline Française* (1790) a libel against the Queen, the Duchess of Polignac, and the Princess d'Henin;—*La Confession de Mme de Polignac, Essai historique sur la vie de Marie Antoinette* (Versailles) chez la Montansier, hôtel des Courtisanes, (1789). It would be impossible to give even a faint idea of the unheard-of licence of these pamphlets, in the greater number of which the unfortunate affair of the Necklace is revived and shamefully distorted, prefixing it as a text to the most ignoble calumnies. In one of these libels, which had for a title, *Les Prophéties Françaises*, the young Dauphin is called *l'aimable enfant de Bacchus et de Messaline*. These writings, before which the soul revolted in disgust, were, notwithstanding their obscenity, sought after with avidity to the first days of the Revolution of 1789. A year afterwards, there was sold a little less publicly in Paris, *Le Bordel National sous les auspices de la Reine*. In 1791, we met amongst the pamphlets, *Le Branle des Capucins, ou le mille et unième tour de Marie Antoinette, opéra aristocratique comico risible* (à Saint Cloud de l'Imprimerie des Clairvoants; cul-de-sac des Recherches.)

Several other revolutionary pamphlets were worthy to figure beside those we have named. Amongst them were *Le Parc aux Cerfs, ou l'origine de l'affreux déficit par un Zèle patriote* (Paris, on the ruins of the Bastille): *L'audience des enfers dialogue entre M. M. de Launay de Flesselles, de Sauvigny, et Foulon* (1789); † *La grande trahison découverte du comte de Mirabeau*, 1790.

* They were attributed to a comedian named Mayeur.

† In 1790, at the fair of Saint Germain, some mountebanks parodied the murders of these victims of the 14th of July; they placed a bloody heart at the end of a sabre, and sung:—

Non, il n'est point de fête,
Quand le cœur n'en est pas.

All the pamphlets published at this time prove most clearly that atrocious as the cruelties perpetrated during the Reign of Terror were, they in a very few cases exceeded the atrocities to which the public mind was excited by the enemies of Royalty. The harrowing descriptions presented to us by Lamartine, by Carlyle, and indeed by all who have written of the Reign of Terror, are but mere matter-of-fact recitals, records of what really took place, nothing invented—nothing too highly colored.

A great number of pamphlets were directed against Christianity. One of these, *Le catechisme du genre humain*, published in 1789, was a catechism of atheism, and was openly sold, at the same period that the government arraigned before the tribunals the anti-revolutionary mandates of several bishops. During these discussions on the civil polity of the clergy the government distributed, and caused to be read in a loud voice in the public ways, writings devoting priests who opposed the Revolutionary Government to the fury and vengeance of the populace.

"They distributed these writings (said the Marquis de Ferrieres, in his *Memoirs*, vol. II. p. 210) to men possessing loud and sonorous voices, and a talent for declamation proportionate to the grossness of the auditory for whom they were destined. The greater number of these works were in dialogues. The clergy were painted there in the most odious colors, to draw on them the contempt of the people; their riches, their luxury, their ambition, were shown forth; the pourtrayal of these vices rendered them the objects of the most violent abuse; all these intermingled with some stories of the most obscure nature against monks and religious women and even bishops, all suited to divert the auditory. The two interlocutors, mounted on a species of trestle, attacked each other reciprocally, animating their recitals with comic gestures. We can easily conceive how beastly those were who played the part of the advocate of the clergy, and how easy was the triumph of the adversary while combatting the weak arguments adduced in favor of the priests, causing all the merriment at his side."

From 1790, they affixed placards bearing in large letters these words, *Vingt-cinq millions à gagner*. This was the number of the civil list. In July, 1791, after the flight to Varennes, they cried in the streets *La déclaration du ci-devant Roi et de la ci-devant Reine*, and had songs publicly sung against Marie Antoinette. In 1792, finally, libels were spread in all quarters inciting with impunity the overthrow of the kingdom, and the murder of the King. These atrocities were read openly and in a loud voice in the public thoroughfares, on the squares, in the gardens, and even at the Tuilleries. An orator mounted on a chair, and turned towards the crowd who pressed eagerly forward to hear him, declaimed to his auditory, and improvised the most vehement diatribes. The following is a passage from a pamphlet entitled *La Chute de l'idole des*

Français, and supplied by a witness whose testimony it would be impossible to suspect,* and who heard it read in a high tone in the Tuilleries under the windows of Louis XVI., during one of the first days of June, 1792.

"This monster" (it was to the King he alluded) "employed his power and his treasures in opposing the regeneration of the French people. A modern Charles IX., he wished to bring death and desolation into France. Go, savage; thy crimes must have a limit. Damiens was less culpable than thou, and he was punished with the most horrible tortures for having the wish to free France from a monster. And thou, whose enormities are twenty-five million of times greater, thou art permitted to pass with impunity. But tremble tyrants; your doom is not far off." The orator then read a description of all the Kings of France; and coming to Louis XVI, thus concluded:—"Shall we sleep for evermore the sleep of the dead? Shall we crawl for ever at the feet of tyrants? Since the successor of so many tyrants has broken all the bonds that attached him to us, let us trample under our feet this spectre of royalty." Some days after this, on the 20th of June, the Tuilleries was invaded by the people.

Whilst the lists were open, that is to say until the 10th of August, the royalists replied to the revolutionary fire of the pamphlets by violent attacks. A momentary reaction in favor of the King was manifested at the time of the revolt of the 5th and 6th of October, and the royalist party hurled against the Duke of Orleans and Mirabeau, to whom they attributed the disorders of these days, a pamphlet entitled *Domine salvum fac regem*, which owed to its violence a celebrity not merited by the talent of the pamphleteer. Then followed immediately in succession, *Ouvrez donc les yeux*;—*L'Adresse aux Provinces*;—*La vie privée et politique de Blondinet la Fayette, général des Bleuets*, one of the fifty pamphlets of the time on this General of one idea, who owed to a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances the chance of becoming a celebrity, and playing a part in history, though possessed of narrow genius and short-sighted ability. *La Passion de Louis XVI.*: this was the description of the return from Varennes; *Le comte rendu de la prétendue Assemblée Nationale*;—*Les plus courtes folies sont les meilleures*.

* See the *Moniteur*, du 13th June, 1792.

A vast number of these pamphlets were printed at the expense of the Civil List. Amongst those which they published were: *Louis XVI. dans son Cabinet*;—*Les Dialogues des Halles*;—*Les motions du Palais-Royal*; *L'œil d'orevre gare la bombe!*—*Sous un roi, nous avons du pain*;—*Grand motion des halles*;—*Ah! vous ne voulez pas rendre vos comptes*;—*Rendez vos comptes, et f..... le camp*. These latter pamphlets applied to the Constituted Assembly, which terminated at that time its labors, and gave place to the Legislative Assembly. It was rather strange to see royalty promoting with all its power the dissolution of this assembly at the very moment when a considerable section of the left side rallied in the cause of order, and devoted themselves, under the guidance of Barnave, to sustain the monarchy, promoting at great expense the reunion of the Legislative Assembly, which finally caused the imprisonment of the King and the destruction of Royalty.

Amongst the royalist writings which fomented the trial of Louis XVI., we may name *Olympe de Gouges, défenseur officieux de Louis XVI. ; au président de la Convention Nationale*. It was this same Olympe de Gouges who obtained by his revolutionary enthusiasm a sort of celebrity, and whom another pamphlet, *Les Trois Urnes, ou le salut de la patrie*, conducted soon to the scaffold. Then we have *L'Avis à la Convention sur le procès de Louis XVI.* Montjoie;—*La Pétition de grâce et de clémence pour Louis XVI.* by Marignié. It is but right that we should not forget the romance of Hennet: *Oh! mon peuple que t'ai-je fait?* Nor the "tragédie-apothéose" on the death of the King, published February, 1793, by Aignan, the courage of which may be lauded notwithstanding its want of talent. Amongst the anonymous pamphlets on the same subject, we may note the following:—*Un vertueux Français à la Convention Nationale*. They had the temerity even to praise in it the Garde du Corps of Paris, and justify the death of Lepelletier;—*La Proclamation du Roi à ses sujets révoltés*;—*le Plaidoyer pour Louis XVI. par le citoyen J. J. Liberté*; *Agonie et mort héroïque de Louis XVI., par vérité, chez Cromwell, au Palais Egalité*. A bookseller named Laurent was arraigned before the revolutionary tribunal, in the first days of June, 1793, for having sold some of these writings; but had the good fortune to be acquitted. The 22nd of April, 1793, they announced publicly in the Journals *Un Memoire justificatif pour Louis XVI.*

The terrible law enforced by Danton was not yet administered. But we must not, however, suppose that even before the law of the 21st of September there were not numerous victims amongst the royalist writers and booksellers. The printer Froullé who had printed *La Relation des vingt-quatre heures d'angoisse qui ont précédé la mort de Louis XVI.*, was condemned to death and executed. The bookseller, Webert, for having sold *L'Appel à la postérité sur le jugement du Roi*, by the Benedictine Gallais, met a similar fate, and maintained a generous silence regarding the name of the author whom they required him to betray. We will mention one more: *Le Martyre de Marie Antoinette*, a tragedy; *Le Dialogue entre un maire, un curé et un bourgeois*, (printed by the friends of truth for the enlightenment of the abused people, treating of the dethronement of the King, and the destruction of the monarchy, second year of disorder and anarchy.) The Royalists thus spread amongst the people pamphlets and manuscripts which all the activity or vigilance of the revolutionary police could not foresee or prevent. A decree of the 6th of March, 1794, commanded public accusation before the revolutionary tribunal:—

“That information should be given against the authors and distributors of libellous manuscripts distributed in the markets and public ways, which are an outrage to the dignity of the people, and to the national representatives.”

We will not here dwell on the revolutionary pamphlets during the Reign of Terror. Indeed it is unnecessary, as any reader interested in the subject can consult, on this point, the Catalogue Pixérécourt; it is worth consulting, for on this point a catalogue is almost a history.

“Beside the revolutionary horrors and turpitude were placed,” says Nodier, “the facetious and the burlesque. The Vaudeville was wrapped up with the bonnet rouge, and the rattle of folly was mingled with the noise of the guillotine. Their poetry and songs were furious, licentious, grotesque, shameless. Their gaieties had the odour of blood.”*

As for the pamphlets under the Directory and the vicissitudes of license and slavery through which the Press had to pass, we may form some idea from the fact, that the restrictions bearing on the liberty of the press were

* Preface to the Catalogue Pixérécourt, by Ch. Nodier.

not an innovation of the consular government, but the simple continuation of the directorial regulations. A little book forgotten at the present day, *Les Mémoires de Candide*, by Delisle de Salles, put in relief in a very piquant manner the condition of the press under the Directory. The author supposes a new Candide enamoured with French liberty of which he had heard wonders; smitten with the word Republic, and the noble maxims engraven in the constitution, he arrives in France, and repairs to the Palace of the Luxembourg, where he is presented to General Moulins, one of the five Directors of the Republic.

"You may publish all you behold in France," said the general to him, "provided you do not conspire against the Government. The press is free here; none but slaves to monarchy fear publicity and scrutiny."

Candide retired delighted; he had at length found this land of liberty in which he desired to live, and, as he had a work in his portfolio which did not conspire against the Government, he hastened with it to the publisher.

"What! a few philosophical remarks on natural rights, morality, the first principles of justice? take your book, Monsieur Candide; it would cause my press to be seized," cried the typographer. "But I cannot see the reason of your remark," says Candide; "have I written aught but truth?" "What kind of truth?" replied the printer. "Is it the truth which is the order of the day? the truth which the Government permits to be propagated?" "Have you two kinds of truth here?" cried the artless disciple of Pangloss. "Yes! undoubtedly, Citizen Candide, if I printed your book it would conduct me straight to ruin, and you to Sinnamari."

The picture is without doubt a little overdrawn, and we must make some allowance for the exaggeration of satire, but at bottom it is true; and it proves, as appears to us, that the press was not much more free after the 18 Fructidor than it was after the 18 Brumaire.

CARICATURES DURING THE REVOLUTION.—The motives which have induced us to write of the pamphlets authorizes us, we conceive, to devote a few pages to the caricatures of the same period. We there discover the same passions, the same hatreds, the same exaggerations. The mind which guided the pen directed also the pencil, it was the form merely of the satire that was changed. The first caricatures which we have before

us date from 1789, and represent the early days of the reunion of the Constituents. Here, you see the Bishop of Autun reunited to the minister Rabaut Saint Etienne and to the Jansenist Camus for the purpose of betraying Religion, and delivering themselves hand and foot to Philosophy. Next may be seen a design traced in a totally different spirit : *Le convoi du très haut et très puissant Seigneur des Abus, mort en la nuit du 4 mai, 1789*. The “abus” of the clergy was designed by a mitre placed on a pall, the “abus” of the nobility by the sword, and that of the cavillers or pettifoggers by the lawyer’s square cap; all surmounted by an iron crown. M. Necker, whom popular favor surrounded for some days longer, led the mourners and conducted the “abus” to the tomb. This design expressed the ardent and earnest hope of the first days, when they were still ignorant that *le Seigneur des Abus* is immortal.

In another series of caricatures, we behold men assisting at the taking of the Bastille, carrying bloody heads at the end of their pikes, with this motto approving of the murders of Bertier de Launay, Foulon, Flesselles, &c. *c’est ainsi qu’on se venge des traîtres*. Another design is entitled, *le calculateur patriote*; it represented a man reckoning six heads placed on his desk, with those words: *qui devingt ôte six, reste quatorze*, signifying that there remained still fourteen victims to be sacrificed in order to appease the popular vengeance. Another caricature had for a title, *le Patrouillotisme chassant le patriotisme du Palais Royal*.

The picture may be thus described—The soldiers, a bandage over their eyes, groping in the dark, the bayonet in advance; they had on their heads a species of monster cap or mitre embroidered all over with ribbons and crosses. One of the chiefs held a naked sword to the breast of a citizen on whose face is the impress of melancholy, and who bears in his hand a book on which is written *Constitution, Liberté*.

The caricatures on Louis the XVI. were innumerable. One represented him chained in a cage, at the bottom of which was written *je sanctionne librement*. The entire history of the constitutional veto is in this design, which evinces at the same time genius and historical truth. Here we have the monarch kept within sight of his palace by la Fayette’s guards; here the same king whom the constituents of 1791 had placed in their constitution, as one of those useless images whose hour had flitted by, and whom they tore down on the next day.

In another of these engravings, where the ignorance only

equalled the atrocity, we behold the family of Louis XVI. reunited at a banquet, and drinking a glass full of the blood of a slaughtered citizen. Then, and a worthy companion, we have the flight to Varennes represented under this title, *la Famille des cochons ramènée dans l'étable*. In another design France is represented by a crowd at the base of the bust of Louis XVI. which they have come to overthrow with massive clubs. Louis XVI. still reigned whilst all these designs were hawked about and sold almost publicly. Nor have we been able to discover that any newspaper was seized or prosecuted relative to these most revolting caricatures.

The anti-Catholic caricatures were also very numerous; they increased, however, considerably when the refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the civil constitution had augmented the hatred of the revolutionists against the clergy. "There might be seen," relates Ferrières (t. II. p. 210) "prelates represented in the most ludicrous manner, clothed in all the symbols of their dignity, with enormous stomachs, and some peasants obliging them to disgorge sacks of louis; abbés were also shown forth in the most absurd and ridiculous guise. These caricatures, exposed in profusion on the quays, the boulevards, the public promenades, where exhibited to catch the eyes of the people, presenting in every form priests under the vilest aspects, in order that they might lose the esteem and confidence of the nation."

Amongst the Royalist caricatures, one represented Louis XVI. seated in an arm chair on an eminence, whence he contemplated murders, conflagrations, and outrages of every kind. The victims of these atrocities held forth their arms to the king demanding protection, whilst others, ghastly, meagre and in tatters, cast themselves at his feet demanding work and bread. A monster daubed with ink and blood passed a chain round the hands of the King, who addressed these words to the unfortunates who encompassed him—

"My friends, you perceive that my hands are tied; I am therefore unable to succour you."

Another caricature made allusion to the report in which the constituent Chabroud had justified the Duke of Orleans for having been the instigator of the events of the fifth and sixth of October. Chabroud holds in one hand some soap, and in the other a sponge. He is endeavoring to wash the Duke's face, who is seated in the midst of a number of pikes on the

ends of which are bloody heads. We read below : *j'use tout mon savon, et ne peux vous blanchir, les taches ressortent à mesure.* In a third design no less characteristic, we see the throne of France on which is a bust of Louis XVI. encircled by princes of the blood, who defend it against the attempts made by the Duke of Orleans to seize it; he is escorted by brigands armed with pikes. France is represented by a woman thrown down and crushed under the ruins of the throne, whilst Necker, Madame de Stael, and some other constituents, grouped in a corner of the tableau, smiling at the sight of this disaster are saying ; *Nous aurons deux chambres.* The Prince de Conti in another corner is in a profound sleep. Another print of the commencement of 1792 is entitled *le Dégel de la Nation.* The legend underneath indicates the subject : *L'air se radoucissant, la statue de la Liberté se fond sous l'influence du soleil royal et de ses rayons, au grand désespoir des jacobins.* This royalist party, with its hopes so frequently frustrated, reminded us of the personage in the romance who swallowed every morning a chimera for his breakfast. The foolish vapouring of his party never exhibited itself more manifestly than by the declaration of war in 1792. We have had already experience of this by its journals, to which its prints bear equal testimony. One of these represents the assembly of the jacobins, where they announce the declaration of war. Amongst the assembled are Broglie, Brissot, Marat, Saint Huruge, d'Orléans, Chartres, Chabot, Condorcet, Carra, Péthion, Madame de Stael, and the famous Théroigne de Méricourt, making use of a copy of the constitution to render a signal service to Matthieu de Montmorency. When the war had commenced, a great number of the royalist designs celebrated the first victories of the enemy. One of these designs, divided into two parts, represented, on one side the volunteers going to the army, singing, *nous allons à la guerre ; ça ira, ça ira ;* and on the other side, the return of the volunteers, some with wooden legs, others without heads or arms, and singing ; *Nous venons de la guerre, Mironton, Mironton, Mirontaine ; nous venons de la guerre ; et ça n'a pas été.* These sympathies for a stranger, which they did not even take the trouble to disguise, drew on the Royalists the most odious opinions from all quarters.*

* A few lines on the English Caricatures, published at the period of the Revolution would not be out of place here. The sentiment which visibly prevailed was satisfaction at seeing a kingdom humbled which had in

NEWSPAPERS are described thus in the Harleian MSS. :—

“In the days of King Henry VIII. we had none that ever I. could see, that is to say, in single sheets, except some invectives against the Pope and the Church of Rome. It is true there were several tracts wrote against Cardinal Wolsey; but they were in books in octavo; and several others relating to several matters, as about the Sacrament, against Gardiner, Bishop Bonner, &c. : but these might rather be called libels than pamphlets. These were most printed beyond the Seas. Only one I remember, which was ‘The supplication of Beggars,’ wrote against the Friars Begging, by one Fish.

“But in the days of Queen Mary they began to fly about in the City of London; as several Ballads and other Songs and Poems, as a Ballad of the Queen’s being with child.

“And these, I say, were the forerunners of the Newspapers. In the days of Queen Elizabeth we had several Papers printed relating to the affairs in France, Spain, and Holland, about the time of the Civil Wars in France. And these were, for the most part, translations from the Dutch and French. And were Books, or Pamphlets rather, which, I take, if I mistake not, the word signifieth to be held in the hands and quickly read.

“We must come down to the reign of King James the I. and that towards the latter end, when News began to be in fashion, and then if I mistake not, began the use of Mercury women; and they it was that dispersed them to the Hawker which word hath another signification. Look more in the Bellman of London.

“These Mercuries and Hawkers their business at first was to disperse Proclamations, Orders of Council, and Acts of Parliament, &c. And we may see the humours of the times out of Ben Jonson’s Plays. At that time, News was become

so great a degree contributed to the recent emancipation of the American Colonies. Some of these caricatures bore the impress of a spirit tinged with the most ferocious hatred, which had not for its excuse, like France, the violence of political strife. One of those represented the arrest of Louis XVI. at Varennes, and was so base and ungenerous as to render it impossible of description. Several depicted Louis XVI. under the aspect of a coarse and stupid glutton. In others, emigration is insulted. One of these caricatures against the emigrants is entitled, *la France se purgeant petit à petit; le premier baron fuyard passe le détroit*. The assassination of General Dillon was also the subject of several designs. These cold-blooded hatreds and this sanguinary pleasantry sicken the heart. See also Wright’s *England under the House of Hanover*, 2 vols, Bentley, 1849.

a great fashion, as may be discerned in that play, by him wrote, entitled, 'The Staple of News,' and the scene settled at the West end of St. Paul's; and wrote 1625.

'*Peni-boy, Cymbal, Fitton Tho. Barber, Canter.*

In troth they are dainty room; what place is this?

Cymbal. This is the outer room, where my clerk's sit,

And keep their sides, the Register i' the midst;

The Examiner, he sits private there, within;

And here I have my several rowls and fyles

Of News by the alphabet, and all put up

Under their heads *P. jun.* But those too subdivided?

Cymb. Into Authentick, and Apocryphall:

Fitton. Or News of doubtful credit; as Barbers' News.

Cymb. And Taylors' News, Porters,' and Watermen's News.'

Ben Jonson here refers to Barbers,' Taylors,' and Smiths' News, for which they appear to have been celebrated at that period, and some of the CRAFT are great Newsmongers in the present day."

Jonson continues his happy description, throughout the above Drama, but not so happily as Shakspeare in his *King John*, where he has with such effect blended the three artificers.

"I saw a smith stand with his hammer, thus,
The whilst his iron did on the anvil cool,
With open mouth swallowing a tailor's news;
Who, with his shears and measure in his hand,
Standing on slippers (which his nimble haste
Had falsely thrust upon contrary feet,)
Told of a many thousand warlike French,
That were embattled and rank'd in Kent:
Another lean unwash'd artificer
Cuts off his tale, and talks of Arthur's death."

We have now a very curious List of Newspapers, Magazines, and Reviews for nearly two Centuries (*from 1611 to 1804*), to which Nichols adds at least 200 more in the eighth volume of his *Anecdotes*. We find some omissions in the HARLEIAN MS., and also in Mr. Nichols's account, but they are altogether so extensive in number as to occupy too much room for our present paper. We shall, therefore, select and confine ourselves to the most interesting details, and notes respecting them, stating at what period the first News, and other Papers, were issued from each Country:—

The English Mercuries appeared in	...	...	1588
The Mercurie Gallo Belgici,	...	...	1594
News from Spain, 12 pages, 4to.	...	...	1611
News out of Germany,	...	...	1612
Good News from Florence,	...	...	1614
News from Italy,	...	...	1618
News from Poland,	...	...	1621
The German Intelligencer,	...	...	1630
The Swedish Intelligencer,	...	...	1631
Warranted Tidings from Ireland,	...	...	1641
Ireland's True Diurnal,	...	...	1641
A Speedy Post, or More News from Hull,	...	...	1642
Mercuries Aulicus; or News from Oxford,	...	...	1642
The Scotch Intelligencer; or the Weekly News from	}	...	1643
Scotland and the Court,		...	
The Welch Mercury,	...	...	1643
Mercuries Hibernicus, Printed at Bristol,	...	...	1644

Thus we have given a selection of the first Paper from each country, from their origin, to the middle of the 17th Century.

The latter will serve to show the progress of the Periodical Press to the middle of the 17th Century, as the commencement of promulgating News in different parts of the Globe. But there were no less than Two-hundred and thirty different Papers published up to that time, and upwards of One thousand more up to the close of the 18th Century. Many notes and observations, upon those of the olden time, claim attention, and will be found interesting.

In a note to *The Reader* Ben Jonson speaks of the Times News as a weekly cheat to draw money, which—"could not be fitter reprehended, than in raising this ridiculous office of the Staple, wherein the Age may see her own folly, or hunger and thirst after published Pamphlets of News, set out every Saturday, but made all at home, and no syllable of truth in them; than which there cannot be a greater disease in nature, or a fouler scorn put upon the time."

Gallo-Belgicus (a copy of which is now amongst the King's collection in the British Museum) is *not* a newspaper; but may with greater propriety be called *The Annual Register of the Times*, or *The State of Europe*. It was originally compiled by M. Jansen, a Frisian, and was not printed until the year 1598, ten years after *The Mercurie*, although it dates the commencement of its accounts from the same period. It is written in Latin, and was printed in octavo at Cologne, and ornamented with a woodcut of Mercury standing on a Globe with his usual attributes. Thus, even if *Gallo Belgicus* could

be correctly termed a newspaper which it *cannot*, *The English Mercurie* would claim precedence by the space of ten years; and Holland must consequently yield the credit of originality to Great Britain.

Of the *Mercurius Britannicus*, published in 1643, Chalmers says that "Marchmont Needham, the versatile author of this paper, was born in 1620, and educated at Oxford. He assumed all colours of the chameleon during those contentious times; and, being discharged from writing public intelligence by the Council of State in March, 1660, was allowed to live at the Restoration"; till at length, says Anthony Wood, "this most seditious, mutable, and reviling Author died suddenly, in Devereux Court, in November, 1678."

Of the *Impartial Intelligencer*, published in 1648, Chalmers writes:—

"In No. 7 of this paper is the first regular *Advertisement* which we have met with. It is from a gentleman of Candish in Suffolk, from whom two Horses had been stolen."

Of the *Mercurius Caledonius*, comprising the affairs in agitation in Scotland, Chalmers says,

"This paper, which was published once a week by a Society of Stationers at Edinburgh, is the earliest that occurs of *Scotch Manufacture*; each army, before that period, having carried with them an English printer. Thus Robert Barker printed at Newcastle for King Charles in 1639; and Christopher Higgins, under the auspices of Cromwell, reprinted at Leith, the London *Diurnal of some Passages and Affairs* in 1652, for the information of the English soldiers; and in 1653 the *Mercurius Politicus*; which in 1654 was transferred to Edinburgh, where it continued to be published till April 11, 1660"; and was then reprinted under the name of *Mercurius Publicus*.

"The *Caledonian Mercury* was compiled by a son of the Bishop of Orkney, Thomas Sydserfe; who now thought he had the wit to amuse, the knowledge to instruct, and the address to captivate the lovers of News in Scotland. But he was only able, with all his powers, to extend his publication to ten numbers, which were very loyal, very illiterate, and very affected."

The Intelligencer, edited by ROGER L'ESTRANGE, Esq.

"In August, 1663, Roger L'Estrange, (after more than twenty years spent in serving the Royal cause, near six of them in gaols, and almost four under sentence of death in Newgate.)

had interest sufficient to obtain an appointment to a new created office, under the title of "Surveyor of the Imprimery and Printing Presses;" together with "the sole licensing of all ballads, charts, printed portraitures, printed pictures, books, and papers; except books concerning common law, affairs of state, heraldry, titles of honors and arms, the office of Earl Marshal, books of divinity, physick, philosophy, arts and sciences, and such as are granted to his Majesty's peculiar printer; and except such books as by a late act of parliament are otherwise appointed to be licensed." He had also a grant of "all the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing, all Narratives, Advertisements, Mercuries, Intelligencers, Diurnals, and other books of public intelligence; and printing all Ballads, Plays, Maps, Charts, Portraitsures, and Pictures, not previously printed; and all Briefs for Collections, Playbills, Quacksalvers' Bills, Custom and Excise Bills, Post-office Bills, Creditors Bills, and Tickets in England and Wales; with power to search for and seize unlicensed and treasonable, schismatical and scandalous books and papers. See also *Bagford's Collections, in Harl. MSS. 5900, vol. 2.*

The Kingdom's Intelligencer of the affairs in agitation in England, Ireland, and Scotland contains many regular Advertisements of Books, and the following, which Mr. Nichols thought worth transcribing: (1663)

"There is stolen abroad a most false and imperfect copy of a poem, called *Hudibras* without name of either printer or bookseller, as fit for so lame and spurious an impression. The true and perfect edition, printed by the Author's original, is sold by Richard Marriott, under St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street; that other nameless impression is a cheat, and will but abuse the Buyer as well as the Author, whose poem deserves to have fallen into better hands." A kind of Obituary found also a place in this paper; with some account of the Proceedings of Parliament, and in the Court of Claims; a list of the Judges Circuits, the Sheriff's, the Lent Preachers, &c. &c. And in No. 8, February 23rd, notice is given that The "Faculties office for granting Licenses (by Act of Parliament) to eat Flesh in any part of England, is still kept at St. Paul's Chaine; near St. Paul's Church yard."

At this period Newspapers were published at 2d. each.

L'ESTRANGE's paper was superseded by *The London Gazette*, which was first published on the 1st February, 1655.

The name *Gazette* was taken from a Newspaper, first printed at Venice, and sold for a coin of that denomination.—"Not a *sol*, not a *gazel*," says the Antiquary, in Dodsley's *Old Plays*; and "a *gazel*," Coryat tells us, "is almost a penny, whereof ten do make a *livre*, that is, nine-pence."

In the 19th number of *The Gazette*, September 9, 1678—is,

“A Resolution of the Lord Mayor and Alderman, to shew their great care and tenderness of his Majesty's health, that two of the Aldermen should daily wait upon him in his bed-chamber at Windsor during his illness. In No. 50, December 26, is this advertisement:—“Whereas on Thursday the 18th instant, in the evening, Mr. John Dryden was assaulted and wounded in Rose-street in Covent-garden by divers men unknown. If any person shall make discovery of the said offenders to the said Mr. Dryden, or to any justice of peace for the liberty of Westminster, he shall not only receive fifty pounds, which is deposited in the hands of Mr. Blanchard, goldsmith, next door to Temple Bar, for the said purpose; but if the discoverer be himself one of the actors, he shall have the fifty pounds, without letting his name be known, or receiving the least trouble by any prosecution.”

In N. THOMPSON's *True Domestic Intelligence* for September, 30, 1679 it states that,

“Mr. Garraway, master of the famous Coffee-house* near the Royal Exchange, hath store of good Cherry-wine; and 'tis said, that the Black Cherry and other wild Cherries do yield good and wholesome Aquavitsæ and Brandies.—In some part of Buckinghamshire they are said to have got from the Canaries a sort of Barley, which hath roes of Barley upon every ear. In some other places they have a sort of Wheat which bears four, five, or six ears of wheat upon every stalk; but it is not much commended.”

The following curious Article appears in *The True News* No. 37, 1679—

“A Project was setting on foot for conveying of letters, notes, messages, amorous billets, and all bundles whatsoever, under a pound weight, and all sorts of writings (challenges only excepted), to and from any part of the city and suburbs; to which purpose the projectors have taken a house in Lime-street for a General Office, and have appointed eight more stages in other parts at a convenient distance; a plot, if not timely prevented by the Freeman Porters of the City, is like to prove the utter subversion of them and their Worshipful Corporation.”

In *The Mercurius Librarius*, or a faithful account of all Books and Pamphlets, No. 2, April, 1680, is the following curious article

“All Booksellers that approve of the design of publishing this Catalogue weekly, or once in 14 days at least, are desired to send in to

* The above well-known establishment, still bears the name of Garraway's Coffee-house.

one of the Undertakers any book, pamphlet, or sheet, they would have in it, so soon as published, that they may be inserted in order as they come out : their books shall be delivered them back again upon demand. To shew they design the public advantage of the trade, they will expect but 6d. for inserting any book ; nor but 12d. for any other advertisement relating to the trade, unless it be excessive long."

In 1682, Benjamin Harris published *Domestic Intelligence*, every Thursday, (gratis) for the promotion of Trade.

The Jockey's Intelligencer, or Weekly Advertisements of Horses and Second-hand Coaches, to be Bought or Sold; charged One Shilling for the Notification of Sale of a Horse or Coach ; and Six-pence for the Renewal. (1683)

Weekly Memorials, or accounts of Books lately set forth with other accounts relating to Learning by Authority, No. 1. Jan. 19., 1618—9—This is the earliest specimen of an English *Review*.—*The Edinburgh Reviewer* began a few months earlier. *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates of Scotland*; with Licence. Published by Richard Chiswell, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard, No. 1, March 25, 1689.

This paper, printed on a folio half-sheet, was continued by Richard Baldwin till October, 1690 ; and, together with the proceedings of the Convention, contained news and advertisements. When the Revolution had been accomplished in Scotland, this paper seems to have ceased in England.

The London Mercury, 1691.

The sixth and seventh numbers of this paper were ornamented with a curious wood-cut, representing an owl perched on a raven, with the words "*Par pari*, or Birds of a Feather." (Doubtless a hit on DUNTON.)

By an advertisement in *The Athenian Gazette*, dated, 8, Feb., 1696, it appears, that the coffee-houses of London had then, (exclusive of the *Votes of Parliament* every day,) *nine Newspapers* every week.

Dawd's News Letter, [on a type to imitate Writing,] No. 1, Aug. 4, 1696.

"This letter will be done upon good writing-paper, and blank space left, that any gentleman may write his own private business. It does undoubtedly exceed the best of the *written news*, contains double the quantity, is read with abundance more ease and pleasure, and will be useful to improve the younger sort in writing a curious hand."

The Edinburgh Gazette, printed by James Watson, No. 1, Feb. 28, 1699. Watson was Author of *The History of Printing*, and for several years, the great news-monger of Scotland, as Butter had been during a prior age. In 1699, after having published 41 numbers, he transferred *The Edinburgh Gazette* to John Reid.

The last paper published in London, in the 17th Century, was *The Weekly Comedy*, as it is daily acted at most Coffee-Houses in London; it commenced on the 4th of May, 1699.

Having thus closed with an outline of some of the eccentricities of the times, we shall merely state that at the commencement of 1700, were ushered in some papers of quite as extraordinary a character; the following are the three first specimens,

"The Dutch Prophet; or, the Devil of a Conjurer; No. 1, being infallible Predictions of what shall happen in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, by Peter Nicholas Vaugrin, late Superior of the College of Lapland Witches, and Chief Negromancer to the Dutch at Japan: to be continued weekly." (1700)

"The Merry Mercury; or, a Farce of Fools, No. 1, Nov. 29, 1700."

"The Infallible Astrologer, 1700."

To these whimsies may be added the *Flying Post*, the *Farthing Chronicle*, the *Halfpenny Journal*, *The Penny Post*, *The Growler*, or Diogenes robbed of his Tub, *The Balm of Gilead*, or Healer of Divisions. The *Monthly Weather Paper*; "being some baroscopical Discoveries from what part or parts of the compass the wind may be likely to blow; with what other sorts and alteration of the weather may be expected every day and night."

At the commencement of the 18th Century, Advertisements were inserted in the *Observer Reformed*—Eight lines for one shilling!

The following excellent plan was adopted in *The Country Gentleman's Courant*, on Saturday, October, 5, 1706.

"This paper the Proprietors are pleased to give away on this day only, that the design may be the better known, and the sale encouraged as it deserves.—Among the crowd of newspapers that come out weekly, it is hoped this may find as favorable a reception as any, when its usefulness is rightly considered; for here the reader is not only diverted with a faithful register of the most remarkable and mo-

mentary transactions both at home and abroad, which occur to our knowledge in a week's time; but also with a *geographical* description of the most material places mentioned in every article of news; whereby he is freed the trouble of looking into maps or books of geography for his informatinn, and his reading is rendered easy, profitable, and pleasant. Besides this advantage, there are others to be considered for its recommendation; for, as this paper contains all that is of moment in all other newspapers that are published every week (which many gentlemen and others have not the opportunity of seeing or perusing, either because of their distance from this City, of London, or the emergency of their private affairs, or by reason of the charge of the several newspapers and postage, which is very considerable); so it is hoped many gentlemen will encourage this so useful a design, since no one can read but must understand, it being suited for the meanest capacities' improvement and satisfaction, by obliging their friends in the country with it, the charge being no more than 2d. per paper. And as promotion of trade is a matter which ought to be encouraged, advertisements will be taken in by the publisher hereof at 2d. per line."

The following Anecdote of Abel Boyer, author of the French Grammar, French Dictionary, &c., appears in his case, right and title, in writing of the *True Postboy*, a Newspaper published in 1709. He observes,

"All gentlemen, shop-keepers, coffee-men, and others, who will think fit to continue the true Post-Boy by A. Boyer, are desired to give particular directions about it to the Hawkers that serve them; because Mr. Roper uses all mean endeavours to hinder its being dispersed. Mr. Roper, in particular, ought gratefully to reflect, that Mr. Boyer has written for him, 'The History of King William.' in three volumes; 'Seven Volumes of the Queen's Annals; some other books; and the Post-Boy for four years; by all which he has got considerable sums of money."

The British Mercury, No. 1, March 27, 1710.

This paper was established by the first projectors of *The Sun Fire Office*; who appeared to have then lately purchased the interest of a preceding office which had been managed by Mr. Povey.—"In a few days," they state, "the Company's Policies will be ready, and delivered *gratis* to all persons who had subscribed to the Exchange-house Fire-office, and continue to insure their house or goods from loss by fire with the Company of London Insurers, they only paying their quarterage as usual."—The top of the paper is ornamented with a bold *Sun*, resembling the present badge of the Sun-fire office.—At No. 38 they added the figure of Mercury.

The British Mercury, No. 12, October 24, 1710, contains

a catalogue of the Newspapers published in London on each day of the week ; the numbers were—on Monday 6, on Tuesday 12, on Wednesday 6, on Thursday 12, on Friday 6, on Saturday 13, in all 55 ; two or three being published daily, and most of the others on alternate days.

The British Mercury was published by the Company of the Fire-office in Threadneedle-street, August 2, 1712. It is worthy of remark that on the 30th of July, 1712, No. 369, of the above paper was published, and was the beginning of a new series occasioned by

“The *Stamp Duty*, which took place on the 2nd of Aug., 1712, on all ‘printed single sheets and half-sheets,’ which was extended to a sheet and a half; and contains an introductory history of Newspapers; some extracts of which will not be inapplicable to the present article: ‘It does not appear that this method of spreading news in print was much in use before the reign of King Charles I.; and even then it had its beginning with those calamities which involved the whole nation, and, no doubt, contributed much towards them. The Rebellion then set all the presses at liberty; and the two contending parties attacked one another as fiercely in paper as they did in the field. *Mercurius Politicus*, *Mercurius Aulicus*, *Intelligencers*, and many more under several denominations, flew about in the cities and towns, as the bullets did in the open country. The Restoration, bringing back the blessing of peace, for a time put a period to that distemper, suppressing that furious run of news and slander. The famous *Muddiman* was then the only news-monger, supplying the Nation with some intelligence, as to public affairs, by written letters. This furnished him with a plentiful maintenance, and satisfied the then less curious people; nothing of that nature being yet in print, except, I think, for some time, a single paper, by the name of an *Intelligence*. In the year 1655, *The London Gazette*, published by authority, first appeared in the world, and continued the only paper of that sort; till, about 1677 or 1678, the old ferment beginning to work up again in the nation, those who desired to increase it again revived the dormant practice of alarming the multitude by the help of the press, wherein they were not disappointed of their expected success. King Charles II. having, in some measure, allayed those storms, a suitable stop was put to that exorbitant liberty of printing. The *Gazette* again became the most regarded, and, as I take it, the only news in vogue; and so held on during the remaining part of that Prince’s reign and the beginning of his successor’s. Some time before the Revolution, the press was again set to work; and such a furious itch of novelty has ever since been the epidemical distemper, that it has proved fatal to many families; the meanest of shopkeepers and handicrafts spending whole days in coffee-houses, to hear news and talk politicks, whilst their wives and children wanted bread at home; and, their business being neglected, they were themselves at length thrust into gaols, or forced to take sanctuary in the army.

Hence sprung that inundation of *Postmen, Postboys, Evening Posts, Supplements, Daily Courants, Protestant Postboys*, amounting to 21 every week, besides many more which have not survived to this time; and besides the *Gazette* which has the sanction of public authority; and this *Mercury*, only intended for and delivered to those persons whose goods or houses are insured by the Sun Fire-office. Yet has not all this variety been sufficient to satiate the immoderate appetite of intelligence, without ransacking France, Holland, and Flanders, whence the foreign mails duly furnish us with the *Gazettes* or *Courants* of Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hague, Rotterdam, Leyden, and some others not so common, besides the French and Holland *Gazettes-a-la-Main*. The new duty imposed on printed single sheets and half-sheets will doubtless somewhat lessen the number of English newspapers; and a peace may perhaps be fatal to such as survive the first blow.—However, this *Mercury* may, in all likelihood, subsist after the suppression of the others above-mentioned, because, having never been designed for nor exposed to common sale, its being does not so much depend on chance and the inconstant humour of the multitude. It is to be believed there will be insuring as long as there are goods and houses to insure; and this Office having met with sufficient encouragement, not to question its establishment, the *Mercury*, which stands upon the same foundation, may well promise itself a continuance."

Swift, in his *Journal to Stella*, thus notices the Stamp-duty: "*Grub-street* has but ten days to live; then an act of parliament takes place that ruins it, by taxing every half-sheet a halfpenny." *Journal to Stella*, July 9, 1712.—"Do you know that *Grub-street* is dead and gone last week? No more ghosts or murders now for love or money. I plied it close the last fortnight, and published at least *seven* papers of my own, besides some of other people's; but now every *single half-sheet* pays a halfpenny to the Queen. The *Observer* is fallen; the *Medleys* are jumbled together with the *Flying Post*; the *Examiner* is deadly sick; the *Spectator* keeps up, and doubles its price; I know not how long it will hold. Have you seen the *red stamp* the papers are marked with? Methinks the stamping is worth a halfpenny." *Ibid.* Aug. 7, 1712. The duty first took place Aug. 12, 1712; and on the same day in the year 1789 was increased to TWO-PENCE.

On the 18th May, 1713—*The Reconciler* published two papers at once (a sheet and a half) to evade the Stamp Duty.

The *Historical Register* was published in 1717, at the expense of the Sun Fire Office; it was an excellent paper, and continued till 1738.

CHALMERS observes, that it may gratify our national pride to behold, that to the wisdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, we owe the Introduction of Newspapers,

the First of which was called *The English Mercurie*, and was printed during the Spanish Armada, and is still preserved in the British Museum, being dated 22nd July, 1558; from 1558 to 1662, few of these publications appeared; but the Victories of Gustavus Adolphus having excited the curiosity of our countrymen, a Weekly Paper called *The News of the present Week*, was printed. After some time this was continued under another title, and ultimately it was succeeded by the *German and Swedish Intelligencer*. These papers were originally issued in the shape of Pamphlets, and continued to 1661.—Roger L'Estrange, published—*The Public Intelligencer* in the present shape of Newspapers. *The London Gazette* was published in 1665, under the title of *Oxford Gazette*, it having been printed at Oxford during a Session of Parliament held there on account of the plague then raging in London, and from this period it is curious to trace the progression and increase of these interesting vehicles of information. From 1661 to 1668, no less than 70 Papers were published under different titles; after the Revolution the *Orange Intelligencer* appeared, and thence to 1692, there were 26 different others brought forward. From an Advertisement in the *Athenian Gazette* of 1696, it appears that the Coffee-Houses in London were then supplied with 9 papers every week, exclusive of votes of Parliaments, but there is no mention of any one printed daily. Nineteen papers were published in 1710. *The London Courant* was a daily paper in 1724; and there were 3 daily, 6 weekly, and 3 new Evening papers every week. In 1712, the number of copies issued in England amounted to 15,005,760. The total number of separate papers published in Great Britain and Ireland, in 1808, was 215.

The following paragraph from the Bishop of Cloyne's Scrap-book states,

"It is not generally known that it was in the reign of Anne London first "enjoyed the luxury of a news-paper every day;" that, in 1709 there was *one* daily-paper, and *seventeen* other papers; that, in 1724 three daily papers were published, and *eighteen* other papers; that, in 1753 the number of news-papers sold in all England, according to an average of three years preceding, was 7,411,757; that at the close of the late reign in 1760, it was 9,404,790; that, in 1790, it was 14,035,639; in 1791, it was 14,794,153; and in 1792, it was 15,005,760. This forms such a phenomenon of curiosity political and literary, of riches

universally diffused, and of enquiry universally awake, as has not been paralleled in any other part of the world."

Upwards of Five hundred different Newspapers and other periodicals, were published during the Eighteenth Century, under such a variety of heads and titles, that a concise Dictionary of them may not be unacceptable to our readers, or to the future Projector, who in coining a title—without having seen the following list—will on perusing it, find that there is scarcely any thing "New Under the Sun"—for we have had in various forms the—

Adventurer, Advertiser, Advocate, Albion, Atlas, Apollo, Aurora, Babler, Bachelor, Benefactor, Briton, Censor, Champion, Chronicle, Citizen, Connoisseur, Correspondent, Courant, Courier, Craftsman, Critic, Dazzler, Diary, Director, Doctor, Examiner, Flapper, Freeholder, Freethinker, Gazette, Gazetteer, Globe, Growler, Grumbler, Guardian, Herald, Idler, Inquisitor, Informer, Intelligencer, Inspector, Ledger, Looker-on, Lover, Lounger, Mail, Medley, Mercury, Mirror, Moderator, Monitor, News, News-letter, Observer, Old Maid Olio, Oracle, Overseer, Packet, Parrot, Patrician, Patriot, Peeper, Phoenix, Pilot, Plain-dealer, Plebian, Post Angel, Post Boy, Post Man, Pratter, Projector, Promptor, Rambler, Reader, Reconciler, Register, Remembrancer, Repository, Reprisal, Review, Rhapso-dist, Scourge, Spectator, Speculator, Spy, Standard, Student, Star, Sun, Times, Telegraph, Tatler, Test, Templer, Tory, Visiter, Volunteer, Wanderer, and the World.

We are unwilling to extend this paper by entering on other phases connected with this subject, but in our next number we shall, from very many sources, place before our readers a variety of most instructive and most interesting facts bearing upon the topics of this present paper. Our notes for these our papers were made at various times, in many libraries, and from many books; we collected them, and we print them, because we believe with Johnson that "He who collects is laudably employed: for though he exerts no great talents in the work, he facilitates the progress of others; and by making that easy of attainment which is already written, may give some mind, more vigorous, or more adventurous than his own, leisure for new thoughts and original ideas." *

* For the first, second and third papers of this series, see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. VI., No. 23, p. 489, No. 24, p. 647. Vol. VII., No. 25, p. 1. It is right to add, that the antiquity of "The English Mercuriè" has been disputed, and Disraeli appears to think it a forgery of Birch's.

ART. II.—ATTORNEYS AND THEIR EDUCATION.

Report on Legal Education, Printed by Order of the House of Commons, March, 1850.

That every man is acquainted with the law is a fiction as imaginative and fantastic as the existence of John Doe and Richard Roe: that every professor of the law is also learned in the law—the sad experience of many of our readers will probably prompt them to deny. The truth is, that while in every city, town, and village of the empire we meet with persons, whose constant theme of sorrow is the loss of property, of credit, of position, by the dishonesty or incompetency of the legal advisers, no one appears to think it necessary or prudent to enquire into the sources of such complaints, and to ascertain if their frequency be at all attributable to the system pursued in training our lawyers.

We intend to confine the observations we are about to make upon this subject, to what may be termed the lowest estate of the profession of the law, that most important, and very numerous body, the Solicitors and Attorneys.

If the profession of the attorney be more practical in its details, and less conversant with the science of the law than that of the barrister, the public have even a greater interest in the characters, capabilities, and acquirement of its members, and of being assured of finding them honorable, skilful, and intelligent.

We are well aware that no scheme of supervision or selection, however extended or accurate, can succeed in excluding entirely from this or any other profession persons of bad or indifferent character; frequently these dispositions are not developed where the opportunities or temptations are presented, and in most cases the age at which the candidate seeks admission into the profession is too little advanced to enable the most observing to decide confidently on the future development of the mind. We do not therefore expect too much in this respect, but we certainly cannot be satisfied with the present system, in which no precaution whatever is taken to protect the public against actual ignorance in the practitioners.

In a country in which all matters relating to the acquisition and security of property are matters in which people of all ranks manifest so deep an interest, the general indifference to the training of this important profession is indeed amazing

With us, when a man falls sick, and is led to consider his life in danger, his first and most anxious thoughts are turned towards the state of his worldly circumstances, and the position in which his family will be placed after his decease. The acquisition of wealth in a commercial country like this forms indeed the principal aim of each man's existence, and most men engaged in the pursuit would at any time prefer to give up life rather than part with their hardly earned gains. Not that in the abstract, a man will be always ready to surrender his life to preserve his fortune, but, practically, existence is chiefly prized as necessary to the pursuit of wealth, and every day we see life perilled without hesitation and often even rashly in its pursuit. And it is here that the anomaly appears indeed glaring. Every precaution with which prudence can be armed is exercised to prevent unqualified persons from engaging in the practice of medicine, and undertaking the cure of our sick or worn out bodies, but not a precaution, not a safeguard worthy the name, is adopted to protect our properties and possessions from being lost and dissipated through the ignorance or incompetence of our Attorneys and Solicitors. A man cannot prescribe for a head-ache or a sick stomach without being furnished with certificate and diplomas which have been obtained, not as a matter of course after a few years apprenticeship, but after a searching and often severe examination conducted by competent persons; but five, or as the case may be, three years, and no matter how idly or unprofitably passed in the office of an attorney, qualify the apprentice, as we shall presently see, to undertake the care and management of matters involving the security of our worldly possession, and therein our very lives.*

It may be argued, and we have heard it argued, that the chief force of observation and solicitude should be directed to the other branch of the profession, and that an honorable and learned Bar forms the best protection of the public interests.

We cannot adopt this view. The nature of those duties which devolve upon the Barrister, is essentially different from that which appertains to those of the attorney. Matters come before the barrister piecemeal, each portion distinct in itself,

* Nay take my life and all, pardon not that :
 You take my house, when you do take the prop
 That doth sustain my house; you take my life,
 When you do take the means whereby I live.

The Merchant of Venice. Act 4. Scene I.

and he is permitted ample time to consider each and to consult his books and more experienced brethren. Moreover, as regards the public, a man can always be certain, in selecting a barrister, of finding a first-class man for his purpose. The public display incident to his profession brings the barrister prominently forward, and enables every man to form an accurate opinion of his merits. But the attorney is exposed to no such test; except in a few cases, an attorney seldom achieves any particular reputation, save a character for respectability and honesty.

The Bar, who receive their instructions from and are in daily communication with the attorneys, are the best judges of their abilities and extent of knowledge; but professional etiquette does not, as a general rule, permit a barrister to recommend the employment of a particular attorney. A man in selecting his attorney is usually influenced by family ties, relations of marriage and so forth. He is justly anxious to forward his connexion or relative in his profession, and at the same time prefers confiding his private affairs to such a one to entrusting them to a stranger. Often he is influenced by the fact of the attorney having been his father's, or his uncle's or his brother-in-law's adviser. In any such case, he generally knows but little of the real abilities and legal acquirements of the person he employs. An attorney may have conducted the business of a man for years without having made one slip or mistake, and yet be comparatively ignorant in his profession.

Were we to suppose, for a moment, that there were only twenty barristers in practice who possessed a competent knowledge of law and sufficient abilities to conduct a case, the public would still be always sure of having the services of some one or more of these twenty. A prudent man rarely insists on his solicitor employing any particular counsel, and the selection is thus left to the person of all others best qualified to make it. As there will always be a sufficient supply at the bar of men of ability and knowledge, the public cannot run any risk, and there does not appear the same necessity for insisting on any particular training and examination of students for the bar. If the attorney be properly educated and qualified, he will be both able and willing to select the best man at the bar for the conduct of his client's case.

For these reasons it is we think that the public need protection in this respect, and safe assurance that no matter where

they select an attorney, they will have a moral certainty of his being at least well informed in the study of the law, in both theory and practice.

It certainly appears most unreasonable that while the medical profession exacts certain conditions before it permits its tyros to exercise their skill on such patients as fortune may throw in their way, the law permits its alumni to experimentize upon the public without control.

It is doubtless true that the illnesses and accidents daily endangering the lives of men are frequently sudden and unlooked for; a broken leg or a violent inflammatory disorder will call for prompt treatment, and it is of vital importance in such cases that the patient may be reasonably assured that he is safe in taking the first man who comes to hand; but this is only an additional reason for extending the same precautions to admission into the profession of the law, as are adopted in the medical, for though a man can in most cases deliberate before entering the uncertain arena of the law, and though in general he can look about him and choose for his legal adviser a man of a certain established character, yet many obstacles may lie in the way of his employing this particular solicitor in the affair in hand. A number of previous engagements, the nature of the particular business, relationship, or connexion, or intimate acquaintanceship with the opposite party, may one or all intervene, and the unlucky suitor is compelled to trust to the recommendation of friends or chance; the conduct of affairs of perhaps vital importance. In such a case he ought not to have imposed upon him, the necessity of any enquiry save as to the character and respectability of his Solicitor. Admission to practice should be in itself a certificate that the practitioner is at least qualified in legal acquirements.

Before considering what appears to us to be the right mode of dealing with the matter and of training our solicitors and attorneys, we propose to state how the matter is managed at present.

In order that no time may be lost before the anticipated golden harvest is begun to be reaped, we usually find youths in this country apprenticed to the profession of attorney at the earliest eligible age, sixteen years. Having passed through an apprenticeship of five years, they reach the looked-for goal, and are landed upon the stormy sea of legal competition, at the mature age of 21 years. A University Degree entitles the apprentice to dock two of these five years, and the time occupied

in crude and ill assorted classical and mathematical lore is considered an equivalent for two years in the office.

The first employment to which the young apprentice is usually devoted on entering his master's chambers is the careful copying of the oldest, least legible, and most technical document in the office; over this he hangs for a few weeks, relieved, by being sent into the streets upon some brain-addling message, and he is occasionally sent abroad upon some trivial errand.

Sometimes, though rarely, the master will entertain a vague and misty notion that his apprentice will need something more than this, and the subsequent routine of the office, to give him even a scanty inkling of the science of his profession. Then if of a generous disposition, and willing to devote some trifling portion of his valuable time to the improvement of his apprentice, he will probably read aloud for him, or cause him to read daily a chapter of the driest and least interesting portion of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and having continued this notable system of instruction for a few weeks, until probably the press of profitable business interferes with its continuance, he rests easy and content that he has given good value for the trifling £200 fee which he received with his apprentice.

After the first few weeks, the progress of the apprentice until he becomes a fullgrown clerk, in everything but salary, is little varied.

Accompanied at first by his master or a clerk, or a more advanced fellow apprentice, he is introduced into the mysteries of the Courts and Offices, until able to tread his way through the dark labyrinths of the latter without a guide, and fit to undertake the onerous duty of watching the uncertain progress of a motion by a blazing fire in the "Rolls". From this time the scene is but little varied, and by dint of constant gazing and contact practical knowledge of the wheels and machinery of the law is partially attained, but of the principles which guide and govern its motions, not a jot. It cannot indeed be otherwise. No one can expect that after laboring at these occupations all day, a youth of 18 or 20 will feel inclined to sit down in the evening to devote himself to study law. Be he ever so studiously inclined, the most his mind will be in a state to digest is general reading, and even in that the majority of apprentices find too little relaxation.

Taking it as an admitted fact, which we do without hesitation

that the apprenticeship of the attorney teaches him nothing, save practical technicalities and routine, the question naturally arises, how do we propose to remedy the present evil?

The enquiry resulting from this question divides itself into three branches. The first is directed towards the period immediately antecedent to the indenturing; the second to the course of the apprenticeship itself, and the third to the conclusion of the service and the admission as an attorney.

We think we shall succeed in showing that in each of these stages the present system is insufficient and incomplete.

The selection of one son, out of three or four, by their father, for this profession is frequently, we might go so far as to say generally, made without sufficient reference to the peculiar bent of mind and taste of the one chosen. While in many, perhaps the majority, of cases, it is made from a wish and hope that the profession will furnish its alumnus with an honorable and profitable calling, it but too frequently arises in the case of men in a comparatively humble sphere, from a foolish notion of the accession of dignity and respectability which are to accrue to the family which boasts a "gentleman attorney" as one of its members. In no case, however, are the talents and natural taste and turn of mind of the intended attorney sufficiently considered, nor does the parent always reflect upon his own ability or inclination, or both, to provide his son, on his entering on the practice of his profession, with sufficient capital to prosecute it with vigor and success.

Supposing, however, that the youth destined for an attorney possesses what is commonly and correctly enough called a "taste" for his profession, it is obviously proper that he should have in addition a certain amount of knowledge and education. He is not, after all, about to embrace a profession an intimate acquaintance with which consists solely of dry and mouldy technicalities, or which is to be acquired by five years of assiduous desk work. He will hereafter find that no species of knowledge will be useless to him in the direct practice of his profession, and that to become eminent and successful, he must if comparatively uneducated, possess extraordinary advantages. It is not alone in the direct application of his knowledge to every day occurrences and business, that its value and importance will be found, but rather in the habits of thought and enquiry which it will have created in its acquisition; in that broad and clear view of the principles of things which it will suggest,

and in the generally elevated and enlarged tone which it will impart to his intellect and thoughts.

In this country an apprentice is, as we have stated, usually bound at the earliest eligible age—sixteen years. It is not likely that he will then know a great deal unless unusually precocious; this perhaps would not so much matter if he possessed a decent amount of education and information, and had, so to speak, his head hardened by previous habits of study; but we regret to say the young apprentice will generally be found nearly ignorant, having nothing but a smattering of Greek and Latin, and an education in the important English branches, and in arithmetic, and its kindred studies wholly neglected. The result will inevitably be a total want of real interest in the pursuit of his profession, as it should be pursued, and an inaptitude and unwillingness to acquire professional knowledge. In addition, and above all, if he have not taken advantage, or been allowed to take advantage, of the time prior to the commencement of his indentureship for the acquisition of that knowledge which in the course of his profession he will find so invaluable, how can he possibly, during the course of his servitude, find opportunities for its acquirement?

His days will, as we have seen, be wholly occupied, and his evenings will, we might say necessarily, be devoted to relaxation.

It is on this great ground that we principally insist on the absolute necessity of a sound and practical education previous to the commencement of the apprenticeship, and an examination by competent authorities previous to the indenturing.

Some controversy may doubtless be raised as to the nature and extent of this examination, and we do not propose to enter very minutely on the subject. We think, however, we have said enough to show the unfairness of loading the shoulders of the apprentice with the burthen of laborous study of branches of knowledge, the necessity for acquiring which is even during his servitude forcibly demonstrated to him. We think that a tolerable acquaintance with Greek and Latin should be required without restricting the particular authors. In this department the examination could be so directed as to test the applicant's knowledge of the language without requiring him to be prepared in any particular author or set of authors, a plan which has laid the foundations of the cramming system. The examination in science should not in our opinion, any more than that in classics, be too exacting at the comparatively early age of the

candidate, and at a merely preliminary stage, but a thoroughly sound and practical knowledge of arithmetic in all its branches should be insisted upon, such a knowledge as would bear the test of practical investigation by means of questions to be put and solved on the spot, questions such as might be expected to arise in every day experience. A hand-writing at least distinct and regular if not elegant, should be indispensable, and a sufficient acquaintance with French to enable the candidate to translate at the least that language readily into English. In addition, lastly, to the usual branches of English education, and in particular practical geographical and topographical knowledge, the candidates should be able to write with ease from dictation, and to put into clear and correct English the details of any subject of which the heads should be given.

Having passed this examination satisfactorily and been bound, we are disposed to leave the apprentice to himself, thenceforth, as regards general education. If he possess any refinement of taste, or even a desire for self improvement, he will need no spur to incite him in the pursuit of knowledge, and to make him feel how gracefully literary tastes adorn the solemnity of professional excellence.

If, on the other hand, the turn of his mind be wholly practical, he will daily learn the usefulness and value of what he knows, and will at least struggle to preserve if not to enlarge his possessions.

Our care now must be to make our embryo attorney as well fitted as possible to fill his future position with profit to his clients and the public as well as to himself.

The question now arises, how are we, during the apprenticeship, to instruct the apprentice, and teach him such portions of the legal system as it is proper and necessary he should know. We must be careful not to interfere, at least as little as possible, with the office routine. To take away the apprentice for a considerable part of each day, or even every alternate day, would be unjust to the master, and would lead in many instances to idleness and abuses. Overloading the memory should also be avoided, and the instruction conveyed should be as practical as possible. It strikes us that no mode of instruction possesses the same advantages as that of lectures, and that in no other way can the same amount of information be so clearly and easily conveyed. We would suggest then the appointment of a sufficient number of qualified lecturers, who should be barristers,

and who during term should deliver lectures say twice in each week. These could easily be so arranged at recurring times, as to provide for the irregular periods at which apprentices are bound; or better still, and perhaps as a consequence of the adoption of such a system as we indicate, there should be regular periods at which apprentices could be, and only could be, bound. No possible difficulty could arise to prevent the punctual attendance of apprentices at these lectures, but we do not propose to make that attendance voluntary; on the contrary, the strength of our suggestion lies in the compelling of all apprentices, save when duly excused, attending regularly, and being required before claiming a right to be admitted to practice to produce their certificates of attendance. In fine, without going into details, the arrangement of which would be a matter of little difficulty, we think that there is no reason why an important profession like this should be reduced to the level of a mechanical trade, and the daily routine of office work be considered a sufficient training. We only contend for the principle, leaving the details to be carried out by practical men, and we are confident that the principle we advocate will be fully admitted by all who feel an interest in the elevation and improvement of this important calling. If occasional rewards or prizes for proficiency were distributed a highly beneficial result would be attained, for few would be found to despise a distinction which in all probability would materially serve their subsequent progress.

We must disclaim in our present paper any wish to interfere in the slightest degree with the other profession, that of the Bar, or the indulging of the utopian and mischievous idea of making the attorney independent of the barrister. This, in our system of legal administration, would be simply impossible, as far as the business of the advocate is concerned, but while we ardently desire to see the attorney properly instructed, it is only within his own peculiar provinces that we wish to see him range; we are confident that a proper training would not only render him a far more useful person, in the mere matter of legal acquirements, but would also greatly tend to raise and improve his tone of mind, and to stimulate and foster those high feelings of integrity and honor, which adorn the profession while they protect and serve the public. No, while we are far from desiring to see the profession composed of men aping the barrister, and taking upon them to express opinions on sub-

jects neither within the scope nor purpose of their legal training, we wish to see them possessing that knowledge of the law which will preserve them from serious error, and from endangering the property and compromising the rights of their clients by rash or unsound advice, or by injudicious management.

It is not likely that with due attention to the course of lectures suggested, provided those lectures be of a practical character and suited to the requirements of those addressed, that any young man will pass his apprenticeship without having acquired a tolerably sound knowledge of all that he should know, and the estimate of that requisite knowledge is generally speaking too low. The duties of the attorney are not merely mechanical and wholly subservient to the barrister. He is frequently called upon to answer questions involving considerable difficulty, and as to which there is neither opportunity, nor desire to consult the barrister. In mercantile matters especially, questions involving nice points of law will frequently and suddenly be put, which *must* be answered on the spot, and answered so as to exhibit to the shrewd and well informed querist either skill or ignorance. In the preparation and perusal of deeds, abstracts of title, and every day agreements, difficulties will sometimes occur which a tolerable acquaintance with principles and a thoroughly practical training, will speedily remove, and the well-informed attorney will have an opportunity of establishing his reputation for skill and competency without in the slightest degree encroaching on the limits of the other profession.

As we have before observed, a general supervision of the previous educational training of intended apprentices, and a regular system of instruction during the apprenticeship, will unquestionably serve, besides making a skilful attorney, the additional end of improving the general character of the profession.

We daily hear complaints, and we admit with deep pain well founded complaints, of breaches of good faith, and acts of sharp practice, and even worse, on the part of our attorneys. It ought not to be necessary, as it too often is, to be careful to have put into writing and duly signed every promise and undertaking, made by an attorney: his word, the word of a man of honor, should have some weight, and it must be, we are sure it is, the earnest wish of our judges and legal functionaries to feel a confidence in, and a liberty to act with confidence upon, the word and verbal statement of every attorney practising

before then. That they cannot safely do so, we deeply deplore, and can only hope that some day it may be otherwise, and that in this important and useful profession at last every man's word shall be his bond. It will we fear be only then that the great mass of prejudice that now exists, with reference to this section of the legal body, will be swept away, and that the roguish, and grasping, and pettifogging attorney will cease to lend a point to the fiction of the dramatist and novelist.

There is a portion of the prejudice we have alluded to which is, however, less excusable than the rest, and that is with reference to the scale of remuneration allotted by law to the attorney: we should hardly have used these latter words, for the most violent portion of this prejudice proceeds upon a total forgetfulness that the law has fixed, and rigidly fixed, the payment which an attorney is to receive for his service. To hear some men speak, one would be inclined to fancy that the profession had adopted by some common consent an extravagant and ruinous system of fees, and had enforced the payment of these fees by the free use of every engine of oppression that can by craftiness and fraud be constructed out of the great workshop of the law. Now it may be worth while to consider if after all, the rate of payment which the legislature sanctions and allows to the attorney is disproportionate to the nature of the services which he renders, when he performs his duty with accuracy and skill. Every business in which the commodity bartered to the public consists of the exercise of intellect, and the fruits of knowledge and skill, will to the vulgar at least appear one in which the payment should not be very liberal. It strikes an ignorant man with surprise that while he himself sweats and labors all day long for a few shillings, the barrister or attorney earns as much, or more correctly, at least in the case of the latter, has a right to as much for an hour's advice. His labor is hard and severe, that of the professional man is nought. The shopkeeper too feels that in his trade a capital is invested, and that his goods given over the counter represent so much cash on which he has a right to a certain return, but in his eyes the professional man invests no capital, and earns his money without trouble or risk.

As long as ignorance refuses to acknowledge the power and strength of intellect and to undervalue mental labor, so long will it be difficult to argue with the former class; but the better educated body which constitutes the latter class, should learn

that in a large sum paid into the Revenue for permission to adopt their profession, in five years spent in an apprenticeship, and many an anxious hour spent in the study of their profession, and in the risk and accountability to the public for their skill, the attorneys have invested no inconsiderable sum, such a capital as most justly entitles them to a liberal return. We strive in vain to understand the readiness with which on the one hand a man hands a guinea to a doctor for a few minutes conversation and advice upon his health, and the extreme reluctance with which on the other he pays a third of the sum for an hour's anxious conference with his attorney upon matters of far, perhaps, deeper importance.

Many men, and these too educated and intelligent, think it no injustice to occupy an hour at least daily of their solicitor's time in questions and desultory conversation, directed nevertheless to topics of immediate interest to their own affairs, without dreaming of giving him the slightest remuneration, satisfied that he is sufficiently paid by the profits of an occasional action instituted for the recovery of a trade debt.

No doubt a large portion of this evil has arisen from the system adopted by the attorneys themselves of making their services too cheap to the public, in place of standing upon that which is their right by custom and by law. Unfortunately, the profession of late years is at so low an ebb that none but a few of the old practitioners, whose fortunes are securely made, can venture on anything like an independent course of conduct, and so many inducements are held out to solicit custom that a man of probity and who desires to respect himself, can with difficulty retain his connexion.

Among those inducements the principal is an offer to carry on the business of the client in something like a joint speculation. If the attorney succeeds in extracting his costs from the pocket of the debtor, well and good, he reaps his reward; but if the debtor prove unable to pay, the agreement is that the client is to reimburse his attorney only his actual expenditure out of pocket. There is one class, and but one, of clients with whom we think it at all excusable to make such an agreement. In the case of a commercial house, giving extensive credit, a very large number of debtors will require from time to time to be brought to book, and if in every instance in which the debtor proved insolvent the creditor were obliged to pay the full costs to his own attorney, the amount to be so disbursed

would be too serious for continuance. In such a case, the profit realized in the successful matters, will generally prove an equivalent to the attorney for his participation in his client's loss, and the object of the proceedings in every case being the *bonâ fide* one of recovering a just debt, the arrangement does not appear open to any great objection.

Unfortunately, however, in the present day the man whose law business is confined to perhaps the recovery of a solitary debt in the year, looks for these terms with the confidence of a foregone conclusion that they are generally understood, and it must be at the risk of the total loss of the business of his client such as it may be, that the attorney dares to remonstrate or object.

To return from this digression to the main question. The system of instruction by lectures having been established, and the attendance of the apprentice thereat rendered compulsory, we think there is little doubt but that every man of ordinary capacity will reach the end of his apprenticeship tolerably well instructed; at least if he does not, we may fairly, save under peculiar circumstances, attribute his deficiency to his own fault.

We think then that every apprentice should at the end of his term undergo a proper examination at the hands of competent persons, and pass the same satisfactorily before being permitted to engage in practice. We think this final examination should be confined to legal subjects, and should be eminently practical in its character. In addition to questions put at the discretion of the examiners, suppositious cases, such as would be likely to occur in practice to an attorney, should be suggested, and the candidate should be asked for his opinion upon such. His practical knowledge would thus be satisfactorily tested and public confidence would be established in the ability and knowledge of the recently admitted attorney. Such an examination would be an improvement upon the present mockery, which seems to have been established solely for the purpose of putting certain fees in the pockets of a few respectable old practitioners.

These worthy old gentlemen, whose legal lore is not the most extensive, whose practical knowledge also has been rendered wholly useless, by the quickly succeeding changes of modern times, assemble at stated periods for the purpose of examining the candidates for the honor of admission. The latter are introduced *seriatim*, generally entertaining a slight dread of certain knotty questions which they have been told by some facetious friend will be proposed for solution.

This dread is speedily dissipated. Having communicated his name and address, and been asked in whose office his apprenticeship was passed, the whole ceremony concludes (after a few common-place remarks, and perhaps some enquiries after family and friends), by the interesting process of handing over the customary fees. Can anything be more ridiculous than this proceeding, or better calculated to bring an honorable profession into contempt and disrepute? In fact, under the present system there is nothing to prevent the worst man in the community, provided his character be not *publicly* blasted, from becoming a member of this profession, and no safeguard for the public against being victimized by the most ignorant and incompetent. The profession itself feels all the inconveniences and disadvantages of the present system, by which a man is suddenly introduced to the gravest responsibilities and duties without adequate preparation or instruction.

"Society," says Mr. Warren in his work, on law studies, "has a very deep stake in the personal character and qualifications of attorneys and solicitors, * * * *
to whom are entrusted the dearest and most important interest, upon earth, of persons in every station from the highest to the lowest, from the peer to the peasant; the property, liberty, character, and even life itself, of every member of the community, and the welfare of those unborn. An attorney and solicitor is perpetually called upon to afford his confidential assistance, in cases of the utmost delicacy, difficulty, and often, of danger; occasions requiring him to possess a high sense of honor, incorruptible integrity, as well as discretion, experience, and ready and accurate professional knowledge. * *

* * In no class of men is it of greater importance that virtuous principles should be early and assiduously cultivated in order to prepare them for, and guard them against temptations which are likely to prove irresistible to all who may not be thus fortified. Look, for instance, at the comparatively irresponsible and unlimited control over the property of numerous clients, which is possessed by every solicitor of eminence; the clients of greater or less degree of affluence—the widows and the fatherless—whom an improvident or unconscientious act of his, whether in his mere professional capacity, or in that of executor or trustee, might reduce in one moment to beggary!

* * * * The London attorney in good practice in the city is often required to advise his mercantile clients on

the spur of the moment, in the pressing emergencies continually occurring in commercial dealings, when large sums of money are at stake, and a great amount of property may be sacrificed, if the advice so suddenly required be not as promptly and prudently given. Take for instance the exercise of the right of stoppage in transitu—of lien—steps to be taken by the holders of negotiable instruments, in sudden emergencies, without compromising their rights—the sufficiency of a disputed delivery and acceptance of goods—the validity of a proposed guarantee or security, which, under urgent circumstances, must be instantly accepted or rejected—measures to be adopted to secure the safety of clients, in case of unexpected bankruptcy or insolvency of their customers and connexions. * *

* consider again the case of an attorney, called in at a moment's notice, on occasion of a client's sudden and dangerous illness, to prepare a will on the spot. How disastrous to the family of the deceased will be any oversight, from negligence or ignorance of the professional adviser of the deceased."

Having quoted these passages from Mr. Warren's book, and as the subject of which it treats is somewhat akin to that in hand, we desire before concluding this paper to offer a few remarks upon the work in question.

As a novelist, Mr. Warren has been eminently and deservedly successful, and as a barrister he has attained a respectable position. With his principles, religious or political, we have no concern, or rather we desire to have none, but Mr. Warren has an unhappy knack of occasionally forcing them upon his readers, without sufficient consideration for the feelings of those who may chance to differ with him. In works the avowed object of which is the expression and support of polemical opinions, and of such Mr. Warren has been occasionally the author, no exception can be taken to their discussion, but when a writer undertakes to amuse and instruct the public, or solely to instruct a particular profession, the introduction of such topics cannot fail to be offensive to a large section of his readers, and thus is a great measure defeat the object of the work. Even in his novels Mr. Warren is not free from this besetting sin, which so blinds a man's judgment by the force of prejudice and intolerance, as to make him drag in without apology or appositeness his own occasionally extreme, always illiberal opinions.

We have to notice an instance of this in the work before us; and what makes the matter worse, and gives an appearance of premeditated bitterness to the illustration, it is introduced with an appearance of being germane to the question.

In the chapter on "Mental Discipline" Mr. Warren enlarges on the necessity to the student of law of combining therewith the study of logic, and proceeds to recommend one or two writers on the art to the notice of the reader. Among these he mentions with a good deal of commendation, not alone his own, but gathered from eminent writers, William Chillingworth, and especially recommends the study of his book entitled "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation."

Though a judicious man and one of considerate feelings, writing moreover for the instruction of young men of every religious denomination, would hardly have recommended, and with enthusiastic praise too, this particular work to their general attention, we could have passed that by without notice, were it not that Mr. Warren proceeds with great minuteness to point out the peculiar force and beauty of the arguments with which Chillingworth overwhelmed and confounded his antagonist the (as Mr. Warren compassionately styles him,) "unhappy Jesuit." With which side lay the victory in this contest is a question we have no desire to discuss, nor have we any wish to detract in the slightest from the reputation which Chillingworth has left after him; but we can hardly conceive any proceeding adopted in worse taste than Mr. Warren's introduction of this book in the manner we have indicated.

Surely if his intense admiration of the work and its author would not suffer him to pass them without mention, he might have been content with a short notice of both, and left a minute examination to the research and inclination of the student. Could he not in the whole circle of British writers have found one other illustration of his text, and avoided what appears, at least, to be a gratuitous insult to the religion of a portion of his readers?

In spite too of his own and still more of the praise which those eminent men Locke and Clarendon have, as quoted by Mr. Warren, awarded to Chillingworth, many a champion might have been selected, who as a logician was as eminent as he, and the subject of whose reasoning could have been introduced without risk of offence.

It should also be borne in mind that this extraordinary

paragon of logical excellence, while a fellow of Oxford College, owned himself convinced by what we must suppose was superior reasoning, and became a Catholic, and being about to write a vindication of his conduct was induced by Laud, Bishop of London, to reconsider the matter, the result of which was a return to his former profession of faith, and the production of his celebrated work, which Mr. Warren loads with so much commendation.

We find him subsequently refusing to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, owing to an objection to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, and resisting until his promotion to the Chancellorship of Salisbury with the prebend of Brixworth annexed overcame his scruples.

Had Mr. Warren enlarged upon the *Horæ Paulinæ* with the same enthusiasm that he has done on Chillingworth's book, he would have given no offence, and would have in our opinion more faithfully served his purpose of introducing to the student the work the most suitable, and the best (as he indeed himself admits it to be) for his particular purpose.

When we began this paper we had intended going rather fully into the subject, and fortifying the case which (to use legal parlance) we have attempted to make by reference to parliamentary and other papers and reports. We could indeed adduce an overwhelming mass of such, which one and all tend to the same end, and to prove irresistibly the absolute prudence and necessity of adopting some system of professional education for the profession of the attorney.

But we do not think that we can strengthen our position by any other aid than that of facts, and the evidence and conviction of common sense.

All classes, the public, the bar, the attorneys themselves, must be benefited by and must desire a change from the present system. The public for obvious reasons require an intelligent and well-informed body of attorneys; the bar, whose duties and responsibilities will be lightened by communication with men of acuteness and accuracy instead of blockheads, must rejoice in the improvement; and the attorneys themselves, too well know how a better system would elevate their condition and increase their emoluments, not to long for the introduction of an improved state of things.

We do not indulge the utopian idea of making every attorney an accomplished lawyer, or even so much of a lawyer as to

induce him to fancy or make him feel that he can dispense with the assistance of the barrister, on occasions such as the discriminating attorney now likes to consult him, but we wish to see him freed from the thralldom of ignorance, in which he is at present fast bound, and no longer running at every hand's turning to his "Counsel," pestering him with questions which he would have no need to ask had a proper training during his apprenticeship taught him all that as a professional man it is fitting and necessary he should know.

We cannot think the comparatively recent legislation with reference to attorneys in this country has been originated and carried out with any great regard to the real interests of either the profession or the public, and in this respect, as in very many others, we think there is just reason to complain of the very different spirit in which Ireland is legislated for, from that in which England is dealt with.

In England every candidate for admission into the attorney profession is subjected to a preliminary examination conducted under the supervision of the Incorporated Law Society, sanctioned and recognized by act of Parliament, and a glance at the published questions from time to time proposed at these examinations sufficiently proves their searching character, and only serves to make more ridiculous and contemptible the farce which is acted here under the same name.

In many other respects the legislature has provided for the ensuring the respectability and efficiency of the English practitioner. With us, what little safeguard existed in the heavy stamp duty on indenturing has been broken down by the reduction of that duty from £120 to £80; what object was proposed by this reduction we are at a loss to conceive. As to the annual certificate duty, it has nothing earthly to do with ensuring a respectable body of practitioners. The worst man at the profession may be the best able, and the best man the worst able to pay it, and the attorney who is both poor and disreputable knows a thousand plans to evade its payment and yet carry on his schemes. The real truth is, that such care as human skill and forethought could suggest should be used to admit to practice fit men only, and once admitted each man should be left to his own energy, ability, and probity to fight his way through the great battle of life.

Drawing to the close of this paper we are strongly tempted

to wish that we had not written it, for we fear the cause which we have endeavored to support may perhaps be not yet ripe for advocacy. This fear would be stronger within us, did we not feel assured that in every man of common sense, whom we number amongst our readers, we reckon a supporter of that which his own intellect, without aid from argument or precedent, will quickly tell him is right. In no city in Great Britain is to be found a body of men excelling in intelligence, acuteness and sound sense, the mercantile men of Dublin. In none is there greater discrimination in judging between the skilled practitioner and the quack, the man of merit and the pretender, and in none can the advocate, however weak, of a just measure of salutary reform meet with warmer supporters and firmer friends.

In them, then, we trust, confident that when they speak, they will be heard with attention and respect, and though perhaps, in this particular instance, the movement should begin in the profession itself, yet once begun it will assuredly derive its chiefest momentum from the honest and earnest support of the mercantile community.

ART. III.—IRISH POETRY.

1. *Irish Popular Songs, with English Metrical Translations.* By Edward Walsh. Dublin: James M'Glashan. 1854.
2. *The Poets and Poetry of Munster: a Selection of Irish Songs by the Poets of the last century. With Poetical Translations.* By the late James Clarence Mangan. Now for the first time published, with the Original Music, and Biographical Sketches of the Authors. By John O'Daly. Dublin: John O'Daly, 9 Anglesea Street. 1855.

We were much struck on reading the following passage concerning Scotland in the third volume of Macaulay's *History of England*:—"The Gaelic monuments, the Gaelic usages, the Gaelic superstitions, the Gaelic verses, disdainfully neglected during many years, began to attract the attention of the learned from the moment at which the peculiarities of the Gaelic race began to disappear." How true, how sadly true! is this of Ireland: while the Irish was still a living language (which now, alas! it has almost ceased to be,) while it still had living pens and living lyres, while the air was still vocal with Irish song, while Irish verse was still composed, recited and remembered, while Irish monuments of antiquity were still in tolerable preservation, (comparatively speaking,) while Irish peculiarities, superstitions, national legends, and historical traditions, were still numerous and fresh; while all these treasures for the antiquarian, the philosopher, the historian, were still patent, they were disregarded: and now, when they have almost passed away beyond our reach we are striving to collect the decaying fragments of all that had been so long neglected, nay! worse than neglected, utterly despised: not merely left to die a natural death, but *hastened* towards dissolution.

It were useless now to dwell upon the causes, and they were various, that tended to this disparagement; one of the principal, perhaps, was Fashion, that most unjust, most unreasonable, and most frivolous, as well as most tyrannic of despots. Queen Anne at one time seemed somewhat inclined to give the Irish tongue a fair hearing and a chance for existence: but some interested enemies of the vernacular repeated to her a sort of fictitious phrase composed of the harshest words that could be selected, and persuaded her that it was unfit for civilized lips or ears. Long, long ago is it, that persons who knew not a

syllable of the language, and had not the most remote idea of its literature (or whether it had a literature at all) voted "vulgar" one of the most ancient languages in Europe. Antiquity is always considered to confer a value; but there was no *prestige* in antiquity for Irish, that language in which are to be traced so many etymologies which persons ignorant of it puzzle themselves to wrest and strain from Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Saxon, any thing save the mother dialect in which those etymologies would be found, simple, natural and without distortion. It was "vulgar," that language in which history, law, theology, poetry, were written, and in which instructions were given in schools and colleges, frequented by noble students from the Continent at the time that England was at best but semi-barbarous; but those to whom its history was unknown condemned it to banishment among the rustics.

For a long time it was tenacious of life in the rural atmosphere; the affection of the people for their tender and expressive language was deep and enduring: but the depressing influences were too strong, and at length it showed unmistakeable symptoms of decline and approaching death. Then men of learning and of taste began to estimate the impending loss: then exertions were made to recover and publish MSS., and to search out and preserve antiquities; but the fatal decay continued, and its progress has of late years rapidly accelerated. We ourselves think that the Famine, and the subsequent enormous emigration, by both of which such numbers of the Irish speaking population became lost to the country, by death and removal, hastened the extinction of the oral Irish tongue of which the generation that has since sprung up, know little or nothing. We remember districts in the South wherein, twenty years ago, Irish was universally spoken among the rustics, of whom numbers "had no English," and among many persons of a higher grade, who acquired some Irish (by ear, rarely by books) in order to carry on the necessary business of life. *Now*, in those same districts, Irish speakers have become rare. Who, on looking back, is not struck with the fact, that since the famine Irish has been rapidly passing away from the cottage hearth, from the fairs and markets, from the village inn and forge, and from those shops in towns where Irish-speaking assistants used to be kept for the benefit of the peasantry who frequented them. And we have constantly remarked, that since the famine we have not heard the Peasants singing, as formerly,

their Irish songs while they held the plough or followed their carts.

And now the Irish language has reached that day which the French with a felicitous expression call, The Day of Praises (*Le jour des louanges*)—it is the day of dissolution, the last day of life, the first day of death; when the dead (or the dying one) suddenly becomes dearer to our hearts than ever, most fondly loved when most surely lost—*then* all faults are forgotten, nothing but merits remembered; *then* the slightest censure appears like sacrilege; *then* not a syllable is uttered but in praise; *then* the last dying words are anxiously caught; *then* every relic, every line of handwriting, is collected and treasured; *then* comes deep, but late, repentance for every slight, every unkindness, of which we had been guilty. And thus it is now when the tongue of the mother land is silenced, or nearly so, in death; now comes *Le jour des louanges*, of merits recognized at last, of unavailing regret for past neglect, of love and value for every memento.

Among the gathered relics, we welcome, with great satisfaction the Collections of *Poems* that have been published: for the people and the language of Ireland have been especially poetic. There have been two phases of the Irish Poets; anciently,* the high born and the educated, and in modern times, under discouragement, the lowly and the unlearned, peasants, country handicraftsmen, such as smiths, tailors, weavers, &c. village publicans, "hedge" schoolmasters,—and in the catalogue may be found even blind beggars—scorn not, reader! remember Homer. While in England one or two rustic Poets (like Bloomfield, or John Clare) emerged, now and then, from the mass of population, to be admired and encouraged, hundreds of Irish Peasant Bards lived, sung, and died, unregarded by any save their humble acquaintances.

It was particularly in the Province of Munster, in the sweet South, among warm hearts, and intelligent minds, and lovely landscapes, that Irish pastoral poetry especially flourished. The temperament of the Southern Irish, ardent, excitable, devotional, imaginative, now pathetic, now humorous, was

* Royme the Poetic, brother of Mal, King of Ireland; Olioll Olum, King of Munster (3rd century); Mac Liag, secretary to King Brian Boru; Donough mor O'Daly, Abbot of Boyle (13th century) &c.

essentially poetic, and there was much to foster the tendency—the beautiful scenery, varied with noble mountain and soft valley; the innumerable rivulets, each with its own song; the wild rocks with their “eerie” echoes; the frequent ivy-clad ruins (poetry in themselves) *more* frequent in Ireland than in almost any other country; the secluded lakes; the massive Cromleacs and Cairns (and massiveness is grandeur)—all such objects had their influence on Irish Poetry, through which runs a strongly descriptive view. Then there were the romantic incidents arising from the frequent civil discords, and peculiar circumstances of Ireland; hairbreadth escapes, wild adventures, and the affecting vicissitudes of noble families: add the mythology, the beautiful fairies that* sympathized with mortals more than the elves of any other nation; the merry Luprechaun, a genuine Irish fairy; the mysterious Banshee shrouded from curious eyes by her large hood and mantle, lamenting, at night, in a melancholy strain half cry half song, with undistinguishable words, whenever death comes to the particular family to whose fates she is attached with a human-like love; the long-robed, long-haired *Geilt*, that haunts some lonely spot, and that is not faun nor satyr, nor spectre, nor sprite, nor demon, but a *Genius loci* peculiar to Ireland. Then there was the language, so rich in expressive epithets, and that runs so naturally into metre. Edmund Spencer (and the author of the *Fairy Queen* is high authority) caught a glimpse of the merits of Irish Poetry, even under the great disadvantage and disfigurement of a bald verbal translation: he says of Irish Poems: “I have caused divers of them to be translated unto me, that I might understand them, and surely they are savoured of sweet wit and good invention, but skilled not of the goodly ornaments of poetry; yet were they sprinkled with some pretty flowers of their natural device, which gave good grace and comeliness to them &c. &c. &c.”

The Irish Peasants were natural, involuntary, disinterested Poets: they sang from the pure love of song. When they poured forth their sorrows, personal or national, in verse, they could not “weep with the public, and wipe their eyes with the press,” as was said once of a noble English poet; they had no press, and could hope for no public beyond their

* The Irish Jacobite songs represent the fairies as deeply interested for the Stuart dynasty.

own narrow circle, nay, their verses were seldom committed to writing, save a copy or two for the composer's own use ; and depended for preservation on the memory of their admirers. No hope of fame or of gain encouraged their muse : their effusions, amatory, political, descriptive, humorous, or religious, were simply the spontaneous overflowings of the heart.

Such poets were rife while the real character of the Irish peasantry was unknown to, or misconceived by, the denizens of cities, or the visitants from other countries. These heard of the Irishman in deeds of violence and turbulence, and they saw him to disadvantage in a position where hard necessity compelled his native abilities and acuteness to degenerate into knavery and servility for the very means of subsistence in citizen-life. While the Irishman was depicted in novels and plays, as a strange nondescript, a compound of knavery and folly, ferocity and good humor, of buffoonery and servility, how few were they who could conceive the warmth, tenderness, fine feeling, and generosity of that soul of poetry that pervaded the mountains and the glens. So the beautiful features of the inland region are unknown to the mariners who never see more of a country than the ugly sea-port, their accustomed haven

But *revenons a nos moutons*, among the collections of Irish Poems introduced, by translation, to English readers, we are particularly pleased with those which, like Walsh's and O'Daly's volumes, give the original Irish side by side with the translations; they help to preserve the original; and enable Irish readers to see points and beauties which often, of necessity, lose much by transfusing into another language.

O'Daly's publication, besides containing many poems of merit admirably rendered by the late Clarence Mangan, has the additional advantage of giving short biographical sketches of the writers, and also the original airs to which the songs were set, and sometimes the different versions of the same air, thus rescuing sweet but fugacious melodies from oblivion.

Edward Walsh's book also gives the Irish text interleaved with the spirited English translations of the very pleasing songs it contains ; but not the music. In both the collections are various specimens of the muse of Andrew M'Grath, who might be called the Irish Burns. Like that gifted Scot, Andrew M'Grath had great abilities, a fund of mirth and humor, and exceeding sweetness of versification (in his vernacular) ; and unhappily he resembled Burns also in the

profligacy of his habits. M'Grath was a country schoolmaster, a native of the south part of the County Limerick. In several of his poems he celebrated the Maigh,* a river which rising in the barony of Coshlea (the most southern barony in the county), flows through some rich and beautiful scenery on its northward course to the Shannon, which it meets a few miles below Limerick. M'Grath had superior talents, but no steady principle; he carried more sail than ballast; his habits of intoxication, and his general immoralities, drew on him the ban of the clergy of his Church, and he was compelled to quit the banks of his beloved Maigh, on which occasion he wrote his Farewell to the Maigh," translated in Walsh's Collection. He professed himself a convert to the Protestant faith, but being discouraged in the Established Church on account of his flagrant conduct, he wrote his "Lament," half pathetic, half humorous, in which he bewailed his fate, that he could be "neither Papist nor Protestant." It is well translated in Walsh's volume. After leading for some time a wandering life, as a pedlar, in which character he received the soubriquet of Mangaire Sughach, or the Merry Dealer, he resumed his former vocation of schoolmaster at Knoch Ferin or (Knoch Fierna,) in the County Limerick, near Ballingarry, and continued to poetize. His Irish verse is remarkable for its ease and sweetness; his compositions are various, amatory, pastoral, satirical, bacchanalian, many are licentious. It is gratifying to say, that he became at length a penitent; and after attaining an advanced age, died sometime subsequently to 1790, at Ballinanma, near Kilmallock, (Co. Limerick) at the house of a farmer named O'Donnell, (to whom he bequeathed all his MSS.) and was interred at Kilmallock, called the "Irish Balbec," from the ruins it displays of its former architectural dignity. It is singular that in the brief notice of Irish bards of the County Limerick, in the History of Limerick by Fitzgerald and M'Gregor, no allusion is made to a bard so popular throughout Munster as Andrew M'Grath; though his acquaintance and poetic rival, John O'Tuomy, the Publican, is mentioned.

M'Grath made liberal use of alliteration in his poems: it showed his powers of language, it imparted a half humorous tone to his pathos, quite in character with the man: it added to the music of the rythm, and supplied the place of rhyme

* Pronounced Mague (in one syllable.)

which is not natural to Irish poetry, and for which assonance of vowels, as in Spanish and Portuguese verse, is generally substituted. We have observed that in the translations made from "The Merry Dealer," his characteristic alliteration has been overlooked: we have therefore felt strongly tempted to assay, ourselves, a version of his "Farewell to the Maigh;" not as a vain rivalry with the translation published by Walsh, but merely as an attempt to bring out more prominently the alliterative feature in the "Farewell." We cannot pretend to make our version quite as literal as if it were not fettered by alliteration, but we trust it will not be found deficient in fidelity.

FAREWELL TO THE MAIGH.

FROM THE IRISH OF ANDREW M'GRATH.

SLAḡ A'ṛ CÉAD Óḡ B-CAOBḡO UAIḡḡ,

COḡṛ M'AIḡḡ ḡA ḡ-CAOBḡ, ḡA ḡ-CḡAḡB, ḡA ḡ-CḡUAḡ, ḡC.

A thousand farewells to thee now,
Sweet Maigh of berry, bloom, and bough,
Of gold, and gifts, and gallants gay,
Of song, and strain, and shepherd-lay.
Och hone! my heart is weary!
Game and glee gone, gone from me,
Sport and sprightliness and spree—
I'm wandering lone and dreary.

Farewell each man of jocund heart,
From Poet, Priest, and Sage I part:
Farewell the frank and friendly, free
From falsehood, fraud, and flattery.
Och hone! my heart is weary, &c.

Farewell each maiden, modest, meek,
Of clear complexion, cherry cheek;
Of lovely locks, and laughter light,
Bliss, beautiful, benignant, bright.
Och hone! my heart is weary, &c.

Farewell o'er all to her, my pearl,
The gentle, graceful, generous girl,
For whom I'm banish'd hence—but still
She's dear to me, through pain and ill.
Och hone! my heart is weary, &c.

Faint frozen, fretful, and forlorn,
Sad, shelterless, subdued by scorn,
I brave the Northern blast alone,
On mountain rude with heath o'ergrown.
Och hone! my heart is weary, &c.

Despairing from my friends I go,
Wending my way in want and woe:
Three months I've spent in exile drear;
No welcome word nor wish I hear.
Och hone! my heart is weary, &c.

If e'er through streets I pass along,
Men like me not, I sing no song;
And women whisper, "whence is he?
What is his name? who can he be?"
Och hone! my heart is weary, &c.

Now banish'd by the Priest from thee,
Dear Maigh, thy banks no more to see,
Farewell my love, my bird! and all
The fair whose beauties caused my fall.
Och hone! my ruth, my ruin!
Too well the sweets I lov'd to slip
From flowing cup and honied lip;
And these were my undoing.

This song, in which the alliteration is not all-pervading, but running only through particular lines, cannot pretend to rival the alliterative feats achieved by some laborious pens, such as the renowned "Battle of the Pigs" (*Pugna Porcorum*) a Latin Poem published in Germany about the middle of the 17th century, consisting of 302 hexameter lines, containing 1500 words, every one of which, as well as every word of the title page, author's name and the motto, begins with a P., e.g. title, "*Pugna Porcorum per Petrum Porcinum Paraclesis pro potatore*," motto, "*Perlege porcorum pulcherrima proclia, Potor*,

potondo poteris placidam proffere Poesin."—First line, "plaudite porcelli, porcorum pigra propago." But we do not think that any language of Celtic, or of Gothic origin, is capable of the same degree of alliteration as the Latin and its congeners; the Northern pronouns and prepositions are obstacles. We have seen an Italian sonnet which we verily believe *cannot* be translated into English with the same feature as the original, viz. every single word beginning with D. This extraordinary sonnet was written by Luigi Groto, a native of Adria, who died 1585. He had quite a passion for conceits, affectations, and oddities in verse, and wrote his D. Sonnet, *con amore*, at the request of a Venetian lady who set him the task of composing for her a poetic eulogium, every word of which should commence with the initial letter of her name, Deidamia. We will transcribe it as a specimen of laborious trifling, and of a completeness of alliteration not to be attained, we think, in languages of a more masculine genius than the Italian.

Donna da Dio discesa, don divino,
Deidamia, donde duol dolce deriva,
Debboti Donna dir? debbo dir Diva?
Dotta, discreta, degna di domino!
Data ne da destrissimo destino
Destatrice del di dove dormiva;
Delle dote donateci descriva

Democetene, dipingasti Delfino.
Distruggemmi docilissimo dente
Di divulgarti: disperol dipoi.
Diffidato dal dur depresso dire.
Dunque, dacchè dicevol detti Dio
Dindgommi, discolpami; dipoi
Dimostra di degnarli del destra.

To return to our subject, Irish Poetry. We will press into the service our own small share of the vernacular, and translate for the reader's amusement, from our MS collections a few simple poems of Munster, that we think have not been versified in English before, at least as far as our memory serves us, for we have not at hand for reference that treasury of Irish Poetry, Hardiman's *Minstrelsy*, a valuable work now unhappily becoming scarce. We shall commence with a love song, by a person whose name we have been unable to learn, written to dissuade his beloved one from her intention of emigrating. From his calling her (in the 3rd verse) his little white sea gull, alluding to her fair complexion, he seems to have lived near the sea; the simile would not have struck an inland-dweller. From his promises in the last verse he appears to have been a young farmer in easy circumstances; and it is evident that he observed and loved agreeable country scenery; but indeed allusions to the beauties of nature are abundant in Irish songs of all descriptions, except perhaps political.

SONG, FROM THE IRISH.

TO THE AIR OF GLEAN NA COLLAIR.

ANONYMOUS.

(Dáirí naíon d'á-luain, dá uainí naíon lá, &c.)

1.

On Monday, right early, two hours before day,
I got the dear letter was written by thee:
The blackbirds were loud, and their strain seem'd to say,
That my true love was going far over the sea.

2.

I breath'd a farewell to each now silent scene,
To the apple-trees' bloom, to the neighbouring grove,
Where oft on my shoulder her fair head would lean,
Where I press'd on her red lip the seal of my love.

3.

I breath'd a farewell to the river's smooth strand;
How oft have we sat in a boat on the tide;
My little white sea-gull I clasp'd by the hand,
And shew'd her the landscape so varied and wide.

4.

Come back to me, dearest! sole joy of my thought!
Come back to the haunts that we both lov'd so well:
Remember the nut-grove whose clusters we sought,
The bank where we rested, alone in the dell.

5.

I'll give thee a rich golden cross and bright rings,
And young sucking calves, and a herd of milch-kine:
And more—aye and better than all these good things,—
A youth with fond words and fond heart shall be thine.

John Hore, a blacksmith, a native of Dunaha, in the West of the County Clare, was patronized on account of his poetical abilities, by Charles O'Donnell Esq., of Kilkee, (Clare,) who transplanted him to the vicinity of his own residence. Hore was a man of a lively humorous turn, and of convivial habits. One All Hallows Eve, our bard joined a merry party of country folks assembled to enjoy their customary sports of the season, and drank "potations pottle deep." After midnight he set out for his own house, but was found next morning at a considerable distance from home, with his clothes torn and muddy, and his person somewhat bruised. On the same night a quantity of white oats was stolen from his yard, by some persons who were well aware that the existing circumstances promised them impunity. In order to avert the displeasure of his patron and landlord, Mr. O'Donnell, and induce that gentleman, in his generosity, to give him some oats in lieu of those that were stolen, he composed a song entitled "The White Oats," in which he merrily laid the whole blame of his escapade, and of his loss, upon the Fairies, who, according to Irish tradition, are always abroad on All Hallows Eve, galloping through Ireland. He represented the fairies of the County Cork (the most celebrated in the Island) as coming all the way from Bearhaven to do him mischief, headed by the elfin chief Finn, and accompanied by two

fairy queens, Cleena and Evall. Cleena's royal residence is at Carrig-Cleena, a tall massive, romantic rock in the parish of Glantaune, or Cahirlag, three miles N.W. of Mallow. In the rock is a wide opening which is said to lead to a large vault, which the peasantry decline to explore, believing that sounds of fairy music are frequently heard at night echoing from its deep recesses. Cleena is said to have fallen in love, once upon a time, with a mortal, a Fitzgerald of the Co. Limerick, whom she conveyed away to Carrig-Cleena in an enchanted cloud. But a beautiful girl named Ellen O'Brien, to whom he had been betrothed, learning from a soothsayer (whose aid she sought) the place of her lover's concealment, made a pilgrimage to Carrig-Cleena, and stood at the entrance weeping bitterly, and entreating the fairy queen to take pity on her sorrow. Cleena was moved by her tears and pathetic supplications, and sent forth the young chief to console his weeping love, to whom he was soon after married. The story is probably true, save in the fairy-hood of the enchantress who detained the hero of the tale for a while from his betrothed. Poor Cleena may have borne the blame in this instance as undeservedly as in the case of John Hore's white oats, which he accused her of stealing.

Evall's habitation was at Carriglea: tradition says that she was so deeply enamoured of a young chieftain of Munster, that she assumed a human form, and served in his family, for some years, as a domestic, in order to be near him.

The fairy hill of Knock Magha, or Knock Ma, is in the County Galway; there is a large cairn at the top, and it is reputed to be the abode of the elfin king, Finvar.

But it is time we should offer the reader our translation of

THE WHITE OATS.

JOHN HORE.

Ḃ conjuiríarí ḂaoíḂa ! ír ḂearíḂ Ḃo leíḂreab ḂuaḂḂeaḂt ḂḂeíḂ Ḃíob aírḂ
oíḂḂe SaḂaḂḂ.

1.

List, neighbours ! while I tell what happ'd on Hallow Eve to me;
From Bear a troop of fairies came, light, airy, full of glee.
Fine sport was theirs, since from the West to Down are thousand spots
All rich with corn, why need they take (mean prize !) my poor white oats.

2.

With Finn, their arm'd chief, they sped to Magha's fairy hill;
The deaf, nay, e'en the dead, might hear their cheers and shoutings shrill:
To feed their elfin steeds they made my stack of oats their prey;
Part through the shrubby vale was blown, part scatter'd by the way.

3.

Myself they seiz'd to mock and jeer, right glad such game to find :
They threw me up behind an elf, who gallop'd like the wind.
Like Pacolet a flying horse of wood did I bestride;
At last they flung me far from home, half dead, on Magha's side.

4.
Cleena, the lovely fairy queen, chode with the sportive clan ;
" Fools ! why did ye companion bring this sluggish Munster man ?
Catch him by his black curly poll, and beat him till he dies ;
Or let a jury sentence him to hang 'twixt earth and skies."

5.
But sweet voic'd Evall said, " this man deserves not scorn and wrath :
Though black his poll, his heart is fair, a mirthful soul he hath.
If vex'd he'll satirize you all,—put back his oats again :
Let him sit up, and give him wine, he'll sing a jovial strain."

How cleverly John Hore insinuates (through the mouth of Evall) his good qualities, at the same time hinting at his satirical talents (in *terrorem*) to be brought into play on provocation.

We proceed to translate a poem written by an anonymous rustic of the Co. Waterford in praise of Tourin, late the family seat of Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., (now uninhabited and dilapidated) situated on the West bank of the Blackwater, near Cappoquin and built on the site of a castle of the ancient Anglo Norman family of the Roches. Of that old edifice, there still remains one tall tower, square, machicolated, and ivy-clad ; from its top the eye roams over a beautiful, extensive, and varied view, the winding river, mountains, woods, mansions, towns, &c. Tourin derives its name from this tower, in Irish Tuarin, a little tower.

The present possessors of the tower and its broad lands are a branch of the Musgraves of Westmoreland, a family often celebrated in the border minstrelsy for feats of arms. The first of this branch that settled in Ireland was Richard Musgrave of Wortley, whose son Christopher became seated at Tourin, and was father of the first baronet, Sir Richard (1782) who died without issue in 1818, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Christopher, to whom succeeded (in 1826) his son, the present Sir Richard Musgrave, a man whom to know is to respect, a constant resident landlord ever anxious to promote every object for the good of his country, a consistent and sincere patriot.

The song (of whose author I can learn no particulars) was written in the time of the *first* Sir Richard who (as before mentioned), was childless, to which circumstance the wish (in the first line of the poem) for an heir alludes. In the verse is an allusion to the cyder of Tourin, respecting which we find an observation in Smith's History of the County Waterford, written about 1745, at which time Tourin was the seat of John Reeves Nettles, Esq., of whom Smith says ; " this gentleman has large tracts of orcharding near his house, and makes yearly considerable quantities of cyder, a liquor which this part of the

country is famous for. The Red Streak of Herefordshire, brought over here by this gentleman's grandfather, thrives exceedingly well in this soil."

The four verses that follow the first in the original song are only maledictions on some persons living near Tourin whom the writer suspected of stealing his favorite cat; they are unworthy of the rest of the composition, with which, in fact, they are scarcely connected, therefore we omit them in our translation.

TOURIN.

ANONYMOUS.

Ἐ κομάρηα ἀν ἀημά ἀν ἑυαλαδάρη ἀν ἡρὸς ὕβ.

1.

Come list to me, friends, while the praise I'm expressing
Of happy Tourin, for a good man lives there;
Str Richard's his name; on his path be my blessing,
And may there not lack of his lineage an heir.

2.

Tourin of the Trees is a fair pleasant dwelling,
The tide comes up thither and kisses its strand;
Its cyder inspires men with glee beyond telling,
Till it leaves them for dead in each ditch on the land.

3.

The harp there excites us, the cheering pipe pleases,
The barks on the river are gliding along,
Their white sails displaying to catch the light breezes;
All things at Tourin they are worthy of song.

4.

There guests crowd the full board, whose festal adorning
Doth in those gay halls to the banquet invite:
There's music and dancing from evening to morning,
And games and card playing from morning to night.

5.

With Lacqueys surrounded there coaches are going;
Brisk steeds in the field are alert for the race:
There rides the stout huntsman, his mellow horn blowing;
And fleet dogs urge forward the hare in the chase.

6.

One day on the hill, as alone I was lying,
How soft from the shore came the ripples' low sound;
How sweet the loud thrush to the cuckoo replying;
While birds in the wild woods were singing around.

7.

'Twere long to relate of Tourin all the pleasures;
The dawn there is hail'd by the hounds' merry cry:
Plants, shrubs, and fair flow'rets spring up like earth's treasures,
Expanding their blossoms, delighting the eye.

8.

The palms ever-green with the rough holly mingle,
And tall branchy myrtles exalt their green crests;
Beech, ash, and rich apple-trees flourish, not single:
Wild pigeons and jays fill the boughs with their nests.

9.

The man that's stone blind there his sight might recover,
And martyrs and lepers from suffering be heal'd
By the scent of the sweet herbs that spread the ground over;
Such fragrance the thyme, mint, and lavender yield.

10.

The woodquests are cooling, the noisy ducks swimming,
The ass loudly brays, while he's rolling in play;
The busy bees sip where the flower-cups are brimming,
To make us their bright golden honey each day.

Before we leave Tourin, we would say a few words of the original owners of its ancient castle, for they have almost passed away from memory in the scenes where they once lived and ruled : " their place knows them no more." Their earliest ancestor of whom we have any historical knowledge, De la Roche, or in Latin, De Rupe, fought at Hastings with William the Conqueror, and had three Lordships in Wales granted to him. His son, Adam de Rupe, came to Ireland in 1170 ; and in 1178 built a large castle on Bandon River, called Ship Pool (and sometimes Castle Lough). His son Richard de Rupe, was the first Baron Roche of Fermoy, which dignity he obtained by his marriage with Amy, only daughter, and heiress of Fleming, Lord of Fermoy : he built another Castle, Dunderrow, on Bandon River (Co. Cork).

The 8th in descent from this first Baron, was Maurice, Lord Roche of Fermoy ; he it was who built the ancient Castle of Tourin ; and also erected some other castles in the Co. Waterford, viz, those of Cappelquin, Shian's Castle, not far from Lismore, and Glyn, near Carrick-on-Suir. His two eldest sons, with eight Knights of his family, were slain in England, in the wars of the Roses : his third son, and successor, Ulick, (or Alexander) was killed in A.D. 1500, by a fall from his horse ; and the fourth son (who succeeded his brother) was murdered near Liscarroll, Co. Cork, in 1517 ; a strange fatality seemed dominant over the race at this period. But the son of the murdered man, John Roche, was surnamed " the Happy." He never succeeded, however, to his father's title ; for being a very young child at the death of the latter, the Irish vassals and tenants took advantage of the law of Tanistry (which was instituted to avoid the inconvenience arising from long minorities) and chose his uncle Maurice for their head : and in the line of Maurice the baronial title, and the lands in the Co. Cork, remained till the forfeitures. John grew up strikingly handsome and accomplished ; and the then Lord Deputy of Ireland offered him a Lordship if he would support the Reformation, which he declined. In 1555 ; he vanquished all the knights at a tilting match of thirty days duration, held in honor of the marriage of his cousin, Lady Mary Roche (daughter of his Uncle Maurice, Lord Roche of Fermoy) with James, the 15th Earl of Desmond. He excited so much admiration on this occasion that he was offered the restoration of his paternal title ; but he was un-ambitious

(therefore, perhaps, "The Happy"); he thought with Claudian,
*Quid mentem traxisse polo? quid profuit altum
 erexisse Caput?*

and he refused the offer; and shortly afterwards (before he had time for possible regret) he died suddenly, still retaining his cognomen, contrary to those frequent examples which prompted Ovid's observation,

Ultima semper

*Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
 Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.*

In the middle of the 16th century, Tourin was inhabited by the head of the family that descended from John the Happy, as their seigneurial residence; the heir apparent residing at the Castle of Glynn till the death of the possessor of Tourin.

In the great civil wars from 1641 the descendants of John the Happy were thus located,—John and Maurice (afterwards slain) at Tourin, George and Ulick (or Alexander) at Glynn, and David on a family estate in Co. Cork. They all took part with the Stuart dynasty, and fought in the contests at Lismore, Dungarvan, Cappoquin, Mothel, (Co. Waterford) and Knock Mourne. They were attainted by Cromwell and his Parliament, and lost their property, including Tourin, which passed into other hands. Of the brothers, John and George alone survived the civil wars; they retired to Flanders, and joined Charles II. in his exile, and in conjunction with their kinsman, Maurice, Lord Roche of Fermoy, they shared the scanty pay they received in foreign service with the fugitive, and most ungrateful monarch, who at his restoration wholly ignored the claims they had on him. George Roche died of wounds he had received, but left a son, James, who remembering all that his family had suffered for the Stuarts, and how ill they had been requited, being left in poverty and neglect, espoused the cause of William III., in whose army he attained the rank of colonel, and did him good service at the siege of Derry. General Kirke, who had been sent to the relief of the besieged, found his approach checked by a strong boom across the harbour's mouth. He would have sailed away in despair, but that Colonel Roche offered to swim to the city with dispatches; an arduous attempt, both from the distance to be swum, and from the fire of the Irish troops lining the banks of the river. During his progress through the water, his jaw bone was broken, and three musket balls lodged in his body; yet he accomplished the feat, and then

returned to his comrades; but in so weak a state, that for some days he was unable to swallow, and was only kept alive by small quantities of milk occasionally put down his throat. He was awarded, in recompence, the Ferries of Ireland and fifteen of the forfeited estates, which, however, were taken from him by the act of resumption. A sum of money was voted to him in compensation; but the funds from which it was to be paid had been exhausted previously; his own private fortune he had expended in the cause of King William; thus the Roches, whichever side they espoused, were sufferers by civil war. Colonel Roche was High Sheriff of the Co. Waterford in 1714; and in the August of that year proclaimed, at Dungarvan and Carrick-on-Suir, the accession of George I. He died in 1722 of one day's illness. His great grandson, George Roche, is still living, and resident at Woodbine Hill, near Youghal, on the Co. Waterford side; but it is upward of two centuries since there have been "Roches of Tourin."

For the sake of variety after these historical details, we will translate an Irish love song, the author of which is unknown, but is believed to have been a native of Munster: we heard it in the Co. Waterford, and obtained a transcript of it from the memory of the reciter. We shall commence our translation at the 2nd verse of the song; for the 1st verse, as written for us, is so irrelevant to the subject that we are inclined to think it does not belong to the piece; but is the commencement of some other song, and was added to the one in question, either by a mistake of the transcriber, or by some of those lapses of memory that often occur in the course of oral transmission, by many lips, for many years. In the verse we reject the writer says, that the classic beauties, Juno, Venus, Flora, Pallas, and Helen, appeared to him in a dream, he awoke and found himself bewildered by that display of loveliness. But to our song.

THE LIGHT OF ERIN'S MAIDS.

So beinn, a solur ban Einnion ! it cuas a dubann an mheo rin.

I sing the Light of Erin's Maids:

Like sunbeam o'er the hills she moves;

No charms like her's shine in our glades;

Who sees that star, nor instant loves?

A monarch's bride she well might be:

Her voice is sweet as music's strain;

Her blue eyes laugh with youthful glee,

I cannot live, and love in vain.

If we in Feorus' woods could meet,

I'd teach her paths o'er every height,

Through Druid vales, lone, silent, sweet;—

I'd show her scenes would glad the sight:

Hunters, and hounds, and bounding deer;

Brown nut-groves, orchards laden well;

The crowded sun-lit haven near,—

Content she'd be 'mid these to dwell.

To catch one glimpse of my dear love,
 Freely to Spain, to France, I'd sail:
 Thro' damp, wild glens o'er bogs I'd rove,
 Or mournful seek the haunted* vale.—
 Would with the meteor's beam she'd write
 And tell where hides she spell-bound,—
 where?—
 No more my heart like ray of light
 She fills—ah! love is nought but care.

While gold I have, I'll fill my glass
 Where poets meet at festive board:
 My toast, her name, around shall pass,
 And verse and wine for her be pour'd.
 Her beauteous form might claim the prize
 By Paris given—what charms hath she!
 White hands, swan neck, fair brow, bright
 eyes:
 How blest the bard she crowns will be!

We do not know where the “woods of Feorus,” mentioned in the second verse are; but we conjecture that the locality is somewhere about the Cumar na ttri nuisge (cumar na ttri n-uirge) or Valley of the Three Waters, the confluence of the Suir, Nore, and Barrow, below Waterford; for Feoire is the Irish name for the Nore, (the woods of the Nore) and Waterford itself was anciently called the Valley of the Sun (cuar na Sineire) which accords with the mention of the harbour and the sun in the verse.

We proceed to an Irish Poet who is still personally remembered in Munster. Denis Roe (or Red-haired) Mac Namara, born in 1718, near Cratloe, Co. Clare, is said to be a descendant of the ancient family of M'Namara dating from the 10th century, whose heads were chiefs of a territory now forming the Barony of Tullagh, in Clare (where they had many castles) and who held the office of hereditary Marshals to the Kings of Thomond of the O'Brien race. Red Denis was at first brought up to the trade of a weaver, but discovering a taste and an aptitude for learning, and considerable talents, his father thought it more advisable to have him educated for the Priesthood, and he was accordingly sent to the Continent, to study theology. Being, however, expelled from his College for irregularities in his conduct, he returned to Ireland about 1738, and being wholly dependant on his own exertions for support, he became a country schoolmaster, in conjunction with William Moran, a brother Poet, at Knockbee (Co. Waterford) in a rural district between Clonmel and Dungarven. M'Namara was a good classical scholar, and taught Greek and Latin to such of his pupils as were destined for the clerical profession. Afterwards he set up a school for himself in Co. Cork (at Imokilly near Youghal), and subsequently in the Co. Waterford again. But he was a man of dissipated habits, to the support of which his slender emoluments were insufficient, and in hopes of greater

* Gleann na n-Gealt. The Glen of the Geilt, in Co. Kerry.

gain he resolved on emigrating to Newfoundland, which was then the great El Dorado of the adventuring Irish. He set sail, but the vessel in which he had embarked was chased by a French privateer, and obliged to return to port, and Denis landed, and resumed his former occupation as teacher.

He subsequently (but at what date we know not) professed himself a convert to the Protestant faith, conformed to the Established Church, and was appointed Parish Clerk at Mothel*, County Waterford. But in this position he became obnoxious to the reproaches of his brother poets, by whom he was so repeatedly satirized in vernacular verse, that he fled from the presence of the Irish muse, and retreated to Newfoundland, which, this time, he reached in safety.

He seems to have been of a roving disposition, for he made no less than three voyages across the Atlantic, and visited Hamburg, and made a tour in England; but finally returned to Ireland to end his days, and to re-enter the Church in which he had been brought up. Becoming blind in his old age, he was reduced to poverty, for his poetry, much as it was esteemed by those who understood Irish, was no source of profit to him: he was, however, assisted by the benevolent contributions of rural schoolmasters. He died in 1814, aged 94, and was buried in the Church-yard of Newtown, near Kilmacthomas, Co. Waterford.

He was facetious, jovial, and satirical, but could also write with much feeling and sweetness; his poems are many and various. His praise of "The Fair Hills of Ireland," written during the time of his voluntary exile, a very pleasing composition, is included in O'Daly's neat volume, together with the music, and a translation by the late Clarence Mangan.

But the specimen of M'Namara's muse we shall offer to the reader has remained hitherto untranslated, unpublished, and but little known. It is an apology for inebriation, written on the following occasion. Mr. John Walsh (sprung from an old family of English, or rather Welsh† extraction, and located in the Counties of Kilkenny and Waterford) who was employed as linguist by the celebrated circumnavigator Anson, once invited our bard to dine with him, expecting some pleasant conversation from a man of his reputation for talents and learning.

* A rural Parish three miles from Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.

† The name in Irish is *Uíneach*, Briton or Welsh man.

But Denis sadly disappointed his host by drowning his brains in the goblet at a very early period of the repast which was intended to have been a "Feast of Reason." On subsequently recovering his obscured senses, M'Namara addressed his regrets and his excuses, in verse, to Mr. Walsh, adroitly commencing by reminding his naturally offended entertainer that *placability* was the characteristic of the race from which he sprung; and while acknowledging his own transgression, he palliates it by alluding to the (then) too general example of his fellow countrymen.

MACNAMARA'S APOLOGY.

Ἄ φαίλαίτε Ἕλλησι θεοῖς πλάσβαῖ
 Νὰ πῦρεαῖας, ἡμεῖς δὲ αὖτε πῦρεαῖας.

Brave son of the Walshes, a race
 From whose memory resentment soon
 passes,
 I blush for the sottish disgrace
 I made at thy board, in full glasses.
 Unmindful of Latin and Lore,
 Forgetful of stanza and sonnet,
 I drank till I reel'd on the floor,
 And found a big bee in my bonnet.
 But *thee* I blame not for the stain
 That befel me, when common sense scor-
 ning,
 I staggered through street and blind lane,
 A sad silly wretch, the next morning.*
 The poor Gaels seem born with a thirst
 Assuaged, or diminishing never;

Of evils and sorrows the worst
 Arise from this drinking for ever.

They sing the choice songs of their bards
 O'er goblets in publicans' houses;
 'Tis pity to hear those sweet words
 Profan'd amid noisy carouses.

Then hard knocks grow rife in the place;
 No wonder that heads should be broken;
 'Twere better the soldiers to face
 Than those sticks, whether black-thorn
 or oaken.

Perplexity lies on my way,
 I pray thee to see me safe through it;
 Forgive the mad things I might say
 In the frenzy of wine—I'll eschew it.

William English, generally called Father William English, from the religious profession which he latterly adopted, was a native of Newcastle, Co. Limerick, and originally followed the occupation of country school-master at Charleville, Co. Limerick and at Castletown Roche, Co. Cork. He composed many beautiful songs in Irish, great favourites in Munster, and included in most MS. collections. He was a man of a facetious and satirical turn; and numbers of jocose pieces, "compliments," "thanks," and "replies," passed between him and a poetic Taylor, named Edward Nagle of Cork, some of which have been translated. In like manner Andrew Magrath, the merry pedlar, and his friend John O'Tuomy, a publican of the Co. Limerick, also surnamed the "merry," were fond of bandying "addresses," "retorts," and "rejoinders," full of sly, but good

* We omit a verse because it contains an allusion to Adam and the forbidden fruit; and we consider "man's first disobedience and the fall" too serious a subject to be treated lightly.

humoured hints at each other ; some of these (as well as other poems of O'Tuomy and Magrath) are contained in the "Poets and Poetry of Munster," as also two songs by English and Nagle. William English at length abandoned the scholastic for the monastic profession, and became an Augustinian Friar in Cork, where he died in 1778.

The song we are about to versify in English was written during the secular life of its author ; we believe it has remained hitherto untranslated.

THE FAIR LOCKS.

BY WILLIAM ENGLISH.

Ḃḡḡ ḡḡḡḡḡ ḡḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ, 'ḡ ḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ ḡḡ ḡḡḡḡ, cct.

1.
One dewy morn, as onwards pressing,
I met the Fair Locks on my way :—
I stopp'd and spoke with fond addressing;
She said, "Thou'rt losing time to stay."

2.
"I lose not time, thou best and fairest !
Thy form hath smote with love my heart :
Unless thou'lt wed me, Beauty rarest !
My life, I feel, must soon depart."

3.
"I little heed thy flattering phrases :
There was a brave youth pledged to me :
I'd shame to smile upon thy praises
When he among the dead may be."

4.
"If *he* forsook thee, he whose bosom
Thine eyes might melt like sunny beams,
Name him no more, thou peerless Blossom ;
Thy pride, thy worth, it ill becomes."

5.
"My Fair Locks, weep for him no longer,
Fate from thy birth decreed thee mine ;
Where wilt thou find a love that's stronger,
Or I in Munster charms like thine ?"

6.
"I'll ne'er forget my gallant fellow ;
He went in righteous cause to fight ;
His heart was young, his curls were yellow ;
To none save him my troth I'll plight."

The piece we are about to translate we certainly do not select for its beauty, but for its oddity ; the whimsical complaint of a repentant bridegroom of a few hours standing. The sweetheart of a poor rustic broke her troth plight, and eloped with a man whom her betrothed considered his inferior in all country accomplishments. Many a heart is caught at the rebound : the forsaken one, determined to show the fickle damsel that she should not break his, went off in haste and married a woman for the sake of her rural riches, three cows and some sheep. Immediately after, but too late, he regretted his bonds, and vented in simple, but earnest verse, his dislike to the wife ; his contempt for the "fortune" which was insufficient to counter-balance his distaste, and his imprecations on his false love, where inconstancy was the cause of his rash and irremediable step. We do not know the name of the writer ; but surely so queer a lament has rarely been sung before Hymen had well laid down his newly lighted torch.

THE SORROWFUL MAN AFTER MARRIAGE.

ANONYMOUS.

A mbladaic da aís an CCac, a poitáice e.

If the cat had cows she'd surely be wed;*
 But he who would take them, a curse on his
 head.
 The foul Hag's daughter was married last
 night,
 And fair girls are left in a desolate plight.

To-morrow, my friends, sing dirges for me;
 I've taken a spouse, and hateful is she:
 And what have I gain'd to better my life?
 Three cows, some sheep, and a fool for a
 wife.

I can plough, sow, and harrow, and lead
 the cows
 Through bogs on the sweetest grass to
 browse;
 I could shoe a wild horse,—but my once
 dear girl
 Ran away from me with an useless churl.

My faithless sweetheart! ill-luck be with
 you,
 Sprung from a race to whom praise is not
 due;
 May no lowing herds be ever your own,
 May you go to your grave unwed and alone.

The Poet Egan O'Reilly (sometimes called Rahilly) was the son of John Mor O'Reilly, a respectable and wealthy farmer of Slieve Luacra, Co. Kerry, though originally a native of the Co. Cavan (from Crossarlough, on the borders of Lough Sheelin) himself a poet of no mean abilities, but far surpassed by his son, who wrote numbers of beautiful pieces that enjoyed great popularity, and are still much admired by those who are able to read them in the vernacular. Two of these poems, "the Star of Kilkenny," and "the Geraldine's Daughter," are given in "The Poets and Poetry of Munster;" and the preface to that work contains a third specimen, "The Reverie," an allegorical Jacobite effusion, in which O'Reilly pathetically laments the fate of a lovely maiden (Ireland) compelled to unite herself with a churl (George II.) instead of a more worthy and more affectionate bridegroom (Charles Stuart). Egan O'Reilly received a superior education, and was a good classical scholar. The place and the exact date of his death are not ascertained, but he is known to have lived to about the middle of the last century.

The poem that we have selected to translate (believing that it has not hitherto appeared in an English version) is an Elegy that he wrote on the death of Donough (or Denis) M'Carthy, a scion of the M'Carthy More branch of the ancient and honorable family of M'Carthy descended from the royal Spanish-Irish root of Milesius, and numbering amid its ancestry Oliol Olav, King of Munster and Callaghan Caisil, King of Cashel. The M'Carthys were themselves Princes of Desmond, or South Munster, and held large territories therein, especially in the County Cork. They divided into two branches, the M'Carthy More (or great M'Carthy) and the M'Carthy Reagh. Lord Muskerry, of

* "If the cat had cows she would be married," was a common Irish proverb expressive of the readiness with which unloveable, but well portioned women, find suitors, in preference to girls more gifted by nature, and less by fortune.

the elder branch, M'Carthy More, was raised in the peerage,* in the seventeenth century, to the Earldom of Clancarty; but in the Civil Wars of that century, the M'Carthy's of both lines adhered to the Stuarts; and numbers of the name forfeited their property, retired to the continent, and entered into foreign armies; the M'Carthy's More chiefly into the French, and the M'Carthy's Reagh into the Spanish. The Earldom of Clancarty was attainted; but the attainder was reversed (yet without restoration of the property) by George II. in favor of Donough, Earl of Clancarty, grandson of the first Earl, who died in Germany in 1734. The dignity, however, became extinct in his son Robert, who was an officer in the British navy. He, being supported by strong interest, endeavored to procure the restoration of some of his ancestral estates, his claims to which were thought to be well founded in law; but being disappointed, he withdrew to Germany, and died there without issue. The title of Earl of Clancarty has been subsequently granted to the Trench family.

The subject of Rahilly's (or Reilly's) Elegy, Donough (*Anglice* Denis) M'Carthy of Ballea, and of Cloughroe, Co. Cork, was born in 1694; he was the son of Colonel Charles M'Carthy to whose property he succeeded on the death of his elder brother Charles. Cloughroe is about six miles W. of Cork, and Ballea is "a castle of the Tudor period, still standing and inhabited. It occupies an elevated and commanding site over the River Annabuee, about seven miles S. E. of Cork. It has, however, been so modernized as to preserve but few features of its original construction. The acclivity on which it stands, above the river, and the adjoining grounds, are so thickly planted, and the trees so closely surround it, and are of such a growth as almost to shut out the view of the castle from the glen beneath."†

Donough M'Carthy embraced the profession of arms (we believe in the Spanish Service), and is said to have distinguished himself. He is represented in the records of his cotemporaries as the perfect *gentleman*, in the original and true meaning of the word. His various accomplishments, and the refinement of his manners, rendered him an acceptable companion among the noblest, as did his literary acquirements among the most learned.

* In 1556, Donald M'Carthy More was created Earl of Clancare, in Kerry, by Queen Elizabeth; but he soon resigned the dignity, as a badge of servitude, and resumed his sept title as the M'Carthy More: his male one is extinct.

† For this description of Ballea (and for information relative to Donough M'Carthy) we are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of Mr. Windele, author of "Historical and Descriptive Notices of Cork and Killarney."

He was said to have been a keen sportsman, a brave soldier, a sagacious leader; dignified but frank and affable, energetic, but patient; mild, but firm; religious, charitable, and warmly hospitable. He is described as having been tall and athletic, but graceful and active, and of a remarkably handsome countenance, with a peculiarly sweet smile. It is not surprising, therefore, that he was greatly beloved by his fellow countrymen who looked up to him with pride, and who made him the subject of much verse. In 1727 he married Mary, daughter of Sir John Meade; and in 1739 he died in Scotland, aged 45. His body was conveyed home to the Co. Cork, and interred in the ruins of the Franciscan Abbey of Kilcrea (on the river Bride about twelvemiles westward from Cork) which religious edifice had been founded by a M'Carthy More, Cormac, surnamed Laidir (the Strong) Lord Muskerry, in 1465 (according to Ware). A great part of it was destroyed in the civil commotions that commenced in 1641, but the tower is in tolerable preservation, and part of the transept and arches remain. Many of the M'Carthys were buried within the Abbey, the tomb of the founder *was* in the choir; with him were interred several of his descendants, his son Cormac-og-Laidir, in 1536, Teigue (or Thaddeus) son of Cormac-og-Laidir, in 1565; Dermot, son of Teigue in 1570; and Cormac in 1616; he was the last of the Lords of Muskerry buried here, but no monument of him remains. There are, however, near the south wall two modern tombs, beneath which several descendants of the lordly race were interred; one of the tombs records that "Here lyeth the body of Colonel Charles M'Carthy of Ballea, who dyed the 20th of May, 1704;" and also, "Here lieth the body of Denis M'Carthy, Esq. who departed this life April the 2d. 1739, aged 45."

"Let honour, valour, virtue, justice, mourn,

*Cloghrois M'Carthy liveless† in this urn;

Let all distress'd draw near, and make their
moan,

Their patron lies confin'd beneath this stone."

ELEGY; ON DONOUGH M'CARTHY OF BALLEA.

BY EGAN RABILLY (OR OWEN O'REILLY.)

ÓGÚA AGÚR EACÉ NA h-ÉIRIEAN EIRIBAN EIRIEOIN

1 Erin mourns her Chieftain,—weeping, sigh-
ing;

Royal was his blood, Milesius' son;

Lone Ballea! thy Lord is powerless lying;

Vallant Donough to the grave is gone.

2 Dark'ning anguish o'er Muskerry gathers;

Ah! that land's true Chief is lost to life;

Sprung from princely, from heroic fathers.

He ne'er veiled his crest in warrior strife.

"Cloghrois," i.e. "Cloghroes M'Carthy."

† *Liveless*, thus in the original.

‡ Other Elegies were written on the same subject by various Irish Poets, and amongst them Daird Broderick of Co. Cork, and Timothy O'Sullivan (alias Teigue Gaelac) of Co. Waterford, a very pleasing poet though a poor peasant.

3.
Zeal yet patience, might, and fiery daring,
Fame and spirit strong till latest breath;
Skill, mild danger, liberal hand, frank bearing,
These were his; and he is cold in death.

4.
Weep for him, his noble deeds are ended,—
Never yet that champion, good and brave,
Left his friends in peril ill-defended,
Nor th' oppress'd, the captive, shunn'd
to save.

5.
'Mid the courtly and the learned shining,
Fearless in the hunting field contest,
Pious, wise, with mildness sway combining,
Grey stones hide him now, our noblest,
best.

6.
He who in our direst strait could save us,
True McCarthy of the waving plume,
He who judgment, help, and counsel gave us—
Ah! to lose him clouds our fate with
gloom.

7.
In Killesra, that western fane, where slum-
bers
Donough, lie the good, the brave, the
great;
Once our chieftains; now of all their num-
bers
None are left, and we are desolate.

8.
Guardians of the land, now all departed—
Mourners long the race of Nial shall be
For the last—he welcom'd, kindly hearted,
All who sought his dwelling near the Lee.

9.
He, though powerful, ne'er the poor
oppressing,
Fierce with fierce men, with the feeble mild;
Av'rice, malice, ne'er his heart possessing,—
Him Religion mourns, her dutious child.

10.
Gay in mien, with brow of ivory whiteness;
Tall, erect, with nimble foot he trode;
Finely formed, in manly beauty's bright-
ness,—
On his cheek through snow the berry
glow'd.

11.
Face more bland, more loving, was there
never:
Death! why could'st thou not this stroke
forebear?
Would thy power were overthrown for ever!
Thou hast left Clar-Luire* in black des-
pair.

12.
Mourn our chiefs! from Spanish kings
descended,
Mourn for *Awa*, first, best, in fougthen fray;
Priests his name with prayers and blessings
blended,
Poets sang it in ecstatic lay.

13.
Ah! how sad the dirge that thus we're sing-
ing!
Ah! what grief to dwellers near this fane!
Donough's dead; and mem'ry, ever bringing
One dark th' ought, does but increase my
pain.

14.
Guiding star! whose light was never clouded,
Warrior skill'd like Oscar, Fenian's chief;
Lau'sell'd head! now in the coffin shrouded;
Fast for thee are flowing tears of grief.

The last line of the tenth stanza, describing the ruddy cheek glowing through the fair complexion, we think very striking; the idea is taken from the brilliant appearance of the holly berry amid the winter's snow. The imagery of the red berry on the cheek is a favorite with Irish poets; we often meet with it variously expressed, in their songs. Take an instance or two in the song of "Pulse of my Heart"—

The berry and snow
To her cheek gave its glow.

In "The Maid of Ballyhaunis—"†

Thy bosom white like ocean's spray,
Thy cheek like rowan fruit's lustre.

A remarkable and amiable trait in the Irish Peasants (hitherto) has ever been a strong hereditary attachment (with but few exceptions) to the landlord, and the family of the landlord, under whom they lived, especially if of "an old stock." To

* A poetic name for Ireland, "The land of Lore."

† The mountain ash.

them the rural tenants looked up with love and reverence ; " taking a pride out of them," to use a common expression ; boasting of all their good qualities mental and bodily, as if the panegyrists had themselves a property therein ; mourning sincerely in their griefs, and rejoicing as sincerely in their joys. They knew by heart the pedigree and intermarriages of " the family ;" each increase and decrease of the estates, the adventures, the old traditions, the romantic incidents (so rife in old Irish houses), and loved to recount them. We have ourselves listened with surprise and pleasure to some of these faithful old chroniclers of a time-honored race.

This affectionate veneration for their superiors rendered the genuine Irish peasant an aristocrat at heart, and preserved Ireland from the probability of being inundated by that levelling tide which disfigures where it flows, sweeping away the footprints of history, and the landmarks of antiquity, and obliterating illustrious names. Who can forget how Republican France broke to pieces the ancient and splendid monuments of her kings in St Denis, blotted from her map the names of her provinces so full of memories historic and poetic, Auvergne, Bretagne, Burgundy, &c., and obliterated the celebrated titles of an historical, brave, and witty noblesse. But Ireland has never been a Republic, (as England was once) the monarchical principle has ever been strong within her, cherished doubtless by the aristocratic feeling and sympathy of which we have spoken, and which we verily believe has been the cause of many virtues, the preventive of many evils.

But this hereditary feeling and sympathy must now of necessity be much diminished by the operation of the Incumbered Estates Court, which has expelled so many ancient families from their homes, and brought in so many new ones, cutting asunder the fine but firm filaments once spun between the Castle and the Cabin ; and these are threads which take a long, long time to spin ; once destroyed they will not be easily restored. How many of the new names will say nothing to the heart, to the memory, to the imagination of the Irish peasant ; they are not in the songs of his bard, in the history of his county, or the traditions of his country.

We have been led into these reflections by glancing over many poems (by rustic pens) in the volumes before us, and in our own MS. collections ; poems commemorative of persons of " gentle blood," Wedding Songs, Eulogies of the brave and the fair, Elegies on the noble dead.

Our last specimen was an Elegy ; it is suggestive of solemn thoughts, reminding us of the instability of all human possessions and advantages ; and thus it forms a suitable introduction to a religious poem, with a translation of which we shall conclude this paper. The original is (according to O'Reilly's "Chronological Account of 400 Irish Writers") by Denis More O'Daly, not indeed a Munster peasant, but Abbot of Boyle, in the County Roscommon, who died in 1244, and who was styled the Irish Ovid for the sweetness of his verse, which, however, was Ovidian in no other sense, as his effusions are all of a devotional character. In our version we have found it necessary to abridge and condense, for the original is very long, and frequently repeats ideas and sentiments.

THE LAMP.

A POEM FOR EASTER, BY DENIS MORE O'DALY.

Lóchtan roillre aís riol ábair.

1.
The Lamp for Adam's race, by sinner's sight
Unmark'd ; that to a heavenly home
guides on
Whom seeing follows ; that eternal light
Is Christ, the God of mercy's glorious son.

2.
He came to shed new life and light around—
Vast was the sin of men ; they will'd to
make

Seten their king—Oh, who was faithful
found,
Till to his creatures God incarnatespake !

3.
The wound that Eve inflicted on man's race
None could not heal—still, still too proud
are we :

Have we with pure humility's meek grace
Duly rejoic'd this Easter morn to see ?

4.
We, form'd from earth, must unto earth
return :

To lay us in the grave, to raise again,
Belongs to God—then while we thus sojourn
In house of clay, shall Pride its monarch
reign ?

5.
Lord ! guide me to that heavenly house of
thine
Where Pride ne'er enters, Falsehood
comes not near ;

Nor he whose heart disowns thy name
divine,
Nor he who holds unhallow'd revel dear.

6.
We could no favour claim, until thy love
Sought out the lost ; we wonder and adore
Thy vast humility that from above
Descended to imbue the cross with gore.

7.
Let me ne'er alight thy blood, thou Holy
One !

Thou Crucified ! I am but sordid clay,
Yet guard me till I stand before thy throne,
When elements dissolve on Judgment's
Day.

8.
Me is Earth casting off, e'en as the bough
Casts off the leaf ; along life's road I speed
Swift, swift : if, Saviour, thee I know not
now,
Where shall I seek for mercy in my need ?

9.
God loves his creatures, wills not any die
The sinner's death : then save me by thy
might
From future woe, direct my steadfast eye
To gaze on ~~thee~~ who art man's Lamp of
Light.

ART. IV.—PILGRIMS AND PILGRIMAGES.

1. *Bulletin of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul*. Translated from the French. September, 1856. No. IX. Dublin: Printed for the Council of Ireland, by J. M. O'Toole. 1856.
2. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*. Paris: Paulin, 1839.

Towards the close of last April, after spending a most interesting day amongst the wonderful collection of curiosities gathered in the Missionary Museum, in Bloomfield-street, Finsbury, we were recounting to a Catholic friend how much we had learned from our visit to the Museum, and had stated that we believed the epoch of Pilgrims had given place to the era of Missioners. Our friend said; "I thought so last month, but I find that the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul has organized a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land which set out last November."

Wishing to know further regarding the arrangements and design of those interested in the Pilgrimage, our friend procured for us a copy of the September number of the *Bulletin of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul*, and at page 360 we read as follows :—

By the direction of M. Baudon the attention of the members of the Society in Ireland is respectfully drawn to the subjoined notification of the approaching pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Some, perhaps, will be glad to avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of visiting, under such favourable auspices, the birth-place of Christianity.

Work of the Pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

"Letters from Malta of the 25th of August have informed us of the safe arrival off the city of Valetta of the pilgrims who left Marseilles, on board the 'Tamise,' on their way to the Holy Land. Mgr. Tamhiri, the Patriarch of Antioch, on returning from Rome, where his Grace had gone to beg the latest benediction of our Holy Father, has also taken his passage in the 'Tamise.' Mgr. will separate from the pilgrims at Alexandria, and will commence his pastoral visitations by way of Egypt.

"The latest intelligence from Syria assures us that the new voyage to the Holy Land will be effected as successfully as the preceding ones. A letter from Jerusalem of the 15th of July, written by a person in a position to be well informed, gives us the following information upon the state of the country :—

"I am happy to tell that the most perfect tranquillity at present prevails throughout the whole of Palestine, even in the district of Naplouse, where we have had some disturbances. The taxes have

been regularly paid without a single para being missing, in the six districts of the province (or liva) of Jerusalem. Since the 27th of last June, 1,600 Ottoman troops have been disembarked at Beyrout, to be quartered at different points of Syria and Palestine, and three Turkish steamers are hourly expected with additional troops. This is a fresh guarantee of safety for those who are at present undertaking the journey to the Holy Places. The Committee of the Work have decided upon the organization of a new pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the festival of Christmas, 1856. It will start from Marseilles on Thursday, the 27th of November. Those who may wish to join in this pilgrimage should send in their applications to the Secretary of the Committee, 6, Rue Furstemberg, Paris, as soon as possible.

"The duration of the pilgrimage (going and returning) will be two months, of which thirty-six days will be spent in Palestine. The charge has been fixed at 1250 francs (£50) first class, and 1000 frs. (£40) second class, the entire cost of the journey."

For the further information of those who may wish to join in the pilgrimage, we give the translation of a Circular which the Secretary has addressed to those members who have expressed a wish to join:—

"Work of the Pilgrimages to the Holy Land.

"6, Rue de Furstemberg, Paris, Sept. 19, 1856.

"SIR,—I have inscribed your name provisionally upon the list of persons who propose to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the month of November.

"If, on receiving the necessary information, you intend to render this inscription definitive, you had better make the application to me with as little delay as possible, having the goodness to comply with the following regulation, the utility of which you will, I am assured, appreciate for the good composition and the Christian success of our pilgrimages:—

"The Committee of the Work have decided, that every application for admission into one of the caravans of pilgrims organized under their auspices must be accompanied, in the case of ecclesiastics, by the permission of the bishop of their dioceses, and in the case of laymen, by the recommendation of an ecclesiastic, or if they are members of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul, by a letter from the Presidents of their Conferences."

"Your application, accompanied by the form above indicated, will be submitted to the Committee at their next meeting, and I shall have the honor of informing you immediately of their decision.

"I remain, &c.,

*"W. BETTENCOUR,
Secretary to the Council of the Work."*

"Pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

"Departure from Marseilles, November 27th, 1856. Length of the journey about two months, of which thirty-six days will be spent in the Holy Land.

"Cost.—First Class, on board the packets, 1,250 francs (£50); second class, 1,000 francs (£40).

"N.B.—This charge, which the experience derived from previous

voyages enables us to fix on as almost certain, embraces all the general expenses while on board the packets, and during the stay in Palestine, food included."

As we read, we smiled at the cock-tail precision of the first-class and second-class Pilgrims, ticketed off as if going to The Derby; whilst the "food included" "during the STAY IN PALESTINE," was irresistible; and whilst we laughed our minds wandered away to that April morning, when Geoffrey Chaucer lay at the Tabard, and the

"—nine and twenty in a company,"
came in ready to "wenden" on their pilgrimage,

"To Canterbury with devoute courage.

The holy blissful martyr for to seke

That hem hath holpen whan that they were seke."

What could the knight have thought of a first-class ticket after having won Alisandre? How would sweet Madame Eglantine, all,

"—conscience and tendre heart,"
have thought of this programme of a Pilgrimage. To be sure Chaucer tells us—

"And Frenche she spake ful fayre and fetisly,

After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,

For French of Paris was to hire unknowe,"

and therefore was like too many a boarding school young lady, whom French French confuses, and whom the railway guard puts in a flutter with his "Vos Billets si vous plaits?"

Doubtless the fair "Prioress" would have been lost in wonder, and yet although the Saint Vincent de Paul Pilgrimage is not so picturesque as that of Chaucer, it is in our mind far more likely to effect the end contemplated in all Pilgrimages. Yet in reading this programme of the Pilgrimage one is forced to compare our age with the past, and in doing so we are more than ever impressed with the truth that surely as times change so men change with them. When Macaulay wrote that "every bricklayer who falls from a scaffold, every sweeper of a crossing who is run over by a carriage now, may have his wounds dressed, and his limbs set with a skill, such as a hundred and sixty years ago, all the wealth of a great lord like Ormond, or of a merchant prince like Clayton, could not have purchased," * he wrote of mere

* It is to be regretted that some member of the medical profession, with ability, learning, and practice in writing like Copeland, or Corrigan, or Tailor, or Wilde, has not devoted some portion of his

material change; but in the complete mental change, the history of Pilgrimages suggested by this Pilgrimage of the

time to composing the history of the progress of medical science. Few subjects are more important, and, if properly arranged, it could be made interesting, as Whewell's *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, or useful as Mackintosh's *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*. Within the last three hundred years the advances in Medicine and Surgery have been most remarkable. The old prescriptions were curious, but amongst the most strange of all was that commonly known as the Doctrine of Signatures—that is, certain herbs and plants were presumed useful in curing those parts of the human body to which they bore, or were fancied to bear, a resemblance. Capillary herbs were good in diseases of the hair. Walnuts were presumed to be a sovereign cure in all diseases of the head, from the great resemblance between them and that portion of the human frame—the green covering of the outer husk, represented the pericranium, and salt made of the husk was good for injuries to the outside of the head. The soft inner shell was like the skull, and the thin yellow skin was like the dura and the pia mater. The kernel was so like the brain that it must of necessity be a perfect remedy for all diseases or injuries of that organ. William Coles, the herbalist, writes, that the “Lily of the Valley is good to cure the apoplexy, for as that disease is caused by the dropping of humours into the principal ventricles of the brain, so the flowers of this lily hanging on the plants as if they were drops, are of wonderful use herein.” Kidney beans, from their perfect resemblance to the kidneys, were considered of great service in all urinary diseases. The yellow and purple spots upon the flowers Eye-bright, resembling the marks upon diseased eyes, the flowers were esteemed most efficacious in curing these disorders. Thistles and Holly, from their stinging the hand which touched them, were believed to be useful in curing the pricking pains of pleurisy; and the Saxifrage, from the manner of its growth, was esteemed a most powerful dissolvent of the stone. And because the cones of the pine tree resembled the front teeth, a gargle of vinegar in which they had been boiled was classed as a most efficacious remedy for the toothache. But the Doctrine of Signatures was surpassed in its absurdity by the remedies and ingredients prescribed for the cure of diseases generally.—For consumption, pills of powder of pearls, and white amber were prescribed; for this disease and also for dropsy, water distilled from a peck of garden snails and a quart of earth worms was good, and cockwater was also recommended, and was made from the water in which a cock that had been chased, beaten, and plucked alive, had been boiled. For broken bones, the oil of swallows was prescribed; this was made by pounding twenty live swallows in a mortar; a grey eel with a white belly, closed in an earthen pot, and buried alive in a dunghill, gave forth an oil which was good for the hearing; but the water of man's blood was the most famous and expensive of all the old remedies, and in the time of Queen Elizabeth was “an invention whereof some princes had very great estimation.” To make it, a strong man of a warm nature, and twenty-five years old, was to be selected and well dieted for a month with meat, spices and wine; when the month had elapsed, veins in both his arms were to be opened, and as much blood as he could bear

Society of St. Vincent de Paul is far more interesting and wonderful. Interesting and wonderful as showing how amidst

taken from him. One handful of salt was to be aded to six pounds of the blood, and this was to be seven times distilled, water being each time poured upon the residuum. This was to be taken three or four times a year, in doses of an ounce at a time; health and strength were supposed to be transferable by means of this mixture. May not the doctrine of transfusion have its origin in this custom?

The practice of surgery was still more curious.—It was necessary that a dangerous and difficult operation should be performed on Louis XIV., and several men afflicted with a like disease were carried to the house of Louvois, the Minister, where the chief surgeon, Felix, operated upon them before Fagon, the physician of the King. Most of those operated on died; and that the King might know nothing of his dangerous condition, or of the means adopted to ensure certainty and safety in the cure, they were buried privately and by night. The operation was performed successfully upon the king; but Felix was so much agitated, that a nervous tremor settled upon him for life, and in bleeding a friend on the day succeeding that upon which the king had been so happily cured, he disabled the patient irreparably. When Felip de Utre went in search of the Omeguas, from Venezuela, he was wounded by a spear thrust through the ribs just beneath the right arm. A Spaniard, who was ignorant of surgery, undertook to cure him, and de Utre's coat of mail was placed upon an old Indian who was mounted on a horse; the amateur surgeon then drove a spear into the Indian's body, through the hole in the armour, and his body having been opened, the spear being still kept in the wound, it was discovered that the heart was uninjured—thus they assumed that de Utre's wound was not mortal, and being treated as if the wound were an ordinary one, he recovered. When Henry II. of France was mortally wounded by a splinter from a spear, in tilting with Montgomerie, which entered his visor and pierced his eye, the surgeons, for the purpose of discovering the probable injury done to the King, cut off the heads of four criminals, and thrust splinters into their eyes, as nearly at the same inclination as the fatal one had entered that of the King. Ambrose Paré's chapter on poisons, and his "Strange Cure for a Out off Nose," which we give in the words of his translator, Johnson, is remarkable:—"There was a Surgeon of *Italy*, of late years, which would restore or repair the portion of the Nose that was cut away, after this manner. He first scarified the callous edges of the maimed Nose round about, as is usually done in the cure of Hair-lips; he then made a gash or cavity in the muscle of the arm, which is called *biceps*, as large as the greatness of the portion of the Nose, which was cut away, did require; and into that gash or cavity so made, he would put that part of the Nose so wounded, and bind the patient's head, to his arm, as if it were to a post, so fast that it might remain firm, stable and immovable, and not lean or bow any way; and about forty days after, or at that time when he judged the flesh of the

the iron realities of this busy age, Faith still is active as ever, and proving of good men, that, as Wordsworth sings it in one of his most thoughtful *Sonnets*—

“Not sedentary all : there are who roam
To scatter seeds of life on barbarous shores ;
Or quit with zealous step their knee-worn floors
To seek the general mart of Christendom ;
Whence they, like richly laden merchants, come
To their beloved cells :—or shall we say
That, like the Red-cross Knight, they urge their way,
To lead in memorable triumph home
Truth, their immortal end ?”

The custom of Pilgrimages, which is discoverable in all religions both ancient and modern, was adopted by the early Christians. The country which had been the theatre of the life and death of our Divine Master was for the faithful the object of especial veneration, and the Holy City of the Jews, Jerusalem, became also the Holy City of the Christians. The Emperor Adrian essayed in vain to erect a statue of Jupiter on the site of the Resurrection, and a statue of Venus on Calvary; in vain he caused a wood in honor of Adonis to be planted in Bethlehem; these profanations, so weak and puerile, were unable to cool the ardent zeal of the Christians whom piety drew in crowds towards Judea, and whose wealth increased still more after the definitive triumph of Christianity, when Saint Helena had accomplished her celebrated journey to Jerusalem, and when her son, Constantine, had replaced by the magnificent church of the Holy Sepulchre a temple of Venus which the pagans had built there. “They hastened thither from all parts of the universe,” said St. Jerome, “the city became inundated with men of every race.” But this

Nose was perfectly agglutinated with the flesh of the arm, he cut out as much of flesh of the arm, cleaving fast unto the Nose, as was sufficient to supply the defect of that which we lost, and then he would make it even, and bring it, as by licking, to the fashion and form of a Nose, as near as art would permit; and in the meanwhile he did feed his patient with panadoes, gellies, and all such things as were easy to be swallowed and digested. The flesh that is taken out of the arm is not of the like temperature as the flesh of the Nose is; also the holes of the restored Nose cannot be made as they were before.” This translation was published by Mary Clark. London: 1678—and is at page 526 of the book, which is dedicated by Johnson to Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

immense concourse of travellers introduced into the country fearful depravity, and according to the acknowledgment of the same Father, "the Holy City became worse than Sodom."

Thus the custom of Pilgrimages encountered open hostility from several eminent men. Saint Gregory of Nyssa, amongst others, after having visited Jerusalem, was frightened by the depravity which reigned there; and being consulted at a later period on this subject, he wrote a letter in which he traced vividly the grave disorders which usually resulted from those remote excursions, and by which we can form a melancholy idea of the manners of his era:—

"A woman," said he, "could not undertake so long a journey without a protector. The natural weakness of her sex required that she should be assisted in mounting and dismounting from her horse. It was necessary to sustain her during the difficult passages she had to endure. A friend or a mercenary should be employed to render those services; she was therefore unable to avoid censure; and whilst abandoning herself to a stranger or a servitor the laws of chastity were violated. Think you then that the Holy Spirit abounds amongst the inhabitants of Jerusalem, or that he abides with us? As for me the only thing I can relate of my travels, and I have been taught it by contrast, is, that our own countries are far more holy than those more distant. You therefore who fear the Lord, praise him where you dwell."*

Saint Jerome was far from coinciding with the opinion of Gregory of Nyssa; he, however, who dwelt at Bethlehem could not consequently take so disinterested a view of the question; he repulsed, with his habitual earnestness, the attacks of Vigilantius who maintained that instead of sending alms to Jerusalem, the faithful would do better by assuaging with this money the miseries of their own country.†

* *Περὶ τῶν ἀπόντων εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα* Opp. S. Gregorii, 1638, in folio, t. III p. 651. This letter has been reprinted in the *Ἀνακτα* of Coeaū. Such also was the opinion of Saint Augustine; "The Lord," wrote he, "has not said, Go to the East and seek there justice; sail to the West in order to receive pardon of thy sins;" and elsewhere, "Do not undertake long voyages. Charity alone and not travelling, will lead thee towards him who is everywhere."

† This custom had its origin in Judaism, as proved by a letter from Augustus authorising the Jews from all the provinces of the empire to bring into this city money for the service of God. See Josephus, B. xvii, ch. 10.

"If I reply to these things," said St. Jerome to him, "thou wilt cavil with me and say, I plead my own cause, and that if thou didst not come to Jerusalem to dispense thy money and that of thy patrons we should all die of hunger."*

In spite of the invasions of the Barbarians, and notwithstanding the conquests of the Saracens, the Pilgrims continued to resort in crowds to Palestine. The amicable relations between Charlemagne and the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid, the benefits he heaped on the church and the Christians of Jerusalem gave birth at a future period to the traditions which represented him as having himself undertaken an expedition into Palestine.†

It was about the tenth century that Pilgrimages to the East became particularly frequent, and the concourse of people from the West towards this far off country prepared the mind for the Crusades which followed a century later.‡

In the eleventh century pilgrimages became altogether the fashion. We might then behold kings, princes, prelates, and the most powerful nobles, repairing with a numerous retinue, some to Rome or to Saint James de Compostella, others by Constantinople to Jerusalem.

From every region of Christendom, despite the countless toils and dangers of the way, we discover hastening in the same direction, all whom their eminence, either in power or in knowledge, enable us to discern amidst the gloom. Gerbert d'Aurillac—afterwards Sylvester II.—visits Rome in his youth, A.D. 968, and there added to his store of learning—St. Berward of Hilderheim went to Rome. King Robert, the founder, we may say, of the Capetian dynasty, went thither as a pilgrim a short time before his death. Of the Anglo Saxon

* *Liber contra Vigilantium*, Opp. verone, tom. II. col. 399-400.

† See *Recueil de l'Academe des Inscriptions, Histoire*, vol. xxi, p. 149.

‡ In 999, the same year he was raised to the pontificate under the title of Sylvester II., the celebrated Gerbert addressed to the universal Church, in the name of the afflicted Church of Jerusalem, a touching letter, in which he implored the aid of the Christians against the tyranny and oppression of the infidels. This letter caused a powerful sensation, felt through all Christendom, and its immediate effects (or result) was to encourage powerfully the attacks directed by the Pisans against the Saracens of Africa. It was thus a French voice which was the first to call Europe to the deliverance of the Holy Land. See *Recueil des historiens de France*, t. x. p. 426.

kings, we need not speak. They were renowned for their pilgrimages to his tomb, and for their devotedness to the see of St. Peter. The acts of the Irish saints abound in proofs that in this practice of devotion, they were not left behind by the saints of the other Christian countries. Each aspired to make the pilgrimage, once at least in his life.* From the Irish annals we learn that the same practice prevailed amongst the laity. We meet the royal chieftains of the two opposite extremities of the island—O'Neil and O'Brien—at Rome at the same time: and we are told that they were accompanied by a great number of subordinate chiefs and followers. From Scotland also—a little further on, but still within this period—we meet with another extraordinary personage at Rome. “The King of Scotland, MACBETH, being at Rome,” writes the ancient annalist, “distributed money in handfuls to the poor.”† Much earlier we meet with Canute the Great at Rome. He will speak for himself and for the effects of those visits to the capital of the Catholic world, upon the minds and after conduct of those who made such tours, even in that iron age:

“Canute, King of all Denmark, of England, of Norway, and of part of Sweden, to Egelnth the Metropolitan, to Archbishop Alfric; to all the bishops and primates; and to all the English nation, nobles and people, who are subject to my dominion. It is long since I bound myself by a vow to make this pilgrimage; up to this time, however, affairs of state and other obstacles were in the way; but now, at length, I humbly return thanks to the Almighty God who has allowed me, for once in my life, to visit his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the holy places both inside and outside the walls of Rome, and in person to pay them honour and reverence. This I have done; because from wise men I have learned, that St. Peter received from the Lord, the great power to bind and loose, and that he is the key-bearer of the celestial kingdom. Behold why I have thought it greatly to my soul's health, to solicit in a special manner his advocacy before the Almighty.

“Know, then, that during the Paschal solemnity, there was

* Vid. Colgan, *Acta Sanct. Hiberniæ*, &c. pp. 105, 107, 118, 119, 795, 796, &c. &c.—*Mabill. Act. Ord. Benedict.* l. i. p. 293.

† A. D. 1050. Rex. Scotiæ, Machetad, Romæ argentum seminando, pauperibus distribuit, Marian. Scot.—*Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 284.

held here a grand assemblage of illustrious persons, to wit : with Pope John and the emperor Conrad, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the sea, which is not far from us.* They all received me with marks of distinction, and honoured me with costly presents. From the emperor particularly, I have received vases of gold and silver, rich fabrics of the loom, and different sorts of robes of great price. I took that opportunity to confer with the emperor, our lord the Pope, and the princes who were there, concerning the things that touched the interests of the people of my realms, as well English as Danes. I have endeavoured to secure more just treatment for my people, and security in their journeys to Rome; and above all, that they be not for the future, retarded by so many barriers, or harassed by so many iniquitous tolls and exactions. The emperor has yielded to my demand, as also has King Rudolph (of Burgundy), who holds the principal passes of the mountains.† All this has been ratified by the other princes, so that henceforward there will be every security and no extortion at barriers for my men, whether merchants or pilgrims, in going to Rome or in returning.

“To the Lord Pope also I complained, manifesting grave displeasure on account of the enormous sums of money exacted from my archbishops on coming to the Apostolic see, according to ancient custom, to obtain the pallium. It has been decreed that such shall not be the case for the future. In fine, all that I have obtained for the advantage of my people, whether from our Lord the Pope, from the emperor, or from King Rudolph and the other princes through whose lands the way of my subjects lies to Rome, they conceded to me with great good will, and confirmed the same upon oath under the attestation of four archbishops, twenty bishops, besides a multitude, innumerable, of dukes and nobles who were present. For all which favours my thanksgiving to the great God are unbounded, for that He has granted me to succeed in all my projects, which I had so much at heart.

“Know, therefore, that I have now made a vow to God to

* i. e. From one shore of Italy to the other. Monte Gargano is on the Lower Adriatic.

† Of the new Capetian dynasty of France, or rather of Paris, Canute takes no notice : its power was up to that period but a shadow of its rising grandeur.

lead an exemplary life ; to govern according to the rules of justice and piety, the realms and the people submitted to me ; and on all occasions to hold to equity in judgment. In pursuance whereof, I adjure my ministers to whom I have confided the government, and I command them, as also the viscounts and magistrates of my realm, as they would preserve my favour or escape perdition, no more to be guilty of injustice, either towards rich or poor. Let all persons, whether noble or ignoble, enjoy their rights according to the law, from which there must be no deviation, either from fear of the sovereign, or from men high in power, or with a view to replenish my treasury ; I do not wish for treasures levied by injustice."

Hakim-Biamrillah, caliph of Egypt, having in the year 1010 caused the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to be destroyed, thereupon, according to Raoul Glaber, numbers of the faithful hastened from all quarters of the world to Jerusalem, contending with a noble rivalry to restore by their donations the house of their Lord. The Normans, said he elsewhere, sent the most magnificent and the richest donations to the Holy Churches. Every year might be seen monks from the famed Mount Sinai coming to Rouen and returning laden with gold and silver. Richard the Second sent to Jerusalem one hundred livres of gold for the Saviour's Sepulchre, and aided with rich presents all those who through devotion desired to make a pilgrimage to the Holy City : farther on he adds, none could ever anticipate such a prodigious concourse as now repaired to the Holy Sepulchre ; at first the lower classes, then the middle class, subsequently the most powerful monarchs, counts, prelates, in fine, persons who had never before ventured ; many women both noble and poor undertook this pilgrimage.*

The conversion of the Hungarians and of their King Stephen, which had taken place before the tenth century, gave about that period a fresh impulse to those far distant voyages. Raoul Glaber informs us that from this time all the Pilgrims from Italy and Gaul who desired to visit the Holy Sepulchre, instead of repairing by sea as had been formerly their habit, now went through Stephen's kingdom. This Prince very soon rendered their route both pleasing and secure. He welcomed

Raoul Glaber, t. iii. ch. 7 ; t. 1, ch. 5, t. iv. ch. 6.

as brothers all those who presented themselves before him, and made them magnificent presents. Both nobles and men of inferior station resorted in crowds to Jerusalem as Pilgrims.*

Amongst the celebrated pilgrimages executed in the eleventh century we may mention those of William Taillefer II, count of Angoulême, with an innumerable suite of lords and abbés; that of Foulques Nera, count of Anjou; of Robert the Magnificent, duke of Normandy; of Robert le Vieux, count of Flanders, others. The chroniclers are pleased to surround the life of Foulques at Jerusalem, during his first voyage, with the most singular circumstances.†

According to them, the Count could not obtain permission to visit the Holy Sepulchre but by means of a strange device. "The Count," as related by the chronicles of the Counts of Anjou, "offered a large sum of money to be permitted to enter, but the Saracens would not consent unless the Count would do what the other Christian princes had done. The Count had so ardent a desire to enter that he promised to do whatever they exacted from him. The Saracens then informed him that the penalty enforced was an obligation on his part to swear that on entering he would perform a revolting sacrilege on the sepulchre of his God. The Count, who would sooner have died a thousand deaths than be guilty of so disgusting a desecration, was still conscious that on no other terms would he be permitted to enter the holy place, and visit that glorified spot for the accomplishment of which he had encountered so many perils, and travelled so far to behold. He therefore consented to their terms, and it was arranged between them that he should enter the next day. He did enter, and by a stratagem was able to kiss the tomb without committing the desecration. Upon approaching to kiss the sacred place the divine clemency shewed how acceptable had been the holy zeal of the good Count, for the stone of the Sepulchre, heretofore so hard and solid, became to the kiss of the Count soft and flexible as wax melted before a fire, and he was enabled to bite off a large piece and carry it away without being perceived by the infidels."‡

* Raoul Glaber, t. iii. ch. 1.

† He went three times to Palestine, in 1015, in 1036, and in 1039. He died at Metz on returning from his third voyage.

‡ Quoted by Michaud, *Hist. des Croisades*, t. 1, Pièces Justificatives.

A vow made in a fit of devotion, or in a case of imminent danger ; * a vision ; the reading of a passage in the Bible, which they considered as a warning from Heaven ; the desire of bringing back relics ; such were in general the motives which induced Pilgrims to undertake voyages to the Holy Land. Amongst the men led by sincere piety to Palestine, many sought it in the hope of meeting their death there ; some, however, lost courage on their way and hastened to return to their own country ; others on the point of receiving that martyrdom they had so long ambitioned, were seized with sudden terror and sought to evade the danger. St. Udalric, after bathing in the Jordan, had not time to dress himself when he saw a troop of Saracens rushing towards him and uttering menacing cries. "The servant of Christ," says the hagiographer, "though desiring in his heart the palm of martyrdom, was still borne away by the weakness of human nature and took flight with his companions."†

It is, however, but right to add, that by far the greater number of Pilgrims whom devotion drew to the East bore cheerfully the miseries and privations they had to encounter in this inhospitable country. When the companions of Saint Heimerad, who accomplished his pilgrimage before 1019, came to ask him, "What shall we eat to-day ? our wallets are empty, and to-morrow we shall be obliged to fast," the Saint, says the hagiographer, was accustomed to reply, "Let us fast then to-day, that we may have something to eat to-morrow."‡

Raoul Glaber has left us a curious specimen of the religious delight which occasionally animated the pilgrim. "A Burgun-

* Vows made by a father were frequently accomplished by his children ; such was, for example, the pilgrimage performed after the year 954, under Lothaire the II, by a Knight named Josselin. His father, a powerful baron, had made a vow to go to Palestine, but not having executed his design, charged his son, Josselin, at his last hour to fulfil his engagement. He, notwithstanding his piety, had altogether neglected obeying his father's mandate ; when grievously wounded whilst combating the Helvetians, and left for dead on the field of battle, he was removed to a Chapel dedicated to St. Anthony. There the Saint appeared to him, reproached him with his want of faith, and having restored him to life, commanded him to go seek his relics in the East and bring them back to France. This pilgrimage is reported at length in the collection of the Bollandists, January 17, t. ii. p. 153.

† Bollandists, July, t. iii. p. 157.

‡ Leibnitz *Rerum Brunswicens script.* t. i. p. 67.

dian named Lethbaud" writes he, "was going to Palestine with several others. When he saw the holy places and ascended the top of Mount Olivet, he prostrated himself with his face to the earth, and his arms extended in the form of a cross. He shed a torrent of tears, and felt his soul replenished with an ineffable ecstasy which elevated him to God. He raised himself some time after, elevating his hands towards Heaven, using every effort to raise himself in the air whilst expressing in these words the desires of his soul: 'Lord Jesus,' said he, 'you who have vouchsafed to descend from the throne of your majesty, on this earth for the salvation of mankind, you, who from this holy place departed from this world under a human form to return to that Heaven whence you came, I supplicate you, in the name of your all powerful goodness, if my soul is destined to separate this year from my body, grant me the grace of departing hence, that I may die within sight of that spot which witnessed your glorious resurrection, in order that as my body desired to follow you in thus visiting your tomb, my soul might perhaps in its turn attain the greater happiness of following you without an obstacle into paradise.' After this prayer he returned with his companions to the habitation of their host. They went to dinner. The others having placed themselves at table, he went gaily to lie down, preferring to take some repose, as he appeared to be overpowered by sleep, which was not slow in approaching. They were ignorant of what then appeared to him, but he cried out immediately, 'Praise to you, my Lord! Lord, glory to your name!' His companions hearing him, wished him to join in their repast; but he refused, and turning on the other side complained of indisposition. He remained thus in bed till evening, and then having summoned around him the companions of his voyage received in their presence the holy viaticum, the vivifying Eucharistic bread of angels, sweetly saluted his attendants, and rendered up his spirit. Verily he had not travelled to Jerusalem through vanity as so many others had done, who only engaged in the enterprise that they might be honored on their return; thus God the Father would not refuse the favor demanded of him in the name of Jesus his Son. We have gathered these details from the mouth of the companions of Lethbaud, who related them to us when we were at the monastery of Beze."*

* Raoul Glaber, t. iv. ch. 6, Collect Guizot, t. iv. p. 315 and following pages.

The pilgrimages were not all voluntary. They were often imposed by the church in expiation of some transgression. There were two species, the first (*majores*) were those of Jerusalem, of Rome and of Saint James of Compostella; the others (*minores*) were the pilgrimages accomplished in the interior of France. The first pilgrimage in Palestine which to our knowledge had been imposed canonically was on an inhabitant of Gaul; he was one of the persecutors of Saint Léger, Duke of Champagne.

Towards 1052 a kinsman of Godwin (father of King Harold) named Sweyn, having taken away a nun, and committed murder in a fit of passion, condemned himself in expiation of this double crime to travel barefoot to Jerusalem; he accomplished this pilgrimage, but died shortly after his return. In 1174, Henry II. having abandoned the murderers of Thomas à Becket to the judgment of the spiritual court, they were obliged to repair to Pope Alexander III. who commanded them to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and according to Guillaume de Nangis, some of them, nearly all, died on the voyage.

When the peace was concluded, in 1230, between Louis IX. and his barons who had revolted, "the barons stipulated with a unanimous voice," according to Matthew Paris, "that the Count de Champagne, the principal author of the quarrel, should take the cross and set out for the Holy Land to do battle there with one hundred knights against the enemies of Jesus crucified." It was only in 1239, that the count accomplished this penance.

Guillaume de Nogaret having been excommunicated for his conduct towards Boniface VIII. whom he had arrested at Agnani in 1303, was sometime after exonerated by Clement V. from the sentence under which he lay. "The pope," said Guillaume de Nangis, "enjoined on him for penance the obligation of embarking in his own person with his arms and horses to assist the Holy Land in the first general expedition, and to remain there for ever, unless he should in the course of time obtain through the favor of the pope or his successors the grace that his exile should be abridged. It was also enjoined on him to accomplish certain pious pilgrimages imposed. Thus the Pope declared him absolved from all the violence he had offered to. Pope Boniface on condition that he accomplished devoutly those pilgrimages whilst he lived, and that at his death, he made the pope his heir."*

* Guillaume de Nangis, Anno. 1310.

In the sixteenth century pilgrimages were still considered as expiations for great crimes, and according to Brantôme, Montgomery, the involuntary murderer of Henry II., "was obliged to traverse and explore on ten or twelve occasions the most rude and barbarous countries, to perform there his penance instead of dwelling so delightfully at Venice in the charming and pleasant habitations of the Venetians."*

The ecclesiastical authority frequently imposed pilgrimages to Jerusalem for a political purpose, to remove disturbers of the public tranquillity, or turbulent nobles who were perpetually disputing with their bishops. This was the penalty inflicted on those violators of the truce with God, and assuredly the place of exile was well chosen, for they seldom returned from this remote land, which, according to the representation of an English chronicler, *possessed the privilege of devouring its inhabitants*; and if the exile was fortunate enough to survive the fatigues and dangers of a first voyage, he most commonly sunk under the second, or died from exhaustion on his return to his native land.

Exile to the Holy Land was in certain localities aggravated by a singular penance, which existed from the very earliest period amongst the people of the centre of France, according to the relation of the miracles of Saints Florian and Florent, and which probably owed its origin to some religious custom of the Gauls. When a man had killed with iron one of his near relatives, and had confessed his crime, the bishop, with the material of the sword with which the murder had been committed, had chains forged, attached to the neck, waist, and around the arms of the culprit, who was then driven out of the country, and thus manacled was obliged to visit consecutively Jerusalem, Rome, or other consecrated places, previous to obtaining pardon. Under the two first generations, at a period when the ties of blood were so little respected, this penance, worthy of a barbaric age, was obliged to be frequently applied. We find, in effect, in the records of a Chapter held at this period, the formal prohibition of this wandering: "these mischievous men who tell you that they have been enjoined to wander thus; if they have committed some serious and isolated crime," said the legislator, "it would be better they remain in the same place, toiling laboriously, and accomplishing usefully the canonical penance enjoined on them."

* L. ii. ch. 73, edit. du Panthéon, t. i. p. 313.

Towards 855, a Frank noble, named Frotmond, having with the assistance of his brothers assassinated two personages of his family, was condemned with his companions and accomplices to be laden with chains and wander over the entire world. During seven years he traversed Europe, Asia, a part of Africa, visited Rome three times and Jerusalem twice, and finished by returning to die at the monastery of Redon, near Rennes.

The frequency of pilgrimages carried in its train innumerable disorders, and led to serious annoyances in the affairs of families. It happened very frequently that pilgrims whose voyage was a little prolonged found their wives married on their return. The case where the man re-married during the absence of his wife was of more rare occurrence; for a wife dare not expose herself to the dangers of such a voyage without the protection of her husband. In order to remedy as much as possible these inconveniencies, the council held at Rouen in 1072, issued a decree by which they declared any woman excommunicated who re-married during the absence of her husband on pilgrimage without having ensured (a very difficult matter to establish at that period) the certainty of her first husband's death. The eleventh canon of the council of London in 1200, prohibited married persons from undertaking a long pilgrimage unless they made a public notification.

Public morals received still severer blows by the frequency of those pilgrimages. In a letter which recalls that of Gregory of Nyssa, St. Boniface complained bitterly in 747 of Cuthbert bishop of Canterbury, for having permitted the frequent voyages of women and religious to Rome. "I cannot conceal from you," writes he, "the disgust which is felt here towards the servants of God. The honesty and purity of your church is decried, and the only remedy you have is to issue a prohibition from the council and your princes against nuns or women travelling to Rome. The greater number of them have fallen, and few have returned with their chastity. There is scarcely a town in Lombardy or in Gaul where there may not be found English adulterers and prostitutes. This is a shame and scandal to the entire church."*

It is worthy of remark that at this period the inhabitants of the British Island had acquired this humor of vagabondising, which dispersed them every year over the entire surface of the

* *Epist.* 105, Labbe, Collection des Conciles t. vi. col. 1569

globe. "The habit of making pilgrimages," states a writer of the ninth century, "has become almost a second nature with the Scotch."

The civil and ecclesiastical authorities sought to oppose these continual wanderings, so well calculated to encourage the vagrant tendencies which possessed so many attractions for the lower classes of a society constituted as were those of the middle ages.

After the eleventh canon of the council, held at Chalcedon in 451, the poor and the pilgrims, in order that they might receive hospitality on their route, were to be provided with a Letter of Recommendation,* attesting that the bearer belonged to the Catholic Communion.

There has been found in a collection of formulas which appear to be of the seventh century one of those letters, the tenor of which we give in the following translation:—

"To the Saints, apostolical and Revd. Fathers in Jesus Christ, Kings, Counts, Bishops, Abbots, Priests, Clerks, and to all the Christian servants of God in the monasteries, the cities, towns, and countries, I, the intendant of the house, called in God * * We address to you this letter, that your mightiness (or your holiness) may know that our brother * * your servant has demanded permission from us to go pray for his sins and ours, at the basilica of St. Peter your father. It is for this purpose that we address you these letters through his intervention, and freight them with salutations for you, in order that for the love of God and of Saint Peter he might receive from you hospitality, succour, and consolation, and be enabled to go and return safe and sound, &c." †

One of the Canons of the Council held at Chalon-Sur-Saône a year before the death of Charlemagne, in 813, contained the following passage: "Men deceive themselves considerably who alleging motives of piety resort without reflection to Rome, Tours, or elsewhere. There are Priests, Deacons and other members of the Clergy, who living in riot and excess, imagine they are purified from their errors and acquitted of their duties by visiting those holy places; there are also laics who

*See on these Letters, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, t. vi. ch. 16—according to the sixth Canon of the Council of Tours, in 566, the bishops only could give these Letters of Recommendation.

† *Charta Tracturia*, Marculfi Monachi formulæ veteres, 1666, in 4to. p. 228, see also p. 124, *Tracturia pro itinere peragendo*.

by going to pray there, conceive they get an immunity from their sins. There are powerful men who, on the pretext of a journey to Rome or Tours, levy tributes, amass riches, oppress the poor, and make cupidity their sole aim, coloring all with a pious motive." In fine, as the Pilgrims recruit themselves alike among the travellers and the vagabonds, the same Canon adds, "The poor offer the like reasons in order to have a greater facility in begging. We therefore deem it necessary to demand from our lord the Emperor, the means of remedying these abuses."

After the eighth Canon of the Council of Rouen in 1189, no clerk was permitted to leave his parish, either for the purpose of study, or to make a pilgrimage, without permission from his Bishop.

Whilst essaying to repress vagabondism, every effort was used to protect true pilgrims. "No one," said the edict of the Bavarians, "shall dare to incommode strangers or do them a wrong, because some are travelling for God, others from necessity, and the observance of peace is necessary towards all."

The fourth Canon of the Council of Metz in 756, prohibited the exaction of any species of tribute, either for themselves or the luggage of any pilgrims repairing to Rome or elsewhere, of arresting their passage at bridges, flood gates, ferry boats; any one doing them an injury, was obliged to pay a fine of sixty sous, as an amende, one-half being given to the pilgrim, and the other to the King's Chapel. The Council of Narbonne in 1054, contained nearly the same injunctions.

The sixteenth Canon of the Council of Lateran in 1123, excommunicated those who dared to pillage or annoy by exactions any of the pilgrims repairing to Rome or any of the other places of devotion.

These measures proved not, however, very efficacious. The routes, which, during the firm administration of Charlemagne, had been so secure, became after him less safe than ever, and we know too well to what horrible robberies and depredations they were exposed, during a long series of centuries; having no desire to insist on this point, we will merely cite here the following fact recorded by Guibert de Nogent. "They had there a man profoundly wicked, a serf of the Church of St. Vincent, at Laon, for a long while officer and overseer of Enguer-

rand de Cucey, in receipt of the toll demandable for the passage of the bridge of Sourdes. He frequently plundered the poor travellers, and after stripping them of all they had, he precipitated them into the waters, engulfing them in its flood, to put it out of their power to raise any complaints about him. God alone knows how frequent were those things done by him.*

"Men clad in iron," said Jacques de Vitry, "infested the public roads, and spared neither pilgrims nor the religious; not fearing the judgment of God, they became corsairs and pirates, robbing the pilgrims and merchants on sea, and after burning their ships they hurled the pilgrims into the waves."†

The pilgrims on very many occasions set out without money or provisions; thus the dangers and obstacles they encountered on their way, and the fatigues to which they were exposed, soon created a necessity for the foundation of establishments destined to provide them with shelter and nourishment. An hospital was annexed to all the monasteries, to which donations were given altogether for this purpose, and it was several times expressly prescribed by the Council and the Chapter to welcome with charity pilgrims and travellers. "The priests ought to know," said a Chapter "that the tithes and offerings which they receive from the faithful are the pay of the poor, and that they ought to use them, not as their own goods, but as a sacred deposit which has been confided to them."‡

The hospitality dispensed in the convents brings back to our minds the hospitality of the ancients. According to Gregory of Tours, Sunniulphe, abbot of the Monastery of Randan, at Clermont, (Auvergne) washed and dried, himself, the feet of strangers. "Neglect not," said the rule of the celebrated Abbot of Fulda, "to receive pilgrims and to wash their feet. But when they present themselves, according to the practice and custom of our ancestors, make them welcome with kindness and charity, and employ the brothers in washing their feet."§

The hospices were ordinarily placed either outside the cities, that the belated traveller should have no difficulty in reaching an asylum, or on the river side, in places where no communication existed between one shore and another, or in the moun-

De Vita sua, t. III. ch. 9.

† *Historia occidentalis*, ch. 3, 1596, in octavo, p. 266.

‡ See Canciani, *Leges barbarorum antiquæ*, t. iii. p. 150 and 343.

§ Canciani, t. iii. p. 360.

tains, leading to the most frequented places. Such, as at the present day are the Great and Little St. Bernard, at the Simplon, and at Mont Cenis; the antiquity of the foundations of these institutions admits of no doubt. Thus, in the eighth century, Adrian the First, strongly recommended to the generosity of Charlemagne, the hospices which were situated in the chain of the Alps. In the following century the hospice of Mont Cenis was founded by Louis the Débonnaire, who endowed it with rich revenues; and Louis II. sent deputies into Italy ordaining by a chapter dated 855, the restoration of all the hospices built in the mountains or elsewhere.*

Those of the Alps were of especial use to the pilgrims who came from Gaul, desirous either to visit Rome, or gain some port in Italy where they could embark for the East; but for the pilgrims whose course was directed towards the Holy Land, a route by land to Constantinople was preferred, when the passage was open to them by the conversion of the Hungarians. They founded hospices almost up to the capital of the Greek Empire, where amongst other establishments of this kind was the hospice of Samson, which existed until the sixteenth century. Once arrived in Asia, the pilgrims, martyrs to fatigue and the most cruel privations, were yet exposed on the part of the infidels to all sorts of vexations and dangers. In the eighth century, St. Guillebaud and seven other pilgrims, his travelling companions, were arrested as spies at Emesa and cast into prison. Delivered with great difficulty, thanks to the intervention of two Christians, inhabitants of the country, they were obliged to separate and travel two and two, as they bore letters of safe conduct which had been granted them by the governor of the city. It was absolutely necessary for them to be provided with these passports which described them as pilgrims, and pointed out the purport of their journey. Those who, without being provided with passports, presented themselves before a certain fortress of Mont Lebanon were arrested and conducted to Tyre. The account of a pilgrimage undertaken in 870 by the French monk, Bernard, contained other details relative to these letters. He writes:—

“At Bari” (a town then in the power of the Saracens) “we procured permission to sail (by means of two letters)

* Muratori, *Antiquitates Italia mediæ ævi*, dissertatio xxxvii. *De hospitalibus peregrinorum*, t. iii. p. 553.

which gave the description of our persons, and represented to the Prince of Alexandria and Babylon the object of our voyage." Arrived before Alexandria, Bernard was obliged to pay six pieces of gold to the captain of the ship, to obtain permission to disembark; then he and his companions were obliged to pay thirteen deniers to procure new passports, which at Babylon (old Cairo) did not hinder their being thrown into prison. They were delivered at the end of six days, after having had to pay anew thirteen deniers each; and although having received new letters empowering them to travel without further exactions, this was of no avail, as money was extorted from them in every town through which they passed, forcing them either to purchase a new passport, or pay for affixing a seal on the old.*

These vexations were very trivial, when compared with the innumerable dangers which threatened the pilgrims, when Palestine was subjected to the caliphs of Egypt, then to the Turks, and the picture that Urban II. drew of their sorrows at the council of Clermont moved deeply the hearts of his auditors.

"What shall I say," cried he, "of those who, depriving themselves of all, and trusting in their poverty, undertook this journey, conceiving that having nothing to lose but their bodies, they were thus secure. The infidels, however, not satisfied with this, subjected them to the most horrible torments, in order to extract money from them which they had not. They tore the flesh from their heels to try if they had gold concealed beneath the skin. They forced them to drink scammony (or purging bindweed) to create vomiting, in order that they should give up the gold they had swallowed. With a spear they opened their bellies that they might pry into the most secret recesses of their bodies. Think you then how many millions of men have perished in this fearful manner."†

The pilgrims who were happy enough to arrive at Jerusalem were obliged to pay a piece of gold before being permitted to enter; thus thousands of unfortunates whom the infidels had completely stripped, came dying of hunger and misery under the walls of the Holy City, whose inhabitants would not suffice to bury the dead lying around.

When in 1035, Robert of Normandy arrived at Jerusalem,

* See Mabillon, *Acta SS. ordinis S. Benedicti*, sæculum iii. pars ii. p. 523.

Guibert de Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, t. ii. ch. 4.

there came before him, said a chronicler, "crowds of pilgrims weeping and crying for mercy, and that they had not wherewith to pay on entering. Whereupon the Duke ordered a certain number to enter, first presenting to each a bezant of gold, by which means they were enabled to procure admission, and with great honor."*

The pilgrims who had been able to discharge this tribute lodged either with the Christians, or in the hospice of the Amalfitains, or even in the houses of the infidels, as did Robert the Ancient, Count of Flanders. "Out of a thousand pilgrims," said Guillaume of Tyre, "scarcely one had sufficient for his wants; having lost on their route their travelling provisions, being merely able to preserve their persons through innumerable perils and fatigues."

These dangers very soon induced the pilgrims to unite and travel in large companies for their mutual protection. It was the Normans who furnished the precedent, if we can credit the questionable recital where Orderic Vital relates, that a hundred knights of this nation returning from Palestine delivered Salerno which had been besieged by the Saracens.

In the eleventh century, the nobles and the abbés very seldom set out without a numerous retinue. Such were amongst others, in 1026 the pilgrimage of Guillaume Taillefer II., count d'Angoulême, who departed with a brilliant escort of nobles and abbés; then that of Richard, Abbé de Vannes, in 1027, who was accompanied by seven hundred pilgrims whose entire expenses he paid; then that of d'Avesgaud, bishop of Mans, in 1032; then of Robert, Duke of Normandy, in 1035.†

Finally in 1064, instead of a pilgrimage, we might almost consider that then formed an attempt at a crusade. "It had been announced all through Normandy," relates Ingulfe, secretary to William the Conqueror, "that the bishops of the empire and other princes of the earth wished, for the salvation of their

* Chronique manuscrite de Normandie, Recueil des historiens de France, t. xi. p. 528.

† Apropos of the pilgrimage of Lietbert, Bishop of Cambrai, in 1064, Michaud has committed, in his *Histoire des Croisades*, a singular mistake. He says that Lietbert set out with an escort of *three thousand pilgrims*. Now, here is the text of the Bollandists; "Lietbertus egreditur a civitate sua . . . prosequitur eum fere *ad tria milliaria*, non sine lacrymis et immensis gemitibus, omnis ætas utriusque sexus (June, t. iv. p. 596); a distance of three thousand paces had been taken by the historian for three thousand persons.

souls, to repair piously to Palestine." Several persons of the prince's household, as many clerks as knights, and Ingulfe himself joined them. At the moment of departure, the number of pilgrims was found to exceed seven thousand. Arrived in Asia, where the intelligence of their expedition and their riches had preceded them, having had the folly to make a display, they were assailed by the Arabs near Ramla. After a sanguinary combat, they were with much difficulty enabled to gain an old ruined castle, where they held out for three days; they were at length delivered by the emir of Ramla, who escorted them to Jerusalem; four thousand only returned to Europe.*

The facts which we are now about to relate, relative to the pilgrimages undertaken in the Holy Land, before the Council of Clermont, in 1095, where the first crusade was decided, prove in the most evident manner to what a point of exaggeration the influence which Peter the Hermit and Urban II. had on the movement which attracted so many millions of Christians into Asia, has been by ignorance extended. The voices of these two men would have been powerless in creating one of those events which change the face of empires, if for more than a century the idea of a crusade had not taken possession of the imagination of all Christians; the natural result of pilgrimages which imparted to believers not alone useful geographical knowledge, but also made all Europe aware of the miseries and hopes of the christian population of the East. We have already alluded to the letter of Gerbert. In 1010, according to Raoul Glaber, (book III, chap. 7.) the Jews of Orleans sent to the Sultan of Babylon to prevent his destroying the temple of Jerusalem, lest he should be driven from his kingdom by the followers of Christ. In the month of December, 1074, Gregory the Seventh wrote to the Emperor Henry IV., that more than fifty thousand inhabitants of Italy and France had made known to him, that if he, the chief of the church, would place himself at their head, they would go and deliver the Holy Sepulchre.†

In his youth Godfroy de Bouillon often said, as related by his mother, that his most earnest desire was to go to Jerusalem at the head of a numerous army. After the crusades, we still see Christians encountering the dangers which presented them-

* See Baronius, *Annales ecclesiastici* t. xvii. p. 266.

† Guibert de Nogent *Gesta Dei per Francos*, t. II.

selves anew in the countries subjected to the infidels; but after the seventeenth century, the greater number must be considered rather as travellers than pilgrims. We must not, however, omit the pilgrimages of two women. The one, Gabrielle Brémond, of Marseilles, traversed the higher and the lower Egypt, Palestine, Mont Sinai, Mont Lebanon, and almost all Syria. The account of this voyage was translated from the French into Italian, and published in Rome, in 1673, in quarto. The other woman, named Anne Chéron, visited Jerusalem at the age of eighty. The account of this pilgrimage was published at Paris, 1771, in duodecimo.

If, notwithstanding the dangers they encountered, pilgrimages to the Holy Land were so frequent, we may easily conceive what ought to be the concourse of pilgrims who went to visit the holy places situated in Europe; as Rome, and St. James of Compostella.*

The capital of the Christian world, above all, drew within its walls a crowd of travellers from all nations. Thus Brunon, who, in 1049, became pope under the title of Leo IX., whilst he was bishop of Toul, in Lorraine, made every year a voyage when he was sometimes accompanied by more than five hundred persons. And to speak of a period approaching nearer to ourselves, during the Jubilee of 1600, the hospice for pilgrims in Paris instituted by St. Philip Neri, in the middle of the sixteenth century, gave food and lodging during three days, to 445,000 men, and to 25,000 women. They applied in France the name of *Romée* or *Romieu* to the pilgrims who had visited Rome, thence it is that these names, particularly the latter, are very common in some of the departments of France.

With the success of Luther, came, in great part, the decline of Pilgrimages. In 1563, Protestantism was spread in Denmark, in Iceland, in Lapland, and we find Gustavus Vasa entreating his successors, in his will, to adhere to the new religion. Prussia, Lævonía, Poland, Hungary, Bavaria, Austria, Westphalia, and, in short, the entire of Germany, had abandoned, or been shaken in, the old Faith; the fasts of the Church were neglected, and on Saint Peter's Day the harvest work was more attractive than the Church ceremonies.

Twenty years passed on; Sixtus the Fifth, with a policy and

* M. Victor Leclerc has composed, on the Pilgrimages to Saint James of Compostella, a Memoir which was read at the Academy of Inscription and Belles Lettres in 1843.

wisdom worthy a statesman, gained the heart of William, Duke of Cleves, and with the awakening of Germany to the Faith of its fathers, arose one to make that Faith in its new dawning as fervid as before its slumber. This man was Julius Echter of Mespelbroun, who had been created Bishop of Würzburg in 1573. He had been educated by the Jesuits at the Collegium Romanum, and had become imbued with the spirit of Loyola in all the glory of its indomitable energy. In 1584, he set out on a visitation of the churches of his diocese. "He travelled," writes Ranke, "through his whole territory accompanied by certain Jesuits, going first to Gmünden, then to Arnstein, Werneck, and Hassfurt, and so on from circle to circle. In every town he summoned to his presence the burgomaster and the town council, and told them of his determination to root out the errors of Protestantism. The pastors were sent away and their places filled with the pupils of the Jesuits. Any official person who refused to attend Catholic worship was dismissed without mercy, and the vacant office instantly filled by one of the Catholic faith. Even private persons were all required to attend the Catholic service, and had only to choose between the Mass or exile; he to whom the religion of his prince was an abomination ought, it was said, to have no share or interest in his country."

In vain did the neighbouring princes remonstrate against these measures. Bishop Julius used to say, that it was not what he did that caused him any scruples of conscience, but that he had begun to do it so late. He received the most active and zealous support from the Jesuits, among whom Father Gerhard Weller was especially conspicuous, by going alone and on foot without even a change of raiment, from place to place preaching. In the single year of 1586, fourteen cities and market towns and above two hundred villages, containing in all 62,000 souls, were brought back to the Catholic faith.

"The capital of the diocese was the only town which still adhered to Protestantism, and in March, 1587, the bishop undertook its conversion. He summoned the town council before him, and appointed for each quarter and parish a commission, which was to examine each citizen separately. Here, too, it was discovered that one half cherished the Protestant opinions; the faith of many, however, was feeble and wavering, and soon yielded to persuasion or menace; and the solemn communion which the bishop himself celebrated in the

Cathedral at Easter was numerously attended. Others held out longer, and a few chose rather to sell their property and go into exile; among the latter were four members of the Council.

This was an example which the bishop of Bamberg, the nearest ecclesiastical neighbour of Würzburg, felt himself especially called upon to follow. There is a hill called Gösweinstein, rising above the valley of Muggendorf, to the summit of which pilgrims may to this day be seen wending their way from all the surrounding valleys, by steep and solitary paths, through magnificent woods and romantic precipices. Here was an ancient sanctuary sacred to the Holy Trinity; but at the time we are speaking of, it was neglected and deserted. When Ernest von Mengersdorf, bishop of Bamberg, happened in the year 1587 to visit this spot, he was greatly shocked at its condition. Inflamed by the example of his neighbour, he declared that he would also 'bring back his subjects to the true Catholic faith; no dangers should prevent him from performing this, his duty.' We shall see how earnestly his successor followed the course he marked out.

But whilst in Bamberg things were only in preparation, in Würzburg Bishop Julius effected a complete change in the religious character of his dominions. All old ordinances and ceremonies were revived; devotional exercises in the honor of the Mother of God, pilgrimages, brotherhoods of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and of her birth, and various others, were restored, and new ones founded. Processions filled the streets. Throughout the whole country, the sound of the church bells recalled the hour of the Ave Maria. Beliefs were again collected, and deposited with great pomp in their appointed shrines. The convents were filled again, and churches built in all directions; Bishop Julius is said to have laid the foundations of three hundred; the traveller may still distinguish them by their lofty spires. Men observed with astonishment the change which a few years had wrought. A panegyrist of the Bishop thus expresses himself: 'What was formerly esteemed superstitious and even contemptible, is now held sacred; what was lately revered as a gospel, is now declared to be only deceit.'

"Even at Rome such signal success had not been anticipated. The enterprise of Bishop Julius had already been some time in progress before Pope Sixtus heard anything of it. After the Autumn holidays in 1586, Aquaviva, the general of the

Jesuits, appeared before him, and informed him of the new conquests achieved by his order; Sixtus was delighted, and hastened to testify his approbation and gratitude to the Bishop. He granted him the right of filling the benefices which had fallen vacant in the reserved months, adding, that he would best know whom to reward.

“But the pleasure which the Pope received from Aquaviva’s report was enhanced by the arrival of similar intelligence from the Austrian provinces, particularly from Styria.”

Next to Rome, Loretto and Compostella were the most celebrated places of pilgrimage in Europe. Loretto is situated in the Papal dominions, in the province of Macerata. It is near the Adriatic, and is about fifteen miles south by east of Ancona. More than fifty years ago, Murri, the spiritual guardian of the Santa Casa, the Holy House, published in Italian, a history of the shrine, which was translated into his own language by Philippe Pagès, a French monk, who dedicating it to Napoleon’s governor of Ancona, Lemarrois, published it in 1809 under the title *Abriégé Historique des Traditions Prodigieuses de la Sainte Maison*. Pagès commences his narrative thus:—

“The town of Nazareth, seated on the slope of a hill in the vicinage of Mount Tabor, was one of the principal places of the province of Galilee, before the Roman conquest. But the just wrath of Heaven having given up the guilty nation to the scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, and to a ruin which will end only with the world, Nazareth shared the general lot; and at the time of St Jerome: it was no more than a wretched village.

“The zeal of the primitive Christians vainly strove to restore it in some degree to its ancient lustre, by making it the seat of a Bishop. But the last of its pastors having shamefully apostatized, the town fell into the decay in which we see it still, a miserable collection of huts, and refuge for the robbers of Arabia.

“But neither the ravages of time, nor the violence of arms, could rob Nazareth of the glory of having been the country of the most august Virgin, the mother of God! and of having enclosed within its circuit the house in which she was born, where the great mystery of the Incarnation took place, and where our Lord lived the greater part of his mortal existence, that is till his baptism. This is the house, which, by the ministry of angels, was, after a lapse of so many years, transported among us and which now makes the glory of Italy, and the most sensible and beloved honour of our province. In the seventy-first year of the Christian era, Nazareth was sacked and ruined by the Romans. But the Deity watched with an eye of care and affection over the dwelling of Mary, not suffering the enemy to penetrate to the place in which it stood, and where it continued

concealed until the moment fixed on in the divine councils, for bringing it to light, for the veneration of all the world.

"An event of this kind happened first under the government of Constantine the Great. About the year 307, the Empress Helena, his mother, made a pilgrimage to the holy places of Palestine. She first visited the manger where our Lord had lain; then Calvary, the Holy Sepulchre, and Nazareth, the place where our redemption had its origin, and the only place where she found no mark of profanation. The royal pilgrim found the holy dwelling under a heap of ruins. After having paid it her veneration, she resolved to attempt no change in it. She only reared again the altar on which the holy Apostles had offered the divine sacrifice!

"But she directed the Imperial Ministers to build over and round the Holy House an august and magnificent temple, on whose marble front she engraved the brief but expressive inscription:

'Hæc est ara in qua primo jactum est humanæ salutis fundamentum.'

"The report of this building was spread through the world, and from that time, the nations were eager to make pilgrimages to venerate the house of the Queen of the Angels. Kings, princes, and others, not less distinguished for their rank than for their holiness, came to visit this heaven upon earth!

"In the year 1245, Palestine had totally fallen under the Saracens. Saint Louis, touched with the desire to conquer this chosen land, embarked with a powerful army, and landed successfully in Egypt. But pestilence resisted his great designs. The multitude of the French warriors perished, and finally the king was made prisoner; God permitting that a war undertaken with motives so rational and so holy, should come to so disastrous an end, because the time fixed in the divine councils for the deliverance of Palestine was not yet come.

"Saint Louis, having been set at liberty by a capitulation, reached Nazareth in 1252, where, on the 25th of March, the day of the Annunciation, he went on foot, covered with a penitential robe, from Mount Tabor, to venerate the adorable chamber of Mary, and where, having heard mass, he communicated. He then returned to the Temple which covered the Holy House, and ordered Odo, Bishop of Frascati, the Legate of the Papal See, to perform mass upon the High Altar."

"The narrative now proceeds to state that a memorial of those ceremonies remains in some very old paintings on the western wall of the sanctuary; that the existence of the Holy House was unquestionable, until the close of the thirteenth century, when the Caliphs conquered Galilee, with the slaughtering of 20,000 Christians and the slavery of 200,000. The Mahometans pulled down the temple of Helena; and the Holy House was lost to mankind for ever but for "the admirable and incomprehensible wisdom, which, to save the house of the divine Mother, snatched it from its foundations by the most surprising and unheard-of miracle; the foundations still remaining in proof visibly at Nazareth."

"The miraculous translation from Nazareth to the borders of Dalmatia occurred on the 10th of May, A. D. 1291, in the pontificate

of Nicholas IV. It alighted on a low hill between the town of Tersata and Fiume, where neither house nor hut had ever been seen before.

"A multitude of the Dalmatians ran together to the place on hearing of the prodigy; and after having observed the Holy House placed without foundation or support on an uneven ground; after having also observed that it was of the most ancient construction, and that its masonry shewed it to be not of their own country, but of a distant land—they entered, and were still more astonished to find the House roofed and wainscotted, the wainscot being covered with blue, and divided into little squares scattered with golden stars. Two fragments of this decoration are yet to be seen.

"They perceived, besides, a little altar attached to the wall opposite the door; and upon the altar they found an ancient Greek cross of wood, with a figure of the crucifix painted on the cloths which covered the cross, and also found a statue of the Most Holy Virgin holding in her arms the infant Jesus. At the left of the door was a little cupboard hollowed in the wall, and near it the place of an ancient hearth, in the style of Nazareth, that is, without an orifice for the smoke, inasmuch as in the East they use only charcoal.

"But that the people of the town of Tersata should learn the origin and value of this house, the Mother of God was pleased to add to this extraordinary event a new miracle.

"Alexandre de George, Curé of Tersata, being dangerously ill, the Holy Virgin appeared to him in a dream, and revealing that the house which had lately arrived in the country by a prodigy which none could explain, was the true House of Nazareth, in proof of her appearing, restored him at the instant to complete health.

"The people of Tersata, now irresistibly convinced of their good fortune, with one accord implored permission of the Chevalier Nicholas Frangipani, then governor of the province, to send four of their fellow-citizens to Nazareth, to make themselves still surer of so great a prodigy."

The narrative proceeds to state, that "the governor sent the deputies with four of his own, carrying the exact measurement of the Santa Casa, that they might compare it with the original site. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the result. The deputies found that not a fragment of the house remained further than the precise quantity which might assist to realise the evidence of the removal. The length and breadth, the stones, &c. &c., were the same, and the fame of the miracle redounded in the shape of donations from all sides. Frangipani was a good, a zealous man, and with faith and hope he formed vast projects to second the devotion of the faithful, and to increase, if possible, the reputation of the holy place, when suddenly the Santa Casa was carried to a more civilized spot than the savage borders of Dalmatia.

"At once," says the Curé, "after three years and seven months from its memorable translation to Tersata, the Santa Casa was seen to rise into the air again, and pass over the Adriatic! It descended in the centre of a thick forest, at a short distance from the fortunate

hill where it now stands, and where all Christendom comes to do it homage.

"The tenth of December, A. D. 1294, in the pontificate of Celestine the V., was the memorable epoch of an event so prodigious. About ten o'clock of the night before, the sacred dwelling appeared in the neighbourhood of the town of Recanati, and came to the ground in the midst of a forest called the Laurel Wood, about two leagues off.

"Man was wrapped in sleep at the moment when this wonderful translation occurred. The shepherds who were as usual watching their sheep, were the first to have the happiness of seeing this holy asylum. An extraordinary light, which shone in its direction, induced them to come and see the cause. They saw with astonishment that the light proceeded from an ancient house, which they now observed for the first time, and in a place where there had been no dwelling before.

"While the crowd gathered from all sides to see the wonder, and were reasoning on it with each other, an individual made his appearance, who declared that he had *seen* the House carried through the air, just as it arrived on the neighbouring shore of the Adriatic. At length, encouraging each other, they ventured to enter, rightly conceiving that the House must contain something surprising and divine. Finally, they were convinced, and spent the remainder of the night round the holy place. At daybreak, they hurried into the town to tell their masters what they had seen.

"Their masters were at first incredulous, but they visited the wood and were convinced. But, to make conviction surer still, a miracle was wrought.

"The Holy Virgin appeared at the same time to two of her faithful servants in the neighbourhood of Loretto, and told them both that the house was her dwelling at Nazareth, transported by angels, to give all Christendom, by so august a present, a powerful succour, and a sure refuge in its most pressing needs. The first who had this miraculous vision, was Saint Nicholas of Tolentino, one of the greatest saints of the order of Saint Augustine, residing at Recanati. The other was the Brother Paul, who had fixed his hermitage on the summit of a hill a little further; now called Montorso.

"The rumour of the miracle now spread far and wide, and nothing was heard of but the forest of Loretto and the Santa Casa of Nazareth. Day and night the highways were crowded with pilgrims of all ranks and ages, to see the holy chamber, and offer their tribute of homage and veneration.

"But the Enemy of Man, indignant at seeing so great a work wrought against him, made every effort to destroy the devotion of the faithful. The sanctuary stood in the centre of a forest, about half a league from the sea, and the ways to it were narrow, and choked up with thickets and thorns. Men without morality or religion, and with no object but gold, formed themselves into bands, and robbed the pilgrims. The pilgrimages were of course soon

thinned; but the hand of the Lord was not confined, and his Blessed Mother's shrine was not to be deserted.

Thus, about eight months after the first arrival, the Santa Casa found itself again placed on the top of a fine hill above Recanati, and a mile from its former site. The new ground belonged to two brothers, who, rejoicing in the precious gift of Heaven, paid it all the highest homage."

The brothers upon whose land this house was placed, differed as to their right to the soil, and as Murri states, "The most High, who abhorred the rage of fraternal quarrels as much as the murders of the first, transported the house of his Divine Mother out of their lands and placed it where it now is on the road to Recanati."

Sixtus the Fifth resolved to raise Loretto to the rank of a city. Fontana, his architect, placed before him the difficulties in the way of this project. "Do not trouble yourself, Fontana," said he, "it cost me more to resolve upon it than it would to execute it." A portion of the land was bought from the inhabitants of Recana; valleys were filled up, hills levelled, and roads laid out; the communes of the March of Ancona were encouraged to build houses, and Cardinal Gallo placed new civic authorities in the holy Chapel, and thus the Pope's piety and patriotism were exhibited.

Sixtus, not content with thus honoring the Mother of God, had resolved that by the aid of skilful workmen, the tomb of our Saviour should be excavated from the rock and transported to Italy. "Already he indulged in the hope of being able to erect in Montalto, this most holy of shrines; then would his native province, the March, where the Sacred House of Loretto already stood, contain within its narrow limits the birth place and the tomb of the Redeemer. *

In the year 1580, about three years before Sixtus had determined to elevate Loretto into a city, Montaigne during his famous "Journey into Italy" visited the Santa Casa. He describes the innkeepers as fleecing the pilgrims. He writes:—"against the upper part of the wall of the shrine is to be seen the image of our Lady, made, they say, of wood; all the rest of the shrine is so covered with magnificent ex-votos, the offerings of princes and their subjects in all parts of

* See Ranke, Vol. I. p 313, 497.

Christendom, that there is hardly an inch of wall discernible, hardly a spot that does not glitter with gold and silver and precious stones. It was with the utmost difficulty, and as a very great favor, that I obtained therein a vacant place, large enough to receive a small frame, in which were fixed four silver figures; that of Our Lady, my own, that of my wife, and that of my daughter. At the foot of mine there is engraved in silver: *Michael Montanus, Gallus Vasco, eques Regni Ordinis*; 1581; at the foot of my wife's: *Francisca Cassaniana uxor*; and at that of my daughter: *Leonora Montana filia unica*; the figure of Our Lady is in the front, and the three others are kneeling side by side before her."

Almost one hundred and sixty-five years, after this visit of Montaigne, a man of very different character and cast of mind came to Loretto, and wrote an account of his visit; this traveller was the Rev. Alban Butler, the well known author of the *Lives of the Saints*. In the years 1745, and 1746, Alban Butler made the tour of Europe with the Honorables James and Thomas Talbot to whom he acted as tutor. He appears to have written his impressions of all he saw, in letters to his friends, and these coming into the hands of his grand nephew, the celebrated lawyer, Charles Butler, were published by him in a volume of about 460 pages, in 1803, and dedicated to the Rev. James Yorke, of Bramston. Butler's description of Loretto is as follows:—

"LORETTO is a new town built around the *Santa Casa* or *Holy House*, and consists chiefly of one large street, containing little else than inns and great shops for beads and medals. It is nearly two miles from the sea. Sixtus V. surrounded it with walls and bastions to prevent its being plundered by the Corsairs; and Paul V. built a great aqueduct to supply it with water. The palace is a large building begun by Pius IV., upon a plan given by Bramanti; but only finished by Urban VIII. It contains three storeys, and three rows of galleries, one above another, of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian order. The bishop, governor, canons, penitentiaries, &c., live in different apartments in it. In the cellars beneath, for their use as well as that of the pilgrims, there is one tun which holds 420, and another which holds 365 barrels of wine, &c. Before this church is an extensive square embellished with fountains and a brass statue of Sixtus V. On the gates of the church, which are also of brass, is represented in basso-relievo the history of the Blessed Virgin, by JEROME LOMBARD and his sons, &c. The same artist also made the four gates of the holy house. The church is very spacious, built in the form of a cross, paved with red and white Parian marble, and covered with lead; in other respects it is not very remarkable,

except for one good picture ; the rest being tolerable only. It contains six sacristies. In the middle stands the *SANTA CASA*, of which every one knows the history. It may be sufficient therefore briefly to say, that the house at Nazareth, in which the Blessed Virgin lived, and God became man, was visited with great devotion by St. Paula in the fourth century, as St. Jerome (Ep. to Eustochium) testifies, and afterwards by St. Lewis in his holy wars, Cardinal Vitry, and many others. In the year 1291, it was miraculously transported by angels into Dalmatia, and shortly after into this district, where it changed its place twice before fixing in its present site. The proofs of this translation may be seen in Baronius's continuators, in Turra's history of the House of Loretto, and in the new history of it by the present Bishop of Monte Feltro, though he is not exact in every thing. His relations of the miracles fill folios. But although this were not the real house, the devotion of pious people would not lose its reward, as it is not to the house itself it is directed, but to Him who condescended to make it so long the place of his residence when on earth. Loretto is certainly the greatest place of devotion to our Lady in the world. Pilgrims from Italy, Germany, and above all Slavonia, continually crowd all the roads leading to this place. They have three meals given them at Loretto ; and the like at an hospital in Venice, as they pass through ; that being the road of the Dalmatians. The holy house is 30 feet long, 12 broad, and 15 in height, of course sufficiently high to have had two stories. The walls are built of a mouldering red stone, like brick : at the bottom or west end is a window ; in the eastern end a chimney : originally there was but one door, now there are two. Under the windows is the altar of the Annunciation. The principal altar, which is exceedingly rich, is near the eastern end ; at this a perpetual succession of masses is celebrated from day-break till two o'clock in the afternoon. Behind this altar is the sanctuary, separated from the other part, into which pilgrims are permitted to enter all morning, by a low wall or balustrade of solid silver. Just by the door in this sanctuary, is a silver cupboard fixed in the wall, containing a wooden dish and other vessels, which they say our SAVIOUR used. Here also is the famous image of our Lady, said to be painted over by St. Luke. The head is encircled by 71 great topazes, and crowned with a tiara of emeralds, sapphires, rubies, and diamonds,—a rose of pearls and diamonds on the forehead, given by two English ladies,—another tiara of gold and jewels,—before the neck a fleece glittering with precious stones ;—a necklace of rubies and diamonds worth 60,000 crowns presented by King Lewis XIII. encircles the neck : she holds an infant Jesus of gold and diamonds in her arms. The robes which cover these images are rich beyond imagination, both in the cloth and embroidery, and in the profusion of great jewels. The sanctuary is quite filled with costly offerings. Before the chimney is a second balustrade of massy silver ; a praying desk of pure silver, statues, members, hearts, lamps, and above all *bambinos*, or little infants representing our SAVIOUR, of gold and silver, enriched with jewels. Among the rest is a babe of gold, representing Lewis XIV., presented to our Lady by an angel of silver, the gift of his

mother, Queen Ann of Austria. The house itself is all covered both within and without with the richest marble, except near the bottom, in the inside, to show the holy wall, and how it stands without any foundation, but torn off. The covering of white marble was the work of Julius II., Leo X., Clement VII., Gregory XIII., &c. It is carved all round by the greatest of MICHAEL ANGELO's scholars, Contucci, Sansovino, Delmonte, Dela Porta, Raphael de Monte Lupo, Lombard, Bandinelli, St Gal, &c. The history of our Lady's life is executed in admirable basso-relievo. Below are the incomparable statutes of the Sybils and all the Prophets, as having foretold the Incarnation. Among these, the most admired are, Jeremia Weeping, by Contucci; Moses, and several figures by Lombard, &c. This incrustation of marble is said to have cost about 300,000 crowns, although the carvers gave their work gratis. The *Treasury* is an elegant large square hall or sacristy, opening into the church. The vault is painted; one figure by perspective, turns its eyes on you in all parts of the room wherever you stand, in the same manner as that formerly mentioned of St. John Baptist in Prince Borghesi's palace in Rome. Here the riches exceed all estimation, and indeed the articles can scarcely be counted, though I was shewn a general catalogue of them. There are innumerable crowns, collars, beads, necklaces, chains, crosses, images, and vessels of gold, silver, and precious stones; many thousands of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, amethysts, emeralds, &c. An eagle of diamonds presented by the Empress Mary of Austria; a collar of diamonds by her son; a heart of gold enriched with diamonds by Catherine Henrietta, Queen of England; a diamond of an extraordinary size, by Prince Doria. Suns, roses, leaves, &c., of jewels. Chalices, and other vessels of gold, &c. A pearl as large as a pigeon's egg, with the image of our Lady and the infant Jesus engraven upon it, given by one who concealed his name; as were many other things. Here is a rock three feet high, full of precious stones and adamants, just as it was dug up in Golconda; another in which the diamonds, &c., are not perfectly formed, but growing only, given by the Medici of Florence. Garments and vestments, &c., of all sorts: On one vestment alone they count 7000 jewels; a set of service for an altar, consisting of a cross, cruets, a chalice, paten, and six candlesticks of amber, others of gold, of silver, and of chrystal, &c. In a word, all things of these kinds that can be imagined: agates, jaspers, lapis lazuli, &c., lose their value here, from the great profusion of them. The towns of Milan, Bologna, and a dozen others in silver. The castle of Vincennes in silver, given by the celebrated Prince of Conde, *Grand-father to the present*, who was long confined as a state prisoner in that fortress. Catholic princes from all quarters send their richest jewels, &c., as tokens of their devotion to the Mother of God.

The fixed revenue of the Santa Casa, is 24,000 crowns a-year for the canons, &c. It is forbid, under pain of excommunication, to scrape or carry off the least dust from the original building, nor can absolution be granted; till the person has himself brought back what he had taken, be he never so far off. Without this prohibition, the walls would have been long since carried away. Almost all religious

orders have their hospitia here of two or three fathers. The Penitentiaries are twenty, (all Jesuits), under an Italian rector. Their great confinement, diversity of countries, interests, manners, inclinations and parties, render their situation not the most agreeable to flesh and blood. They are for the Italian, German, French, Spanish, Slavonian, Polish, and English tongues. Father Boothe is the English Penitentiary, brother to the counsellor. They have a small poor library of old Casuists, in which, however, is a valuable old manuscript of the Latin Vulgate. *La Specieria*, the apothecary's shop of the holy house, furnishes *druga gratis* to all its officers, &c. It is very large and well stocked; but what is most valuable in it, are the inestimable earthen pots and vessels, so inimitably painted by RAPHAEL, and the greatest amongst his scholars, representing all the personages of the old and new testament. They are ranged on shelves, and fill the walls of two large rooms. The most esteemed are St. Paul, the Four Evangelists, Job, &c.

The inn-keepers, and indeed all the inhabitants of this place, are guilty of imposing upon strangers.* It is 155 miles from Rome.

Next in order to Loretto we find the most famous shrine to be that of Saint James of Compostella, in Galicia.

It was held, and is still held, that St. James, the apostle, the elder of the sons of Zebedee, was a teacher of Christianity in Spain before the year 42 of our era. It is believed that having returned to Palestine he was the first of the apostles who suffered martyrdom, that his body was conveyed back to Spain, and buried near the town Iria Fulva, which is now known as Santiago de Compostella, and is the chief town of the province of Galicia, and an archiepiscopal see. We have no proof that St. James was ever in Spain, and this shrine was not discovered until the year 808, just 766 years after his death. The Jesuit historian, Marianna, tells us in his *Historia d' España* that the sepulchre was discovered by Theodomer, Bishop of Iria, by supernatural means.

Long before the discovery of the shrine, St. James was honored in Spain as one who had been a missionary in that country. Many churches were dedicated to him in Galicia, and nearly a century before the discovery of his sepulchre, a church was opened in his name at Lergo, the *Lucus Augusti* of the Romans. The shrine was discovered during the reign of Alphonsus the Chaste, King of Leon. "By order of that Prince," writes Alban Butler, "the relics were translated to

* The inn-keepers do not appear to have improved in honesty in the 160 years since Montaigne's visit; Butler writes, their "houses are far from eligible places of resort."

Compostella, four miles from the spot in which they were found, to which city Pope Leo III. transferred the see from Iria Fulva. This place was first called, "ad S. Jacobum apostilum or Giacomo Postolo," which words have been contracted into the present name Compostella. Alphonso endowed the shrine with lands extending to a circuit of three miles, and presented to it many slaves, supposed to be the children of Moors who had embraced Christianity, and who were to be reared to the priesthood, or devoted to the special care and guarding of the shrine and church. Cuper, the Bollandist, gives many relations of miracles performed through the intercession of St. James, and he became, from a very early period, the special and favorite patron of Spanish soldiers. He frequently protected them by his interposition in their battles against the Moors, and in 1175, the military order of St. James the Greater was instituted.

The fame and sanctity of the shrine were widely extended. The cathedral was one of the most splendid in Spain. It was more than three hundred feet long, in form of a cross; it had seven gates and twenty-three chapels, some of which were ornamented with marble, jasper, and other precious stones, and lit with magnificent silver lamps. The pilgrims thronged to the shrine, and the crowd was increased about the year 1122, when, owing, as William of Malmesbury tells us, to the deeds of plunder and violence to which the pilgrims to Rome were subjected by the barons, even at the very altar of St. Peter's, Pope Callistus II., advised the English to make their pilgrimages to Compostella, until, by his energy he should have crushed, with his reforming hand, the lawlessness of the Roman nobility and bravos.

The Moors took Compostella in 997, and set fire to it. They carried off the ornaments and bells of the cathedral to Cordova, but these were restored by the King, St. Ferdinand, after he had conquered that city. The cathedral was again plundered by the French, in 1809, and the most valuable of the ornaments were borne away, never to be restored.

To the pilgrims, according to Bayle and Ministrier, we owe the introduction of the Miracle Plays, or Mysteries, so common in the middle ages. Ministrier, in his work on ancient and modern musical representations, writes :—

It is certain, that *pilgrimages* introduced these devout represen-

tations. Those who returned from *Jerusalem* and the *Holy Land*, from *St. James of Compostella*, *St. Baume of Provence*, *St. Reine*, *Mont St. Michael*, *Notre Dame du Puy*, and other places of piety, composed songs on their travels, mixing with them a recital of the *Life and Death of the Son of God*, or of the last judgment, after a gross manner, but which the singing and simplicity of the times seem to render pathetic; they sung the miracles of saints, their martyrdom and certain fables, to which the credulity of the people gave the name of visions and apparitions. These pilgrims, who went in companies, and who took their stands in streets, and public places where they sung with their staves in their hands and their hats and mantles covered with shells, and painted images of divers colours, formed a kind of spectacle, which pleased, and which excited the piety of some citizens of *Paris*, to raise a fund for purchasing a proper place to erect a theatre, on which to represent these mysteries on holy days, as well for the instruction of the people, as their diversion. *Italy* had public theatres for the representation of these mysteries; one of them I saw at *Veletri*, in the road from *Rome* to *Naples* in a public place, where it is not forty years since they left off to represent the mysteries of the life of the Son of God. These pious spectacles appeared so fine in those ignorant ages, that they made them the principal ornaments of the reception of princes, when they made their entry into cities; and as they sung a Christmas Carol instead of the cries of *Long Live the King*, they represented in the streets the good *Samaritan*, the wicked rich man, the passion of *JESUS CHRIST*, and several other mysteries, at the reception of our kings. The *Palms* and *Prose Devotions* of the church were the opera of those times. They walked in procession before those princes with the banners of the churches; they sung to their praise hymns composed of several passages of scripture, tacked together, to make allusions to the principal actions of their reigns."

The effect of these pilgrimages in spreading knowledge and civilization amongst the people of the Universe was incalculable. As *Dr. Miley* writes, —

Every pilgrim turned student in *Rome*, even though remaining but for a few months or weeks, and was sure to make such progress as to place him whole centuries in advance of his more plodding compatriots, who had never been there; but in addition, there were multitudes of every nation of the west, and of other countries also, and more especially from *Greece*, residing in permanent establishments in the Pontifical city. The proofs of this recur at every page in the lives of the Popes. We see the *Saxon*, the *Frank*, the *Lombard*, the *Burgundian* colleges forming a constant element of the grand pageants, such as the procession to receive a king, an exarch, an emperor, or a pontiff, on approaching to *Rome*. The annals of even the most remote of the western nations—the *Irish*—the lives of their saints, abound in notices of the holy pilgrims who journeyed from that remote corner of the earth, to the tombs of the Apostles. One of the first purposes to which we find a respite from the inroads of the *Danes* converted in the ninth century

is, to send an embassy from the Irish princes, to obtain, from Charles the Bald, a free and secure passage through his dominions for the Irish pilgrims to Rome. In an unpublished Irish MS. called the *Leabhar Breac*—a collection of singular importance and interest in an historical point of view—there are a great many such notices. They abound still more in the *Lives of the Irish Saints*, as published by Colgan. As we see by what is mentioned in the celebrated *Epistle of Saint Cummian* published by Usher, these Irish pilgrims, whether going as envoys, or students, or to satisfy their devotion, continued to tarry there for years. In the *Annals of the Benedictines*, a very curious account is given by Mabillon of what occurred on occasion of a company of Irish pilgrims stopping at Saint Gall's on their return from Rome. The two chief of them were Marcus, a bishop, and his nephew, called Marcellus—that is, the little or beloved Marcus. The community at Saint Gall's—at that period highly distinguished for the flourishing school of their cloisters—were so taken with the scholarship which these ecclesiastics displayed, that no entreaties were spared to prevail on them to remain—Marcellus at Saint Gall's, and Marcus at Saint Martin's at Rheims—as professors. They at length consented, and such scholars as Walfrid Strabo and others, not less illustrious for learning and the cultivation of letters in the ninth century, were amongst their pupils; but the followers of the Irish Bishop became so excited, when they learned that they were to return to Scotia, (as Ireland was then designated,) without him, that it was from a window, the doors of the convent having been strongly barred, that the bishop was obliged to give them his blessing and the money-purse for the journey, to which they turned in tears, and heart-broken, at leaving their beloved Marcus and Marcellus behind. The Greeks had regular monastic communities at Rome; and we shall see from the life of Pope Hadrian II., by Gulielmus Bibliothecarius; that besides these there were crowds of devout and learned persons sojourning there, not only from Constantinople, but from Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. So long as there were any Christians in the African province, they also resorted to Rome. As for the Lombard, Frank, Gothic, and other continental nations, it would be superfluous to dwell on the proofs of their uninterrupted commerce with Rome. The English, though more remote (the Romans of old, regarding their country as the end of the earth) were, notwithstanding, so numerous that their residences swelled into a town; for it was called in their own language a “Burgh,”—a name which attaches to the quarter of Rome situated round the hospital of the Santo Spirito, to the present day.

And now that we have drifted, in this our day, into a world where the internal life seems nothing, and the external all; a period in which old times do really seem changed and old manners do really seem to have vanished for ever, and in which—

“—the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt that honor feels,
And the nations do but murmur, snarling at each other's heels,”

it is most interesting to mark now the immortal Sisters go hand in hand, and as Faith grows crescent so Hope arises. We know that, regarded from a Catholic point of view, this revival of pilgrimages through the agency of the Society of St. Vincent-de-Paul is nothing remarkable. A Catholic will tell us that when Loyola flew to Mount Montserrat, when he hung up his knightly arms by the shrine of God's Mother, and flinging himself before her altar gave out his soul in words of fire, and escaping from the world to the rocks of the mountain, and then never resting until after long and bitter penances he had departed from Spain on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Loyola had but that same faith which was exhibited by Assysium in one phase, and by De Sales in another.

Thus the Catholic believes and thus his Church has ever taught, and this revival of pilgrimages, with its first and second-class prices, ludicrous as is at first the impression produced by the terms, is but the adoption of the customs of an age, the

—"Foremost in the files of Time,

and a carrying out the pious practises of those centuries in the very rear of the Christian era, when religion had least the taint of human nature, and when faith was freshest from the bosom of the Almighty.

In the *More's Catholics*, and numerous works written by Catholic thinkers, we find records of the great value placed by the church upon pilgrimages.

The blessed John of the Cross distinguishes three kinds of holy places, that is, places where God is accustomed to excite the will to devotion. The first are certain spots rendered agreeable by the extensiveness and variety of the view, by the verdure of trees and plants, by solitude and silence. The end in employing such places is to elevate the heart to God. Almost every Christian city, and even village, was adorned and consoled by some place of this kind, on which a Calvary was erected, where devout persons went at all times to pray; and where, at intervals, as on the festivals of the holy cross in May and in September, the whole population would assemble then in peaceful pilgrimage, to assist at the divine offices celebrated in an adjoining chapel, and to hear some man of God discourse upon the love of Jesus. Such was the Mount Valerien near the city of Paris, where hermits had resided since the eleventh century, whose sweet solitude even kings protected, for in the year 1633 there was a royal decree forbidding any one to keep a hostelry upon that mountain nearer than the village of

Surène.* In the house of the missionaries on the summit, it was the custom to admit laymen who desired to make retreats. The Cardinal de Noailles came there every year for that purpose, and the Cardinal Boromeo used in like manner to retire to the Calvary on Monte Varale, where were represented the mysteries of the Passion. Here were fields of roses, which embalmed the air with their sweet fragrance; and when the multitude assembled, such peace and joy beamed from every countenance, that one might have thought that the reign of universal order was already come. One of the first acts of the sophists who wrought the French Revolution, was to throw down the crosses and desecrate the sanctuary, that all men might know them by their fruits. The second kind, continues the Blessed John, are particular places, whether solitary or not, in which God is known to have had extraordinary intercourse with just men, thither sending his winged messengers on errands of supernal grace, so that these persons remain ever after attached to them, though it is not the place but the soul which draws down the grace of God. Thus Abraham raised an altar on the spot where God had appeared to him; and in passing by it on his return from Egypt, he again worshipped there; and Jacob also made an altar of stone in the place where the Lord appeared to him. Such are the famous church of the Portiuncula and the seraphic mountain of Alvernia in Italy, exhibiting those wondrously split rocks, which a pious tradition ascribes to the earthquake at the death of Christ, and clothed with that deep and solemn wood, which so often beheld the sacred wandering and heard the infinite sighs of the fervent servants of God, Francis and Anthony, where the former, while praying at day-break on its rocky side, received the stigmata which his limbs two years carried. Such, too, is that high mountain called Cruachan Ailge, in Ireland, so memorable for having been the place where St. Patrick spent a Lent in great abstinence and solitary meditation. The places where hermits had lived or where holy men used to preach, were often called ever afterwards the holy place. Thus, in the diocese of Paris, there is a lieu-saint, so called from St. Quentin having lived there a recluse. There is another lieu-saint in the diocese of Coutances near Valogne, where holy solitaries lived under the first race of kings. In Germany there is Heiligenstad, where

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, Tom. VII. 129.

Dagobert I. had a vision of saints.* That tower of Ader, where St. Jerome says the angel appeared to the shepherds that were watching their flocks by night would be a place of the same order. The third kind of places are those which God has destined, by an especial choice, for his service. Such were Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb.† The Carmelite friar Nicholas, who describes his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the year 1486, visited these holy mountains, to which he could only travel by night, through the midst of horrible deserts. Arriving at length within view of the convent of St. Catherine, he says that every one wept for joy. The monks received them with great charity, but the pilgrims were only disposed for prayer. After mass matins were sung, after which every one retired to rest for the remainder of the day. The pilgrims disposed themselves to visit the holy places of the mountain by confession and devout prayer. On Mount Sinai and Mount Horeb, he says, there were many holy chapels to honor the spots which are consecrated by events of the sacred history. He describes his ascent and the views from the summit, and no books of modern travels will convey the same impression of reality as this holy man's simple relation. In few words he makes you behold the two mountains of Sinai and Horeb, and the holy places, and the dreadful wilderness, and the Red Sea with its desert islands and the horrible mountains of Thebaid.‡ The moderns have lost the idea of holy places, and are often disposed to condemn and ridicule those who have retained it. Had they been with Moses upon Horeb, they would have imagined some figure that would dispense their making bare the feet. Let us pause a moment, therefore, to hear the sentiments of men in ages of faith respecting the origin and influence of that idea. In the first place, they needed not the discourse of Milton to teach them as a general precept,

———"that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent, or therein dwell."§

This was a Catholic maxim, which he had gathered, as many

* Lebenf, Tom. XIII. 188.

† B. John of the Cross, ascent of Mount Carmel, Lib. III. c. 41.

‡ Le grant voyage à Hierusalem, Paris, 1517.

§ Paradise Lost, XI.

things besides, from the writing of the olden time. St. Bernard had said, "Let no one flatter or congratulate himself respecting a place, because it is said, this place is holy, "*non enim locus homines, sed homines locum sanctificant*;" to which words the pilgrim brother Nicholas alludes, saying, "*Le canon dit, l'homme fait le saint lieu, et non le lieu fait la sainte personne.*"* "Neither do holy places," says Walafrid Strabo, abbot of Fulda, "profit those who lay aside holiness, nor do horrid places injure those who are protected by the grace of God. The angels fell in heaven, whereas Moses was preserved in the waters; Daniel among the lions, and the three children in the fire."† St. Peter the venerable, abbot of Cluni, writing to the monks of Mount Thabor, exhorting them to be especially devout and fervent, from the consideration, not only of their being Christians and monks, but also because they inhabit a holy place, desires them to remember well that a holy place can never save them.‡ "As for these places of pilgrimage, and the extraordinary graces which are vouchsafed to those who visit them," says the blessed John of the Cross, "the reason of their existence is to give occasion for more ardent fervour and opportunity for men to awaken their piety. It is for this end that miracles were wrought in those places where the faithful assemble to offer up their vows to heaven, in sight of the sacred images. Their faith in God, their confidence in his goodness, their singular devotion for the saints whom these celebrated images represent, and their continual prayers sustained by the intercession of the blessed, obtain from God these extraordinary prodigies, of which the whole glory returns to the Creator. We find that these operations generally occur in places where the painting or image is some simple and common work, and where the place itself is retired and solitary, far from the haunts of men, where simplicity and faith alone are favoured, where the length and difficulty of the journey may prove the devotion of the heart, and where the solitude of the place itself may deliver the pilgrims from the noise of the world, and favour their devotion as when our Lord withdrew to deserts and to mountains for his prayer."§ The zeal with which such places were visited

* *Le grant voyage à Hierusalem*, f. CVIII

† *De rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. XIII.

‡ *Epist. Lib. II. 44.*

§ *Ascent of Mount Carmel*, Lib. III. c. 35.

by the early Christians may be learned from St. Augustin, where he says, "Brethren, recall to mind how, on any festival of the martyrs, when any holy place is named for any certain day, the crowds flow in together, to celebrate the solemnity. How they excite one another; how they encourage one another, and say, Let us go; let us go; and when it is asked, whither? they reply to such a place, to such a holy place; they talk together, and as if catching fire from one another, they kindle into one flame, which impels them to that holy place which saintly meditation points out to them. Such is the holy love which makes men visit temporal places of sanctity. What then ought to be their ardour in hastening to heaven."* If men would only observe what passes within themselves with regard to human things, they might learn to understand the principle of devotion to holy places, with regard to God; for instance, they esteem one chapter of a favourite book more highly than the rest, because they remember having read it in presence of a friend who is now absent. If they have executed any work of art while conversing with him, they prize it more than all others on that account. What intense and subtle feeling connects itself with the most trifling circumstance which has any relation to the earthly affections of the heart; and so it is with those who love God in his saints. Their habits, the staff they used to bear, the chamber they used to inhabit, the rock on which they used to pray, the well from which they drank, the sepulchre where they repose, become precious, and venerable, and holy.

From St. Gregory of Tours we can learn the usual mode in which such places were visited, for he says, "On one occasion as I was going about the city of Lyons to visit the holy places, the man who walked before us coming to the crypt of the blessed Helius, invited us to pray, saying, because a great priest rests in this place."† Cold ungrateful men may argue or condemn, but reason will admit the wisdom of a devotion which is founded in the deepest principles of our nature. We ask why are men so undoubting and resolute to admit an excuse for omitting the memory of God; why so backward and forbidding, so full of scepticism and difficulties, when an occasion is offered of invoking him? "Never," writes a friend, "can I lose

* Tractat. in Ps. cxxi.

† De gloria Confessorum, 62.

the remembrance of that evening of sweet peace, when with the holy monks of Vallambrosa I went the round of all their blessed spots, sanctified by the wondrous life and blissful death of the ancient eremites of that cloister, when the narrow cell which had sheltered one, the rocky bed on which another had expired, and every other revered memorial was visited with solemn litanies or hymns to Christ's blessed mother, or offering of glory for everlasting to the triune God. Thus did we ascend the mount of Paradise, when each step they invited me, thoughtless and obdurate, to turn from nature unto nature's God. To Vallombrosa one repairs with recollections that centre upon the poesy of Milton, and from it one returns with a mind refreshed, exalted, enraptured with a sense of that supernal music which can be known fully but where day endless shines." By the erection of stations in some retired spot, in the neighbourhood of every town, the church proposed to multiply places which, by the representation of our blessed Saviour's sufferings, might move the hearts of her children to greater fervour, and serve as a perpetual instruction to the ignorant; and in connection with the great historical facts and awful mysteries of religion, these affecting memorials of piety contributed to the riches which the earth was found to yield to the meek in the ages of faith. What was the idea of their institution? at Jerusalem was their original. There tradition has preserved even many circumstances of the passion, which are not related in the Gospel. The spot is shown where Mary met Jesus bearing the cross; driven away by the guards, she took another road and was found again further on, following the Saviour. It is Chateaubriand who thus speaks: "Faith is not opposed to these traditions, which show to what a degree this wonderful and sublime history has been engraven on the memory of men. Eighteen centuries passed over, persecutions without end, unceasing revolutions, ruins piled up, and still ever increasing, have not been able to efface or conceal the trace of this divine mother weeping for her son!" The Church was well aware of the impressions felt by those who visited these stations, and with her constant tender solicitude she endeavoured to provide the same for all her children. Every town and village, therefore, furnished places where, in some degree, they might be experienced by those who had a devout heart and sincere contrition. There after the business of the day was over, when the Angelus had tolled, and the hour came when nature

makes that awful pause and inclines the soul to meditation, the pious youth or holy matron would steal softly from the crowd and repair thither, to shed the sweet undiscovered tear on the Mount of Olives, on the spot where Pilate cried *Ecce Homo* ! on the place where our Saviour sank under the cross, on that where he said unto the women. Weep not for me, and so on the rest. At Rome these were represented in the Colosseum, within that very inclosure where such multitudes of martyrs had followed Christ to the bitterness of his passion. On certain days the clergy, followed by a devout multitude, visited these places in procession, sung the litany, recited prayers, and delivered a short instruction. Nor was this all. Innumerable crosses of stone or wood were erected by the public ways, in the heart of forests and amidst the wildest scenes of nature, on bridges, which heard amidst the eternal murmur of the streams, the chaunt of nocturns in the night, and on the craggy summit of islands, that lay far in the melancholy sea ; that no place might be left without the symbol of human redemption, and the memorial of the passion of Jesus. Descending from the mountain of St. Bernard, under the fort of Bard, in a spot which seems made by nature herself for the destruction of an army, and where modern art now vies with her in appalling frowns, with what delightful surprise does one discover the peaceful images of heaven's mercy, the Madonna and the Cross!

These are the Catholic views of Pilgrimages ; they were opinions always held, and they are now held as ardently as ever. The church is still what she was before new creeds had arisen, and though times have changed, and men have changed, the faith which was old when dynasties were young is still unchanged, but ready to accept the fashions of this age in carrying out those pious customs of the older time ; and thus she now, as ever, avails herself of every phase of social life by which the interests of her Divine Founder can be subverted.

The Catholic Church wisely turns every bent of the human mind to the service of God. Thus it is that active charity has its home amongst the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy ; thus it is that in another branch it is found amongst the Béguines ; thus it is that he who fears to take upon him the great office of Priest may become the instructor of youth amongst the Christian Brothers ; thus it is that Angela of Brescia, mourning over the loss of her dead sister, for the love

of that sister's memory becomes the instructress of young girls; imitated by Françoise de Saintonge, her work goes on, and from the garret of Dijon, with its five poor girl scholars, springs up the noble Order of Ursulines, who are to women as the Jesuits to men, the best instructors in all that makes men or women what God intended they should be, his servants in their own peculiar spheres. Truly the Catholic Church does turn each bent of mind to the service of God; and in Angela and in Ignatius, in Dominick and in Francis Xavier, in Vincent de Paul and in Philip Neri, in every order by which she gains servants for God and soldiers for his Church, the abiding, ruling spirit of Catholicity is, to secure volunteers for each particular branch of the Church militant, ever combining what is best in the natures of men and women, making them thus, what God intended they should be, "the supplement to each other."

Thus it is she now deals with our customs as with our natures, and the first class and the second class pilgrims are but adapting all things to all men, she being bound to be all right things to all men. About this very Society of Saint Vincent-de-Paul, with its charitable visitings and its committees, there is the same spirit, no "fugitive and cloistered virtue" "that never sallies out and sees her adversary;" no slinking out of the race where the immortal garland is to be run for, and no dread to enter for it amidst the dust and sweat of the arena. "Spencer," says John Milton, "describing true temperance under the person of Guion, brings him in with his palmer through the cave of Mammon and the bower of earthly bliss, that he might see and know and yet abstain." So with this Society—and thus endeavouring to awaken into active faith the hearts of its members or of its friends, it organizes this Pilgrimage, and endeavours once more, without the tramp of mailed feet or the clash of armed men, to congregate around Christ's tomb united people solidarized by community of faith, sanctified by that celestial charity which comes down from God, making sacred and beautiful all hearts upon which it shines, whilst from Faith and Charity, Hope, soaring up to heaven, bears upon angels' wings the prayers of his worshippers to the throne of God.

ART. V.—ROGUES ALL? REALITY AND ROMANCE.

1. *Friends of Bohemia: or, Phases of London Life.* By E. M. Whitty, Author of "The Governing Classes." London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1857.
2. *Freida the Jongleur.* By Barbara Hemphill, Author of "Lionel Deerhurst; or Fashionable Life under the Regency," "The Priest's Niece; or, Heirship of Barnulph," &c. &c. London: Chapman and Hall, 1857.

Mr. John Dwyorts of Liverpool, railway and general contractor, was, in early life, sent out to Rio Janeiro, to act as head clerk in a commercial house. His employer dying, John married the widow who was a "rather colored woman," with a bad temper, a good property, and a habit of cursing. *Dwyorts* escaped from her to London, she followed him; he left London and settled in Liverpool. In the course of time he was able to purchase an estate in Ireland, and to still continue his extensive business, happy in the Irish exile of the shaded *Mrs. Dwyorts*, who lived upon the property in a flannel dressing wrapper and slippers, but without stockings.

This happy couple had one son, *Diego Dwyorts*, and at the period when the tale of *Friends of Bohemia* opens, this son is staying with his mother, and the father is in London, bullying *Lord Slumberton*, who is on the point of starting to take possession of a West Indian governorship, either to re-pay him a sum of £29,000, or to give the hand of his daughter, *Nea Slumberton*, in marriage to young *Diego*. Neither *Diego* nor *Nea* ever had seen each other, and the match was made somewhat in the style of the celebrated one contemplated by the father of *Dina* between his daughter and the proposed "husband both gallyant and gay;" old *Dwyorts* being rendered anxious for the match, because *Nea* would sooner or later become entitled to £100,000, which we must all admit to be a very large fortune indeed.

Lord Slumberton consents, *Nea* is willing, *Diego* has broken his arm, and cannot reach England, and so the whole party leave England, and one dark evening they arrived at the Irish estate. *Diego* and *Nea* are wedded that same night, and Mr. Whitty tells us all about it in two chapters which he very suggestively calls, *Forced Orange Blossoms*, and a *Wedding-Ring Too Small*.

Diego was unwilling to marry so hastily, and this the father attributed to conventional ideas about courtship, but in reality it arose from the fact that he was already married to *Therese Desprez*, "the daughter of a French fiddler, by a German milliner." She was small and pretty, she could sing, was well taught in her art, and reminds us of Piccolomini, and Anna Thillon, with a dash of Dejazet and *Mignon*, as one might expect them to appear after having spent six months with Lola Montes.

Therese comes to England, finds out *Diego*; he tells his wife about it, she escapes from him to some maiden relations; an heir to the £100,000, is discovered; old *Dwyorts* fails, *Diego* commits forgery, is detected by the impression left on pieces of blotting paper, is accused by the man on whom he has committed the forgery, fights a duel with him in Boulogne, shoots him, comes home, is shot by *Therese*, who is forced by terror of discovery to marry his valet, who makes her support him by singing, and after all it appears *Diego* had never been married to *Therese* as the officiating clergyman was a scamp who had assumed the character of a priest (the marriage took place in Germany), and who is accused of having murdered *Diego*, and is tried for the offence, and acquitted, the suggestion of suicide having been adroitly thrown up to the jury.

There is a peculiar air of romance about the trial, the wife of the presiding judge having seduced by the prisoner when he was employed as shopman in a fashionable jeweller's. He detected her in the act of stealing a trinket, he used this knowledge to gain a mastery over her mind; her husband is a barrister in extensive business; the shopman urges his love, and his power of concealing the fact of the stealing, a real *To Oblige Benson* is played, and the result is—twins.

Other characters are introduced but not of the slightest importance in developing the action, and we have too stories brought in in that style for the adoption of which, in *Joseph Andrews*, and in *Tom Jones*, Fielding is so much and so justly reprehended by Sir Walter, but we must admit that they are interesting, even whilst they interrupt the free flow of the narrative. The narrative is, however, very irregular, Mr. Whitty aims rather at amusing in the style of a "Gossiping Concert," or in recording his opinions after the manner of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ*.

We have the London *Dwyorts*, at the head of which is an old

foundery proprietor; and we have his family split up into sections, and quarrelling as only a family so split can. Then we have *Bellars*, an Irishman, sold out in the Incumbered Estates' Court, and now a literary man about town; *Graffs* and *Fassell* literary men, *Jack Wortley*, formerly in old *Dwyort's* foundery, then of Australia, then of Park Lane, having made a fortune by unknown means in the colonies, and who is a manly, sensible fellow with a good deal of *Tittlebat-Titmouse* about him, and who is shot in a duel by *Diego* for having convicted him of forgery; and then we have *Kees*, *Diego's* valet, afterwards married to *Therese*, who is a very great rascal; and then we have *Lady Beaming*, an Irishwoman, twice a widow, and married at last to *Bellars*. We have two old ladies, the *Misses Holson*, one all piety and the other all science, and we have, finally, *Mary Daser* and *Saxon Wornton*.

The reader has thus an outline of the characters of *Friends of Bohemia*, and we shall presently do Mr. Whitty full justice, by inserting what we may call his word portraits, in his own strong, and energetic, and eloquent language.

These two books at the head of this paper, exhibit two most remarkable phases in the literature of this age. Mrs. Hemphill, with great genius, an eloquent style, and an agreeable subject pleases whilst she invents the scenes of a life which never was; Mr. Whitty, with genius, with a brilliant style, and a powerful battery of sarcastic irony does not please, even whilst he *makes* us read his photographs of the life which is; and Mr. Whitty's two volumes taken together are thorough proofs of how truly Byron writes in that alcoran of all Bohemians, the *Don*:—

"Tis strange,—but true; for truth is always strange;

Stranger than fiction: if it could be told,

How much would novels gain by the exchange!

How differently the world would men behold!

How oft would vice and virtue places change!

The new world would be nothing to the old,

If some Columbus of the moral seas

Would show mankind their souls' antipodes."

But will showing us our souls' antipodes please us? Ought it to please? Mr. Whitty contends that we have, so to speak, two souls, an inner and an outer; and it is the inner, the antipodes of the outer, which he exhibits with all its

weaknesses, its littlenesses, and its loathsomenesses, its falsities, its vices and its shames, until the reader would, if he could, throw down the volume half in horror, half in disgust, with some such sentiments as arise whilst recoiling from Swift's lines on a *Beautiful Young Nymph going to Bed* or from *The Lady's Dressing Room*. We have written that the reader would, if he could, throw down the volume, but he cannot, and herein it is that we find so much cause for regret in the fact that Mr. Whitty has become a psychological morbid anatomist. As to story, the book has none; as to grouping of character, Mr. Whitty does not even attempt it; as for moral—but of that we shall write presently—but the characters, they are as unconnected as the portraits in a photographer's show frame, yet they are, to the back-bone, real men and woman, iron likenesses it may be, but still all the stronger when faithful as are these.

Why are they faithful, and yet disagreeable? because Mr. Whitty has desecrated his genius, he has made faithful, most faithful, portraits of a class, and leads his readers to suppose that this class represents the world, if the world were only honest enough to admit that it would be as these, if it dared. Now heaven forbid that all the world should be as the world of Bohemia. God forbid that all men should forget marriage vows when made; God forbid that marriage, as an institution, should be cast aside as a dream even though voluntary trial engagements, on liking, might be more pleasing to the Friends of Bohemia. According to Mr. Whitty there is neither honor amongst men, nor chastity amongst women, if men and women could only show their hearts, and become pre-adamites in mind.

Mr. Whitty knows, no man knows it better, that this is not true. He knows, and we know, that he has seen suffering endured for virtue's sake that would in old days have made men shout *A Heroine*, and women cry in bated accents, *A Saint*. And yet knowing this, knowing it thoroughly and throughly, he writes of women and of marriage in just such a tone as we might expect from the offspring (hermaphrodite) of Rousseau, and Aurora Dudevant, and whose French class book was *De Faublas*, and Ovid for a horn book.

But it will be said, we have praised these books of Mr. Whitty's highly and that this is harsh criticism. So we have praised the books (the genius of the writer) highly, and so

this is harsh criticism but applied to the mistaken moral. Mr. Whitty may say, look at Bulwer Lytton—look at *Ernest Maltravers*; so we do look at them, but will any man tell us that the worn out moral fallacies of Lytton are to be imitated or even appealed to by a man of Mr. Whitty's genius? We believe that Mr. Whitty honestly meant to write truth, as far as he knew it, *of a certain class*, not as far as he really knew it, and thus he has given us the opinions of a section as the opinions of the whole, and has argued from particulars to generals.

When we first read these volumes we read them from title page to finis, and read on without a stop or stay. We read, so attentive to the plot and story, such as they are, that we never thought of criticism, and it was only on a second careful perusal that we discovered why Mr. Whitty has written these books in a tone which has compelled us to express a dissent so strong, and so frequently reiterated. We do not deny that Mr. Whitty writes honestly, as he believes; and we are sure that he lays aside all claim to the slightest intention of writing with a moral in view, save such a moral as that of Juvenal, the showing of vices and follies as they are, and though the exhibition ought to deter, yet it may fascinate.

If we had any doubts on this point they are all removed, principally removed by a passage in the first volume, where at page 179 *Roper* says, "WE MEN, WANT MEN'S BOOKS. NOBODY DARE WRITE A MAN'S BOOK—A NOVEL, OR A POEM, OR A MEMOIR. WHEN A FELLOW WRITES, HE CONSIDERS WHAT CAN GO INTO A FAMILY—WHAT VIRGIN SISTERS CAN READ. SO, BECAUSE OUR VIRGIN SISTERS ARE IDIOTS, WE GET IDIOTIC BOOKS!"

Proceeding to write such a book, Mr. Whitty squanders his genius in the composing a novel, "A MAN'S BOOK," the hero of which is a swindler, the men of which are the raff and ruck of a bad cast of men about town, and the most attractive women of which are, to speak gently, and in a tone suited to "families," and "virgin sisters," demi-reps.

To one who, like ourselves, is an observer of the effects of popular authors upon the minds of those who aspire to become popular authors, it is interesting to mark the impress of Tennyson on young poets and of Thackeray upon prose writers of fiction. Mr. Whitty confesses an admiration of Thackeray; we need no such acknowledgement, it is patent and evident in

the entire work before us. Thackeray paints men as they are, so does Mr. Whitty; the first is, however, a painter. Mr. Whitty casts them in iron, hard, cold, and yet faithful—as we say in Ireland, “an ugly likeness.” Thackeray makes us see his men as they act, Mr. Whitty makes us see his men as they think; take for example the following from the chapter called “Sclavonic History,” in *Friends of Bohemia* :—

“It is to me a profound puzzle how the country stands such an aristocracy: rotten to the heart! Look at Lord Livard, whose case came out the other day—implicated in a Newgate calendar style of business, charged with something like murder, conspiracy, fraud—the leading journal actually putting it to the House of Lords whether they would re-admit such a man to take his place there. Well, is he down?—Not a bit of it. I watched all this season, and he was received all the better—ten times better—by our women. Never was so successful: caused two separations and broke off several matches, though he is bald, and sixty by Burke.

“Mon Dieu!”

“Talk of the profligacy of the Regency, ours or the French; why, we who are in the secret, know that ours is as bad as ever it could be. The fact is, we live as much in Paris as in London, and have got the vicious peculiarities of two wealthy capitals. Fellows talk in the papers of the low morals in politics—confidence lost in public men, electoral corruption—dead principles, confused parties, collusions, and connivances. But all that is just the consequence, the reflection, of the private lives and characters of the aristocracy—and the aristocracy includes the wealthy of all sorts.”

“But nobody minds,” said Crowe. “The Peer considers his Banker a rogue, and the Banker returns the compliment. We know that our grocer adulterates his goods—that our wine-merchant deludes us—that our tailor overcharges—but we go on: and when we give an order they never omit to calculate the great probability that we shall never pay. Sensible fellows! It’s an awful world.”

“I should have thought,” said Lady Beaming, “that the example our Queen sets, would have made the aristocracy rather declare for goodness, and that sort of thing.”

“Why, our court, you see,” said Roper, “is very negative. It is exclusive and self-contained. Nobody knows what it implies in politics. It does not set a mode or a fashion: it is without distinct style. Its etiquette is its own—it does not affect the general manners of the nobility. Well, then, though it is accomplished, it has no connection, personal or otherwise, with literature. In art, it has no school. It asks Landseer to dinner; but dogs and horses are going down in art. Dead game, on canvass, is a little too high for good taste.”

“Well, but the Queen doesn’t have improper characters at court?” asked Therese. “An actress that I am acquainted with—very popular, indeed—was complaining that she could not get to the Windsor Theatricals because Charles, Lord Kean, found out she had a little baby at nurse at Margate.”

"Pooh! the Queen is a sensible woman; she knows that she must affect a good deal of ignorance. Who has she more constantly at her dinner-table than Lord and Lady Oldlove? Well, do you suppose the Queen hasn't heard what every body may be said to know—that that couple were only married four or five years ago; but that the children of Lady Oldlove, born in the former marriage and now about in society, are so distinctly the image of Lord Oldlove, that the most ludicrous blunders have been made about them. The Queen does not encourage any lapse from virtue and decorum in her great subjects, and she may even be said to discourage the bad. If a Blessington or a Guiccioli turned saints as their hair fell off, she would not invite them to a party, and would not let them get at a drawing-room. If she hears of a Countess of Varius, whose viciousness is carried to insanity, she takes care to have her kept off, before or after, a divorce. But what can she do if she finds an able man conquering his way into her cabinet; whose wife has been an actress, and an actress in days when babies at Margate were not a crime in an artist:—is she to cultivate the cabinet minister, and cut the wife? Not a bit of it. Does she avoid an opera because the principal Soprano lives with the principal Tenor in an unhallowed but pleasant manner? No! it's all cant. The Queen is to be revered, and is revered; but she's in a political position, and it's not her business to do more than live as an example to Christian women."

This passage will show at once the whole spirit of the book. In fact Mr. Whitty has taken for his motto, Whatever is is Wrong; and doubtless much of what he writes is true, but what use in telling it in the cold bantering tone of a clever roué. He makes *Roper* say, "by jove I'd like to set the fashion of confessing myself a scamp," but has he, as an author, the right to inflict *Roper's* scampishness on "families" and "virgin sisters."

We do not want Mr. Whitty to write like Mrs. Ellis; we do not wish for novels written with a "moral purpose" and we prefer *Pendennis* to the *Women of England*, and we like *Friends of Bohemia* much better than *Celebs in search of a wife*, and although we cannot quite agree with *Mrs Adams* that "it is blasphemy to talk scripture out of church," yet we do think it not exactly in place in a novel; but surely it does not follow that its precepts are to be ignored, and this ignoring every thing rendering life sacred is the main error of Mr. Whitty's volumes.

We know from Sydney Smith that there used to be in Paris under the ancient régime, a few women of brilliant talents, who violated all the common duties of life, and gave very pleasant little suppers. A French woman seems almost always to have wanted the flavor of prohibition, as a necessary condiment to human life. The provided husband was rejected

and the forbidden husband introduced in ambiguous light through posterns and secret partitions. It was not the union to one man that was objected to, for they dedicated themselves with a constancy which the most household and parturient woman in England could not exceed—but the thing wanted was the wrong man, the gentleman without the ring—the master unsworn to at the altar, the person unconsecrated by priests—

“Oh! let me taste the unexcis’d by kings.”

We exactly describe the chief women of *Friends of Bohemia* and in fact the whole book, with its men and women, reminds us strongly of the *Mémoires de Madame D’Epinay*.

It is in his painting of women that Mr. Whitty’s chief weakness displays itself. Demi-rep number one is called *Therese*. You can meet *Therese* any night you please at the Hay Market, or in Paris if you are known at the theatres; she smokes, drinks, sings, plays, and breaks all the Ten Commandments, habitually.

Demi-rep number two is called *Lady Beaming*, a widow in the style of the *Duchess of Fitz-Paulke*; and demi-rep number one, and demi-rep number two appear to have adopted the manners of Harriet Wilson, and to have learned morality and sentiment from *La Dame aux Camelias*.

“As to the ballet,” said *Therese*, “I wonder women can be found to perform so nude: bah, abominable!”

Lady Beaming had a theory about that. “It’s all custom. It does not follow that they are immodest because they show their legs. Fine ladies show more of their shoulders and bosoms; and, as a custom, without immodesty. In the East, the women do not show their faces; in Europe, the legs are hidden off the stage; the ballet girl may be as pure the icicle that hangs on Dian’s temple: for the stage has its own rules, too. I knew a beautiful girl at Rome who sat as a model to artists, for hours and hours, nude; she had been brought up to it; saw no wrong; felt no shame; and inspired all with respect.”

“Bravo!” cried Roper.

“Then, there’s no such thing as female modesty?” inquired Bellars.

“The modesty is not so much, perhaps, in the *dansseuse*, as in the ladies who look on, and who know that the attraction to the men is the public exhibition of what is concealed in private.” This was *Therese*’s suggestion.

“Ah! we bring up our women to be hard and bold,” said Roper. “This morning I visited my sister, who has grown-up daughters, and there they were in the breakfast room, with the morning papers left behind by Papa; and yet the papers this morning were full, as you all know, of a revolting crim. con. case.”

Mrs. Jameson, writing in her *Common Place Book*, of Balzac's genius declares,—“His laurels are steeped in the tears of women,—every truth he tells has been wrung in tortures from some woman's heart:” it is a bitter criticism, but true enough, yet we do not find Balzac so painful as Mr. Whitty. There may be good men in the world, there may be virtuous women, there may be women and men who look on marriage as a sacred institution, so far as we learn from Balzac; but all Mr. Whitty's men and women make us fancy that the women of life are fools or devils, that all the men of life are undetected scoundrels, adding the practices of John Sadleir to the ruffianism of William Palmer, and taking as their exemplar in morality, no less accomplished a villain than *Tom Jones*.

“Je n'ay pas plus fait mon livre, que mon livre m' afaict,—livre consubstantiel à son auteur,” says Montaigne. We do not believe that Mr. Whitty and his book are “consubstantial,” but he has no right to compose such a book. There are some things better left untold; many things better left unseen, and we believe that society is better with “virgin sisters” even though to keep them it may lose “men's book's.” We know perfectly well that such stuff as Dickens has lately written, and which, from old associations of pleasure the public have bought, is quite enough to justify Mr. Whitty's sneer at books written for families and “virgin sisters,” but surely he should not try to make a jest of all which the world has agreed to consider advantageous to its happiness, and useful in securing its peace, leaving all religious feelings out of the question. We do not contend that all married people should lead, or can expect to lead, *Baucis and Philemon* lives: the dream of the lover will, in spite of everything, petrify into the reality of the husband. The swell of crinoline and the classic grace of bandoline are sadly dispelled by the limp of morning muslins and the hard twist of curl papers. The long, long evenings after the honey-moon are in awful contrast to the joyous evenings of courtship—the graces of the maiden fade away in the less guarded actions of the wife, and thus we all feel, as Fenton sings in *The Platonic Spell*—

“These and the rest you doated on,
Are nauseous and insipid grown,
The spell dissolves, the cloud is gone,
And Saccharissa turns to Joan.”

We have always thought that when Ovid wrote the pretty story of *Æsacus* and the Nymph *Hesperia*, and in which he tells how *Hesperia* flying from *Æsacus* is bitten in the foot by the serpent, he foreshadowed the fate of men and women, just as Shakspeare, in *Venus and Adonis*, foreshadows the fate of women and men; and if the reader will only consider these poems as allegories, and will substitute minds for bodies, passion for action, the whole scheme or mystery will be before him.

"Love?—I will tell thee what it is to love!
It is to build with human thoughts a shrine
Where Hope sits brooding like a beauteous dove;
Where Time seems young, and life a thing divine.
All tastes, all pleasures, all desires combine
To consecrate this sanctuary of bliss,
Above, the stars in shroudless beauty shine;
Around, the streams their flowery margins kiss;
And if there's heaven on earth, that heaven is surely this!"

Yes, this is love the steadfast and the true,
The immortal glory which hath never set;
The best, the brightest boon the heart e'er knew;
Of all life's sweets the very sweetest yet!
Oh! who but can recall the eve they met
To breathe, in some green walk, their first young vow,
While summer flowers with moonlight dew were wet,
And winds sigh'd soft around the mountain's brow,
And all was rapture then which is but memory now!"

So sung Charles Swain, and so once thought we, so think we now, though the "shrine" has become battered, and the "dove" has moulted. When we object to Mr. Whitty's treatment of love and marriage, we object to it not as a dreaming lover but as one over whom this "small-pox of the mind" has passed, and who knows that from reason and duty come pleasures more lasting than those that spring from the insane maundering of a lover's passion.

When we first loved our present wife, Mrs. Lyttleton Coke O'Shaughnessy, we loved Werterishly, madly. We talked away the hours, and time flew too fast, and we lived only for love, and, as Buckstone says, in *Only a Halfpenny*, "the object we adored"—the laughing Irish eyes of Aurora Mullowney. We thought that all joy was centered in Aurora's smile, and that the soul of music was shed in the cadenced tones of her dear soft southern brogue; and as we gazed through the long eye lashes all but resting on the cheek that dimpled, in fun, we saw charming portraits of ourself reflected in the bright orbs; and so we knew what Drayton, and Herrick, and Donne, and Sydney and Beaumont and Fletcher meant by lovers "making babies in each other's eyes," and which Tom Moore, "when he sported most playfully on the breast of Venus" expressed when he sung—

"Look in my eyes, my blushing fair,
Thoul't see thyself reflected there,
And as I gaze on thine I see
Two little miniatures of me.
Thus in our looks some propagation lies,
And we make babies in each other's eyes."

Well, Aurora Mullooney became ours ; we have now little Daniel O'Connell Richard Lalor Shiel O'Shaughnessy, and Joseph Napier James Whiteside Abraham Brewster O'Shaughnessy, and Thomas O'Hagan Richard Armstrong O'Shaughnessy, (all three so called with an eye to patriotism or possible attorney-generalships) to bless us, and Aurora is no longer Phillis, we are no more Corydon. We have less of selfishness, that is of egotism, than when we thought the world would be Eden if we were only married ; but we were fools ; Eve in a corset à pompadour, and Adam in patent leathers were soon disillusioned, and we became—Mr. and Mrs. Littleton Coke O'Shaughnessy.

Many and very many a Daphne and Chloe have paused in rapture when reading *Corinne*, and have read and re-read that sentiment which relates of the sapphic heroine and the spooney hero—"Ils commençaient à dire *nous*. Ah ! qu'il est touchant ce *nous* prononcé par l'amour ! Quelle déclaration il contient timidement et cependant vivement exprimée"—beautiful says Fanny Flaherty, beautiful says Mary Jane Smith, beautiful says Eliza Macgreggor ; their lovers all say beautiful, and there is a diapasoned chorus of "so true." And they are right, all are right, and the first time that men and women speak of "we," as Madame de Stael has put it, they have the rosy beaming of the

"—light that ne'er can shine again,
On life's dull stream ;"

but the "*nous*" can be as "touchant" after marriage as before it. If we loved Aurora O'Shaughnessy as demonstratively as we adored Aurora Mullany, all our friends would look upon us as a lunatic ; even Aurora herself would side with them, for, as Sam Lover says, "try the ante-nuptial talk after you're married, and see all the small change you'll get out of it."

But if we and Aurora agreed to take a Bohemian and Cassino view of marriage, how would we be the happier for it ? True, we find that we have not married Venus ; and she discovers that

we are not Apollo : she proves that nursing does not develop the lines of the figure advantageously ; and I have shown her that advancing years require expanding waist-bands. But what of all this ? Would she leave me to-morrow if she could ? Would I abandon her ? No. My neighbours, Murphy and O'Leary, and all the other people with whom I am acquainted, are all in the same position, all satisfied, if not enraptured.

But, Mr. Whitty will say, we just prove his case for him ; they *should* be all enraptured, with the particular she, and if not, and if mutually prepared for the separation, should be at liberty "to find" if they can,

"That repose which, at home, they had sigh'd for in vain."

Because this is not allowed, because the world will not adopt Mormonism, or Mahometanism, or some other species of polygamy, we are all wrong, according to *Friends of Bohemia* : because we will not openly profess the principles, we see so many pretty broughams in Hyde Park, containing pretty faces, setting off pretty bonnets, and yet the bonnets and the faces are only seen in the Parks, or at the Opera, or at Greenwich, or Richmond, and always with men who do not want to be known. It is true, very true, that all these things occur, and will always occur, but is it because of marriage ? We consider that the case resolves itself into this—Because many men are forgetful of their marriage vows marriage should be voted a bore, argal, down with the Bible, with woman's devotion, with man's honor, with all that makes family ties sacred, and up with George Sand, with the *La Dame aux Camilias*, with the *Friends of Bohemia*, and the easy virtue of the Argyll Rooms, and let us all say with Mr. Whitty :—"I RESOLVED NEVER TO MARRY. WE ARE TWO GROSS FOR THE INSTITUTION. THE MARRIAGES THAT ARE MADE IN HEAVEN ARE FULFILLED THERE."

Kotzebue says, that love between parents and children is the effect of nature, that love between brothers and sisters is the effect of circumstance, and that love between husband and wife is the work of Heaven. We forgive the monstrosities of *The Stranger*, for the sake of those truths. If love between husband and wife is the work of Heaven, surely it is not expecting too much if we hope that their loves are fulfilled not alone in Heaven, but likewise on earth. "Le temps qui fortifie les amitiés affaiblit l'amour," wrote La Bruyere, but he thought of love as only a Frenchman can think of it, to deride it or to

sensualize it: in truth these marriages which are made in Heaven, are strengthened by time, for love grows into a loving friendship where two hearts beat but as one, and high above age, and want, and pain, and sorrow, with their clouds and mists shines the light of love, and whilst men are men, and women women, every throb of the heart, every aspiration of the soul will be in unison with Tennyson's thought, proclaiming to all time, that

"Love is Love for Evermore."

We have dwelt upon this topic, because it is one on which Mr. Whitty is quite astray, and seems to have saturated his mind with French morality so thoroughly that all English feeling, and the ordinary opinions of Christians on Marriage seem to have become entirely obliterated. God knows Doctors' Commons is busy enough, and now that Mary Wollstonecraft is half forgotten, Mr. Whitty should not import the kindred fancies of Dumas Fils. In brief, we must have loves, and failures in them, "Saccharissa" will become "Joan," and thus it must be till we shall have Lady Mary Wortley Montague's septennial divorce law adopted, or until the world shall have resolved itself into a monster Argyll Rooms, or Cremorne Festival.

Would the world be better if this change did take place? we think not; we do not believe that the world would be, or could be, improved by no churches, no marriages, no respect for what the world, extra Bohemia, calls morality; to think otherwise would be to make all men hold that opinion expressed by the man in *Roderick Random*, who declares of poor *Roderick*, that "one might see with half an eye the rascal has no honesty in him by his going so regularly to Church." But Mr. Whitty wants no church; his Irish Catholic Bishop, *Emmett*, is a Rationalist, lingering about the path of Infidelity. We have heard some Catholics object to *Emmett* as an attack on Catholicity, but we do not read it thus, but as an attack on religion generally as opposed to Naturalism. *Emmett* tells *Bellars* that few wise men hope for other happiness than to secure the happiness of the "foolish mass" and to produce such happiness, "priesthoods and artists are made;" not that priest-hoods are to have their foundation in faith, but only in sentiment. *Emmett* is talking with *Bellars* and says:—

"The duty of intellect is to join in the government of mankind—by religion, literature, art: all who are thus governing are priests or artists. These are not of society: and social position is unne-

cessary to them. The great minds that founded our church, gave us the government of the world by isolating us from the world. They forbade us marriage: they sentenced us to a morality and a system; not that which we preach to the world. You cannot be a priest, in my sense. Do not—you who, still young, have got that London cynicism of old men—surmise an hypocrisy. I tell you, Brandt, that I do not believe in the mysteries with which I wield the superstitions of my people. It is enough that the Church is necessary to humanity, such as it now is: and I am of the Church, heart and intellect, her faithful son. But you are fitter for another priesthood—journalism and politics. I know you, and have compared you with other men. Where is that energy that made you the scholar? Recall it; and you will be a great man, in the great sense: you will be one of the class that governs."

"Father, intellect does not obtain success even in priesthoods. It is character. It is the men who impress themselves on other men. I am asked to dinner; but I don't get on."

"Character is conduct—caution. Burleigh was probably a naturally reserved man: but it is not difficult in a man of sense to be patient."

"You do not say that character consists in holding your tongue?"

"A good deal. Character is reliableness: convincing other men that you can be trusted. I should put it differently to an older man: to a man of your age I say—caution."

"Yes—age! Here are you, fifty or so, with all your wisdom and goodness, eloquence in the pulpit,—why are you only *now* a bishop?"

"Rome has its intrigues. There is a freemasonry in age. It is old men who decide your fate, and they do not comprehend you—are not certain that you comprehend them, if you are much different from themselves in age. But youth, now and then, has its chances."

Supposing this to be a true portrait of any Catholic Bishop; supposing any Catholic Bishop could be such a supernatural concentrated essence of donkeys as to talk thus, even in "laxity of talk," to a young, blazé, scoffing, sneering philosopher such as *Bellars*, and supposing that every Priest and Bishop, Parson and Archbishop, with all the Deans, and every Rural Dean, had all agreed to carry out *Emmett's* system of philosophic humbug, a humbug which has ruled the world for ages, and which will rule it as long as the world exists, would the publication of Mr. Whitty's opinions make the world happier or better? Scoffing at, and sneering against, the old recorded faiths, or, as *Bellars* and *Emmett* would call them, superstitions, of the world never yet did good, and never can do good. A true philosopher would try to turn the superstition to his own account, a believer would turn it to the source whence shone his own belief. When Voltaire, dying, said that God would forgive him because forgiveness was God's

trade, he spoke like a drunken Chartist cobbler, and had no possible useful end in view. When Mr Whitty makes *Bellars* and *Emmett* talk rationalism he has no useful object in view; he cannot hope to drive the Catholic Bishops into the Priests' Protection Society, or to write Paddy into reading *The Reasoner*, or to the adoption of that pleasant passport to damnation, Mormonism.

We do not, as we have already stated, intend to charge Mr. Whitty with holding the sentiments developed in his book; but we do charge him with having written that which should never have appeared. The struggle to do right is hard enough, and there is no reason for greasing the rapid wheels of Do Wrong. We have frequently heard Victor Hugo reprehended for his sketch of *Claude Frollo*, in *The Hunchback*, yet *Claude* struggles because he believes in something, and he falls at last, it is true, but he falls crushed and self-hating. *Bellars* and the other *Bohemians* fall, but they never trouble themselves about it, for they believe in nothing but self, and are, perhaps, like the French infidel who wished that he had been born a Catholic that he might have the new pleasure of a new sin by eating meat on Fridays. Poor *Claude Frollo*, with his terrible wall of inscriptions, and his

ΑΝΑΓΚΗ.

Ανυσία.

Αναγκασία.

is very unlike our Friends of Bohemia, who float away upon the tide of life, Pleasure at the prow, and Folly at the helm, Passion for skipper and Vice for super-cargo, with, for motto, no awful monosyllables from a dead language, but the living, swaggering

VIVE L'AMOUR, CIGARES ET CONIAC.

LIBIAMO.

We do not enter upon the consideration of Mr. Whitty's politics: he believes every body to be wrong; his perpetual Whatever is Wrong prevents his seeing any good in any party, and he writes of statesmen, or, if you will, statesboys, as we might suppose the London Correspondent of *The Liverpool Albion* to express himself after a night of dissipation, and very much in want of a strong blue pill.

Turning for the present from criticizing Mr. Whitty's book, let us do that which is much more agreeable, namely, the pre-

sentation of some of his wonderfully able and accurate sketches of men and things. We are the show-man, and first, reader, you have what we call

LONDON CABS AND LONDON NIGHTS.

What a resource is a cab! But what an injured race are the cabmen! They are the sailors of great cities:—sailors in the uniformity of their reckless attire, and their countenances reddened and hardened by weather exposure, and in the peculiar slang with which, using professional terms, they speak of all mundane affairs. They are sailors in their republican contempt for worldly dignities and dignitaries. As sailors have deep contempt for all who do not understand ships, cabmen despise any intellect unconcerned with horses. They are sailors in their intense acuteness and decided inclination to swindle. Yet sailors—dirty, improvident, dishonest—have a poetical position among men; and, except among shipowners and captains, Jack has the merit of a jolly dog, innocent as a puppy, prettily playful. Jarvey has no novelists, and no Dibbins; for the street is not the sea, and we miss the sixpences extorted from ourselves. When we sit in the cab, and look at the statue-like heap of old clothes on the box, steering us through the traffic of London, we feel towards him as if he were the inevitable foe—as Cape settlers regard a Kaffir—as Christians once regarded the Jew. His affecting devotion to his horse, whom he drives slowly in conviction of the risks of a rapider pace, meets with no sympathy from us: we consider the quadruped as in league with his conductor.

It must be a painful trial to the Christian heart of a Prolocutor, or other circumlocutory divine, as he drives from Convocation to the Railway station in the cab. How he nerves his manliness and his dignity for the decided encounter with the cabman at the end of the journey! For he knows the cabman, reflecting as he goes, is arranging the overcharge; and his reverence cannot love that cabman as he loves his bishop, his wife, and his other neighbours. The female sex must endure bewildered emotions in their transactions with the cabman. The cabman in this respect is like the Eastern eunuch: he has no feeling for, no pity for, weak woman. He may be a good-looking, brisk, broad-shouldered, young cabman; but did any lady ever stop to gaze as he chaffed and whipped his way along the Strand? The Jolly Young Waterman of History naturally took to the cab business when the river was given up to the steamboats; but no account is given that he ran away with any rich citizen's daughter towards the close of his career.

Yet, what a resource is the cab! "Cab, sir?"—it sounds, that hail, as if the Good Samaritan was at your service for sixpence a mile. And, on the whole, it is much better to organize Good Samaritanism so that it shall pay.

When a gentleman who has assisted in suppressing Sunday music in the Parks, retires to his couch on a Saturday night, it is, let us hope and pray, with a general notion that the Sabbath commences at about the hour at which he will be looking for his breakfast next morning. Consequently, what to him are the Sabbath desecrations

that set in at 12.1 midnight? The law and the police have closed the public-houses; and Mr. Jones is satisfied.

Yet a Sunday morning in London is a sad affair! As the light of God's day breaks, what sights are in the streets! Like the houses, which stand out in the air—free for some hours from smoke, clear, well-defined—Sin at these times is acutely visible—sharply ragged, distinctly loathsome;—well-settled sediment of a great capital—kissed by the sun like carrion. There the sinister daughter of Joy reels from coffee-house to cab: brilliant, as other beauties clothes under gas; but now bruised about the gaudy bonnet, unkempt about the robe, tainted about the face. Don't shrink from her! She is a Priestess: a Vestal that came out to watch the gas: a servant of the state, according to statesmen over their wine. And, miss, when you go to Rome, go into a certain gallery, where you will see a piece of sculpture representing Venus trampling upon Cupid—you can usefully philosophise on that. The reveller who guards her, or jeers her—and, rather than not any notice, would she have insult: such is the strange craving of the class—is battered, too; glassy, about the eye, that in the morning is to meet that of mother and sister; jaded in attire, worn out in walk—a disastrous spectacle for the centre of the universe to flame upon.

What a row is here, after greasy debauch! Blood—blood distilled with gin—is drawn: a cry, "To the Hospital!" But one cab on the rank: the horse asleep with head askant, dreaming of when a lady rode him, when a fragrant stable held him, when pastures soft to the feet and sweet to the nose were caressed by his whilom white teeth. Where is cabman? Asleep, inside; wrapped in all the voluptuous uncleanness of that many-caped coat, which, like an oyster's shell, haply shows the cabman's years. "Cab, sir? yessir:"—How glad is the gentleman who wears a shirt perfumed as he went into the opera box—now, alas! again otherwise perfumed—to get into the tent pitched on wheels, to place his curled locks in the corner, warmed by the occiput of uncombed Cabby, to sleep till he is landed at the door of his father's mansion, or his own retreat in solemn and suggestive chambers! Blessed arrival—he is friendly with Cabby! In all the meaning of the maudlin, he gives a handful of silver, and, as Cabby steadies him up-stairs, where goes his watch? Cabby drives fast by the policeman, on his way to the stables; for the policeman, solitary pacing in the now empty streets, as a young knight watching his armour, would have conversation: at these hours there being a truce between the antagonists. The policeman gazes long down the street after the hurried cab, wondering would it be worth his while to run after it, and make a charge; and behind policeman creeps out, at a favourable moment, the released lover from that respectable-looking house.

And, the while, bishops snore and statesmen sleep; and we all pay our taxes. And the cats slink home through the areas; and the birds reappear from impossible roosting-places, and begin to sing. The Lord has given us another day; and His providence is upon us. Lo! already—"Milk!" Let us arise and shave.

Next we have—

LONDON EXTERIORS.

"Do you see this stout gentleman coming along? That's Mr. Jacetick, the renowned parliamentary agent. He buys and sells England for the Whigs. He would not do it for the Tories; he's a party man. When you want to get into parliament on liberal principles, you go to Jacetick, and he says—'It will cost you £3000.' And you give him a cheque; and he lands you, if he can (and he generally does what he undertakes), on the floor of the House of Commons, not eager to take the oaths, but frightfully anxious to get to a seat. He's the broker of our national disgrace—of our English decadence. He ought to be a villain? Well, he isn't. He says, on all occasions, that it's a shameful system, and that he's sick of it, and that he wishes it done away with. What would you have? It's his business to return members, and he does return members, as 'instructed,' and by the well understood means of the day.' He's an honest man. He would scorn to go into the House of Commons himself: he *knows* it. Catch it ever attacking him, in its most frantic purity-periods: he's got half of it in his pocket, and knows a variety of things about the other half. He's for the ballot.' Why, do you think? The Christian says, 'Deliver us from temptation.' The profounder parliamentary agent says—'Render sin profitless.' His theory is, that you wouldn't give a bribe to a man if you were not sure to know in the end which way he voted. A low view of England, isn't it? Yet he does not look sad—walks proudly. See, the beggar has attacked him: a beggar can be never stand: he looks about for the policeman, and will report the policeman to Bayard—I mean Commissioner Mayne."

"Who are those over-jewelled men, driven so dangerously past in that Hansom cab?"

"Socrates and Alcibiades—two great Greeks in the city. They have promised the cabman five shillings extra to catch a train: they are off to Constantinople on some great speculation by the Dover mail. English merchants would have taken a cab in time, and been at the station a quarter of an hour too soon. But five shillings extra represents the system by which the Greeks are beating the British in every trade. The five shillings does not fall on individual shoulders; it is charged to a great Greek guild, numbering more members than Athens had citizens, and spread over Europe and reconquering the whole of the Mediterranean trade, certainly. Their secret is organization. The competitive Briton, sticking to his small individuality, and with his old-world faith in 'connections,' wonders why Plato, a Greek corn-merchant on the same office floor, can drive a mistress in a splendid mail phaeton. They work together, the Greeks. They live together, too, in London. And they are all sensualists: they all spend the money they make—and they spend it in splendid vices. They beat the wealthiest of our aristocracy out of the field among the sellers of crack wines, crack horses, crack '*femmes entretenues*.' They are 'queer fellows' even in trade; which only half our traders are; but, as a guild, they are, like our corporations, without conscience as individuals. Living in a foreign capital, where the public opinion is not their public opinion, and envied, hated, and denounced, because

of their opinions in favour of the Russian emperor's policy, they do not scruple to traffic in us, and exceed us, and humiliate us. They tried to prevent the war. But, as they couldn't, they have made more money out of it than our traders have. They supplied the army they wished to see conquered. Socrates can't read, and Alcibiades is very ugly. But Socrates is unmarried, and gets good invitations; and Alcibiades is famous for his cigars, having bought up one whole year's famous growth of Cabanas. Aspasia smokes them at his rooms."

"Who's that tall pale man the dirty little man is talking to?"

"That's Blemish, the great railway personage. The little dirty man is a lawyer's clerk, who has just served some notice of action on him. Singular career, Blemish's! When those glorious facts, railways—which advance civilization, annihilate time, and so on, and which are now all rotten concerns, a dead loss of fifty per cent. to the original proprietors; which have created in London a district of villainy—the railway engineers' district in Westminster—more really foul than Alsatia ever was; which have proved that, apart from his geographical position and faculty as a sailor, the Briton really is rather a simpleton, incapable of practicality—when railways first came up, Blemish bought a bog on a coast. Fact! Having bought the bog, he advertised that the water constituted a natural facility for the construction of docks, and that docks, and railways to the docks, advanced civilization. It was a hit. Blemish became chairman of the railway, and sold himself his own land; chairman of the docks, and sold himself his own swamps, and was rich. His character suffered, but that did not prevent him going into new speculations; and he's in everything. They are beginning to look shy at his bills; but he'll turn up all right. My belief is that he has buried his treasure, and, if he goes through Basinghall Street, will buy a province in America or Turkey.

"Blemish only cares about material pleasures. He's an M.P., and they cut him rather about the House—he has done such odd things. He doesn't care. He lounges, with his hands in his pockets, about the lobbies, and winks at you, and dines with Socrates, and is a thoroughly happy man. I have met him. I never met an abler man—pure, genuine, masterly brain. Though very unscrupulous, he is very generous. He would lie awake of a night to 'do' you out of a ten-pound note, and he would lend you £500 to-morrow. At his own parties—a great house in Langham Place, where there are no men-servants, but flocks of pretty female servants, in ribboned little French caps—he gives you wine that cost ten pounds a dozen; and he perspires with agony of apprehension when playing whist at a pound a point. His only weakness is for marrying a peeress in her own right, and he has over and over again instructed his solicitor to look out for one: age no disqualification."

"Who's that? A bishop, surely."

"The Bishop of Bay. He rises at five every morning, and is never in bed before midnight, and will go into no society. What do you think his occupation is? Getting subscriptions—every bishop has a natural tendency to get subscriptions—for a Juvenile Reforma-

tory. Arrange about the young pickpockets, and all will be right with his country, and after all these centuries the Redeemer will get attended to on the earth. But he won't stick long to that: he has a new philanthropy every year. His last was to collect ticket-of-leave men, and marry them to widows over forty years of age, and emigrate them to Australia—hoping that the counteracting influence, you understand, would induce the colony to receive them. He regrets the divisions in his church; but does not conceal his opinions, that if nobody made a row about a schism when it occurs, the schism would soon be forgotten. He is not popular with his clergy; but you bishops can't expect that. They say he knows nothing of Greek, and he says it is much more to the purpose to know the statistics of the Birmingham jail.

"Look at that humiliated object, crawling along with his bent back, showing the bones protruding so as to endanger the skin and the cotton shirt. That's a Chinaman, you see by the Tartar face; picking up a penny a day from Strand passengers who knew him in his heyday; for he's had a heyday, and was a hero of the Strand. He came over in the junk that used to be such a sight in the Thames, and when the junk was a novelty and paid, the Chinese crew lived in fine style. This was the comic man, and was quite a lion of the day with the cabmen and women. But the junk has broken up and is gone; and you see John Chinaman, who formerly had plenty of money, and spent it freely, and was barbered daily for twopence into shininess, and dressed in all the colours of Manchester and was happy, has sunk in the world. That's the usual fate of the man about town: after a year or two, you'll find them all very much in the condition of John Chinaman. There ought to be a society for decayed men about town."

"Who's that?"

"A judge. Doesn't he seem complacent? He is famous for improper adventures, and all improper stories raised in London are invariably connected with his name. But it is edifying to hear him sentence a prisoner to death. I told him so once when I met him at dinner, and he said—'Ah! touched the chords of your heart, did it?' A pleasant man. The spring assizes have told a dreadful tale of the depravity, the crime, the moral squalor, of our British population. But he has quite recovered it, you see, and has been jesting this morning, as usual, on the bench at Westminster: of course, he's very sorry; but he takes the world as he finds it. Why should not there be bells on the black cap—out of court?"

"There's the Duke of Beadleland. He lives in No. 1, Decencies Terrace. An upright, admirable man, who always wins the cattle club prizes. He has been raising his rents lately, in consequence of the extravagant conduct of the Marquis of Bumble, his eldest son, and many a hearth on his broad estates has been made sad this year. But evidently now he has had a most satisfactory interview with Mr. Coutts, and the Duchess is bringing out two daughters, the fair Ladies Laces, this next season. See, he gives that beggar a copper, and rubs the fingers of his glove together, shaking away the memento touch of the mendicant."

"Here's a man! That's Shylock, the theatrical man, who is a blessing to London. They say he is worth £100,000—and yet when I went, ten years ago, to see a friend in Cursitor-street, Shylock was a bailiff. I dare not give you an idea of what Shylock has gone through. Aspasia says she used to know him as 'an agent.' He kept 'Night-houses.' He was the proprietor of that Juridical Burlesque—the 'Wehmgericht.' He was the Longmans of unsightly literature in Diabolus-noster Row. What wasn't he? Any thing to turn a penny—the dirtier the better: it weighed more. He now provides elegant entertainments for London; lectures on Shakespeare and is partial to musical glasses, and has Wilhelmina Skeggs as a bloomer in the bar of a Strand tavern. He says that, if the bishops would put it in his hands, he'd make religion 'the popular go,' and fill the churches, and bring 'em down, sir. So he would. He offered the Censor of Plays (a Marquis!) a £50 note, and to put him on the free list, to be allowed to bring out a play of Dumas Fils. He wants to know why he isn't allowed to play Mrs. Behn's dramas. 'What we wants, shir,' he says, 'is raal life.'

"There's Mr. Crowner, a veritable London man, as well known and as much part of the metropolis as Temple Bar, a famous man in London, and outside London unknown. For we have our parish heroes, just as Little Peddlington has. Crowner has lately got up a Commission of Chemists, and has proved that all our tradesmen adulterate all their goods. That ought to suggest a revolution, ought it not? But it hasn't made much sensation; and Crowner hasn't been assaulted or poisoned. The fact is, we expect to be swindled in England. Our constitution, in which nothing is what it says it is, prepares us for that. We do not like what Shylock calls 'the raal thing.' A House of Commons really representing the people, and a sovereign really having power, would disgust us. When we ask for coffee, it is understood that we mean 'with a little chicory.' When we say a Briton never shall be slave, we mean that he shall never be turned black—that is all. It is a cant against the poor tradesman. The British tradesman, like the rest of us, sets to work in the spirit of the British Constitution. Ali Baba, in Britain, takes for granted, when he goes to market, that there is a great proportion of thief in each jar.

"Adulteration is self-defence. Sham begins and sham ends. The sham sovereign who has, or is supposed to have, no power, goes with sham beef-eaters and sham yeomen to open with a sham speech a sham parliament, a sham sword-bearer on one side of her, and a Lord Chancellor with sham hair on his head on the other. Peers there have a sham costume on; and some of the Peeresses have sham hips, sham heels, sham cheeks. They come and go, all there, in carriages emblazoned with sham animals, couchant and rampant over mottoes that are shams, and that nobody acts up to. The Lord Mayor's show, and his men in armour, and his barge, and his Temple Bar keys, are shams: and he's a sham, for he pretends to be a result of civil and religious liberty; while the real truth is, not that the Jews have got up to be Lord Mayors, but that the Lord Mayoralty, whom scarcely any citizen will take, has gone down to the Jews.* Our Cathedrals

* This was written in reference to the excellent Mayoralty of Mr. Salomons.

are shams: we can't get into them without paying, and we wouldn't go into them if they were costless. Our be-pewed churches of the creed of human equality are shams; our be-epitaphed churchyards are shams. Our church bells are shams; the neighbourhood uses them as dinner bells and luncheon bells. And nobody is ashamed of sham. Look into the window of that female garment warehouse. Look at the ostentatious display of 'silk hose' that are cotton to within six inches of the instep; at the bustles, and the crinolines, and the frizzes to swell the hair out. All we Bachelors get to women's toilet tables when we choose, by looking in at these windows. I've stood by the hour at this shop-door to watch women entering to purchase shams; and I never saw one lady blush yet."

Next, reader, you have

PARK LANE, LOW DRESSES, AND THE FAITH OF BOHEMIA.

MR. JOHN WORTLEY lived in a sparkling house in Park Lane.

That airy street of closely wedged whims, in which conventionality seeks to individualize itself, and where the genius of architecture seems to have enjoyed a freaky reaction, after building its uniform way up from the east. Studying Park Lane from the long walk in front of it—laid out as a torture for plebeian pedestrians, that they may be near the tantalizing rose, to get the voluptuous perfume of full-blown fashion—one gets out of that most terrible atmosphere of London—the Trite. The houses in Park Lane are houses of cards rather than of bricks. The Englishman's castle generally appears a heavy rated donjon, dreadfully crammed with dark back parlours. In Park Lane you cannot conceive any thing behind that light paste-board front but dainty drawing-rooms, gossamery and gilt boudoirs, semi-transparent statuettes, crystal lamps, velvet carpets, porcelain baths, with crisp beauties lolling, languishing, lavatory. Roast beef of Old England is surely never in these cages: can the singing-birds wear flannel petticoats?

You decline to admit the theory that the male sex may occupy these feminine mansions: they are ladies' houses. A father of a family would look as ridiculous in one of those houses, as he would in a crinoline, or playing the harp. I would as soon see a beadle as a footman there—those flaming vermin of luxury. If there are such things going on there, it is an anomaly. There may be skeletons in the houses, rattling in the east wind, and closets to hold them on each floor. *Atra cura* may be lolling against the door post, to mount after the brittle beauty when she comes down to ride her mare in the park. There may be a corporal's guard of wolves pacing in relief before the porch. I don't choose to see. What would the drama do without the "aside?"

When Actæon came upon a party of ladies with low dresses on, at a water party, he shouted—"What beautiful busts!" He was an ignorant young fool. Better bred in towns, he would have leaned over Diana as she sang *Casta Diva* at the piano, and pretended to see

nothing but her hair-bandeaux. We need our little illusions. Does it do Mr. Williams, M.P., worthy statistician that he is, any harm, that my wife believes angels are whispering to my child when the little thing smiles in its sleep? I like to believe in Park Lane; it is so pretty, so *bizarre*, so genteely gothic. I daresay Clark, Farebrother and Lye, or Asmodeus, could undeceive me. I daresay the cook could, or the footman: granting a footman. But I walk up and down; and if a lady's maid were to brandish that sad materialism, Lady Evangeline's flannel petticoat, from the second pair front, I would shut my eyes. In an age of statistics and scepticism, which always go together, let us make fast our faith somewhere. I believe in Park Lane. I believe the houses are haunted by fairies, with assumed names in the "Court Guide." If the policeman would let me, I'd hire a German band some moonlight night, and serenade them. They might be eating lobster salad, or concluding their preparations to turn into bed: what then — who thinks, during the raptures, of catching a cold under his mistress's lattice?

Every one has his Park Lane, his Dream-land, beyond the bills of mortality and the beat of Z, 99. What is gained by disbelieving in addresses not found in the Post-office Directory? Don't go to anatomical museums. Saccharissa, skinned like the martyr lady, would not be as pretty: but, nevertheless, go and purchase presents for her at Atkinson's or Rimmel's. Don't repeat too often that we must all die: her lips are not dust at present. There's a glorious landscape stretching away before you: and what if there be snakes in the grass?—step out boldly. The sanitary reformer will tell Leander that it is bad for health to sleep with Hero's head on his breast, for that they—however they bathe—breathe poison, and are killing one another. Don't attend to him, he's not poetic; or, like Sam Rogers, he's partial to the flesh-brush, and not fretting.

I don't see that the world is much wiser or much happier for facts. I think the Greek shepherd, singing under a blue sky containing to his eyes something more than gas, was happier and more reverent with his mythology, than our Socinian with his one God. I don't object to steam-engines, but I would like to keep the superstitions, too. I don't see why astronomy and astrology cannot be alike satellites of truth.

Analyze the water of the Thames, and, instead of river nymphs, you would find feculent molecules; and how much better are you off? You scorn superstitions, and you come to adulterations. You reduce every thing to realities, and you live in London or Manchester smoke. Put down barbaric pomp by all means; the Orders of the Garter and Bath, judges' wigs, beef-eaters, javelin men, the Lion and the Unicorn, heraldry, the *Honi soit*, the *Dieu et mon Droit*: but if barbarians are left behind? Don't believe that God's work, all these anguished ages, is consummated in the prosperity of the manufacture of cotton velvet by Spitalfields weavers, who starve the while. The electricity was not given merely for ordering a hurried supply of false hair, cut from Breton girls' heads for a few francs the *chevelure*, wanted for the Queen's state ball at Buckingham Palace. Professor Jones knows more than Thales did; but I still can credit

a barbarian, with pupils more or less brought up as savages, though neatly clothed. And while the energetic Anglo-Saxon is extirpating the Kaffirs, I will enjoy my fetish in Park Lane.

Faiths are onions. The Rev. Mr. Spirtgong and his flock, who revel in crimson and sulphur panoramas of eternal torments, have eaten of the same onion, and the congregation do not object to the preacher's seasoning. The Park Lane onion has its party, too. It is an eschalot, a delicate onion, fragrant rather than mordant; it is not a string of coarse stinging bulbs, but a garland of refreshing buds. Its does not bring tears to your eyes, but water to your lips. It is less a flavour than a *soupeon*.

Next we have a Hampton Courter,

Mrs. MULL.

A dreadful old woman the Honourable Mrs. Mull; toothless, tottering to eternity, but still intensely selfish, unsympathetic and with all her staggering soul in the meal that she now chewed. Drive her back fast, badly-liveried driver of the genteel fly: assuredly she is of no use outside the Pauper Palace. Her gentility is so frightfully perfected, that humanity can get nothing out of her. But don't jolt her, driver, as she slumbers uneasily on the seat, hard to her fleshless age—no, and don't smoke; the whiffs would get in between the cravices of the clattering glass window, and titillate her into activity that would inform on you with your master, dependent on genteel connection. Land her gingerly at the Pauper Palace; and oh! domestic there, take care of her. Help her up the stairs to her own cosy cell. Remove her Indian shawl, costly covering of that withered frame; take off her front, and give air to her heated scalp; exchange those easy shoes for easier slippers; let her rest on the sofa; give her refreshing Bohea; listen, maid, with deference to her cross-gossip and garrulous complaints; put her to bed, to her downy bed, in good time; mix her *negus* nicely; hush, as she doses. For, surely, God has some purpose in having such beings on the face of the earth;—and tenderness to the inscrutable. Mystically perfunctory perhaps is the Hon. Mrs. Mull.

She lived a pious life, according to the Decalogue. Well off, she repeated the eighth commandment with unction. The seventh she gave out with a clear conscience—at her age, with safety. She was quite satisfied with herself. "After all," she said, "I think the drive to Brixton did me good; I slept well after it." Besides, she had something to talk about to the other genteel pauper old ladies; and the Hon. Mrs. Mull began to get invitations to tea parties.

This photograph of *Mrs. Mull* may be compared with the washed out water-color sketch of *Mrs. Gowan* which Dickens has inflicted on us in *Little Dorrit*, and by the comparison the reader will be enabled to estimate the great ability of Mr. Whitty. *Mrs. Mull* is life-like, you see about the Court, and you never forget her; you never saw *Mrs. Gowan*, and you never saw *Little Dorrit*, nor the Sea Serpent, nor *Old*

Dorrit, nor *The Wandering Jew*, nor *John Chivery*, nor a Yahoo.

Next we have,

THE ROMAN AND THE BRITON.

"These English are a great people! What a people they would be if they understood the art of government!"

"Why, they are great colonisers."

"Yes: that they understand to be the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race—to increase and multiply. Destiny of rabbits: mission of cats! They cover the earth, and that is all. Compare them to the Romans. The English have been in India one hundred years, and, if they disappeared to-morrow, they would leave few traces of themselves. The Roman was not a man who could write perhaps—who never thought of establishing schools to teach writing; but see how he has left his mark on the earth! You can track him over the world by his roads, his aqueducts, his forums, his baths, his amphitheatres. When I was in the Ionian Islands the people were beseeching Ward to build them a lighthouse! In India, the British government extracts taxes, and imports Manchester—nothing more: they rule, they do not govern—they occupy, they do not conquer! Here at home, what a sullen people; hideously overtaxed, unamused, irreligious, without individual or national high aspiration! In Ireland—there behold the sign of English genius for government! It was the English invented slavery of the blacks—what a blunder! It was the English then invented emancipation of the blacks—what a blunder!"

"But the English constitution."

"They are a great nation in spite of it, not because of it. What institutions! The Church has no hold. The Court of Chancery is a curse. The Sovereign a domestic model. The Peers a sham. The House of Commons a club. Pauperism an institution!"

Next we have,

AMBITION—WITH THE CHILL ON.

Mrs Tiffin had her servant, the Hibernian OE, as he was called (being O'Hea), lodged in a cottage not far off, provided with a sensible steed, and kept constantly going between the convent and the not very distant city of Turin, bringing to the disconsolate widow, French, German, and English novels, as well as old standard literature of all sorts; for she had acquired a taste for reading, as the only taste she could gratify under the self-enforced circumstances. Besides the *Romans*, and the plays, and the classics of all kinds—all of which were carefully concealed, in going and coming, from the fiercely innocent ignorant abbess—there came bijoux, bonbons, dresses, laces, and the necessities of the superfluous toilette: and what with these dissipations, earnest prayers, excellent meals, and penance, birds and the beads, a flower-garden and fasts, the piano and expiation, altogether—with the society of some charming nuns, who were always eager to be told the stories of the *Romans* and of the married life of the story-teller—the three years of retreat passed with greater rapidity than those of Diocletian, Charles the Fifth, Prince Menschikoff, and other famous Potentates looked after by Dr. Doran.

Before Thackeray had become a showman, wanting only a piano to excel Henry Russell in dodges, and before he had taken to deifying Louis Napoleon and raking up the dead slanders of our great, great grandfathers to cast dirt on the memory of the Four Georges, he had many passages in his fictions worthy our most complete admiration, however much we might dissent from their tone or spirit. But brilliant and telling as these passages were, he has nothing superior to the following which we call,

WOMAN SEEN THROUGH BOHEMIAN GLASS.

There is an endless mystery between the sexes. They have, in their most educated state at least, very little notion of one another. A woman brings forth a man-child, and to her dying day never understands the man. The man who has most knowledge of men has least knowledge of women: to understand a woman needs a refined, delicate, inquisitive turn, that masculinity is seldom equal to. What ludicrous women the poets create: take Milton's Eve, for instance! What absurd men have been sketched on paper by mind-abounding women—take Mrs. Gore's for instance. Let philosophical people mention the reason: let others be content with the fact.

Men believe in the patience of women. Compliment the animal on any thing else, but not on that—it is a donkey's quality: were it her quality we should not dote on her. Her failings are those of the higher-bred animal. It is her want of patience, which is her charm and curse. Did you ever notice a woman driving a pair of ponies? It is very pretty, but very peculiar. She puts the teased things to their topmost speed. She is always whipping their dodging flanks. She is always clutching the galvanised reins. She is always looking right and left, twisting and tossing her fantastically-covered head two ways at once. She sees the mighty 'buses, and avoids them hundreds of yards before they come up. She goes ten feet too much on one side in clearing the rushing cab or whirling chariot. Again, did you ever see a woman crossing a road? What patience—that is to say, what fright! what dashing forward and diving back; and when, at a crisis, she scuds, how recklessly high does she disclose the excited hose! So in marriage. Doubtless, when well-harnessed, and the groaning char-au-banc, crunching over the mud, is full of children, she pulls steadily, the scorched collar withal. But how she skits, and scampers, and shies, and jumps at first!

Therese had character, not thought: she did—she didn't think: and was miserable. Very likely, marriage is sometimes chains of flowers. But you pluck and pull at the garland nervously, and it's soon an affair of stalks; and stalks hurt if you kick against them. But the regular chains are worn by the adept convict with comfort. The disaster in marriage is, that the sweet delusions of the coming happiness, to be caught and fondled, maintains the unsyllogistic soul in an unphilosophical state. In the condemned cell, where affairs are realized, prisoners always sleep well. And yet there are some of our statesmen complacently chattering about a new law of divorce. Bah! It is the destiny of humanity to marry and regret it; and

the law should beware the casualties that occur to those who step between man and wife in the assuaging commotion that tempers domestic bliss.

Life is a desert. Profound thought! Marriage and mirage are the same thing, differently spelt. But does it do the caravan any harm to believe in water? When you are thirsty, the next best thing to having water, is to believe that you are going to have it. Live the mirage! Live Marriage!

But it is a washy subject. Next to Single Life, marriage is the most ludicrous and the most insipid of all lives.

Once detained at a Rue de Rivoli hotel, in Paris—costly, comfortably-bedded Windsor—I was reduced to a daily analysis of the coffee-room.

There also breakfasted and dined there, with equal regularity, a young couple—newly married. They were Americans. He was of that young-planter-from-the-South complexion, which you see often at the Trafalgar, Greenwich, eating whitebait, and paying for it out of the product of black men; a low forehead, a classic nose, shining olive cheeks, cocoa-nut teeth, and round Greek chin. She was a tiny thing of flush fifteen, olive and ripe, with brown glistening ringlets on a delicious girly head. They fed there—the hungry, timid birds—because they dreaded, no doubt, the hum and stare of the cafés. This coffee-room was solitary of all but myself; and I hid myself behind one of those large yellow reprint novels that Paris appears to be principally engaged in manufacturing. Me they never thought of; they regarded the room as inhabited by themselves and the waiter. The waiter was a stern matter-of-fact man, rough with these tender, cooing Yankees, to whom he was incessantly pointing out *plats*, and from whom he was always taking incoherent orders favourable to the establishment; and, in deference to his middle-aged prejudices, they prattled low, whisperingly as the south wind, over the usual thing. How beaming they were; what dulcet endearing breath; what pretty caresses! How I used to envy that man! I hated him. He was so rich, had such youth, had such an appetite, and such a bride. Human felicity at last, I thought, to be noted down. I would rather see it daily, than in fact breakfast at the “Cardinal,” and dine at the “Trois Frères;” and I ate my bifstek, abominable, and drank my St. Jullien, corked, in sympathetic peace for a fortnight in that coffee-room—a room, but for them, simply odorous of the plentiful and palpable British breakfasts of the morning. At last we bowed to one another; smiled; good-bayed. Finally, one evening at dinner she rose and left the room without him, after a prolonged and poetic repast. She curtsied prettily in a flouncing, fluttering brown dress, that seemed a continuation of the veil of ringlets, and departed like a vision. The youth, the Apollo, brave and bright, carried his chair over to me. He winked.

“Eaten too much to-day, she has,” said he; “and now I’d like to have a liquor and smoke with you, friend. I’d like darnedly to go and see an-out-and-out *Bal* in Paris. Shall us?”

On that day I resolved never to marry. We are too gross for

the institution. The marriages that are made in heaven are fulfilled there.

There is a good deal of unpleasant truth in the following about marriage, though it is,

MARRIAGE SEEN FROM A BOHEMIAN POINT OF VISION.

It is a very common thing, an unhappy marriage. Everybody knows that, and yet everybody marries: and of course everybody is right; for in life there is only a choice of unhappinesses,—to remain single, is to be certainly miserable, as we are gregarious animals; to live in scandalous union, is to fight with the respectabilities; to take to marriage, is to try a chance of bliss—is to get certain bliss for a month or two; which, short as the period is, you are not certain of out of marriage: so everybody marries, and the experience of mankind approves of marriage, from the common-sense point of view. If ladies and gentlemen marry in a passion, insisting that they were born for one another, and do not calculate that, in a year or so, they will find it a dull business, requiring to be looked at from the common-sense point of view, is the institution responsible for their being idiotic?

Mr. and Mrs. Recton tasted perfect happiness in the first three months—it was in the Long Vacation that they were united—of their married life. They felt so good, so pure, so honest then, that they deserved that perfect happiness. It is a singularly complete answer to sentimentalists, who are ashamed of the animal part of our nature, that love is the most subtly refined, most grand, least selfish, when it is love in marriage; and that married lovers are generally in their most noble and most intellectual existence, precisely in the period when they rather rejoice at not being “all soul.” Jean Paul has remarked the error of those who mistake the love of one for the love of mankind; but, still, it is certain that our best moments of philanthropy are when we are most intensely in love with ourselves—our own second selves, *pro tem*. For the three months in which the Rectons wandered hand-in-hand through Europe, and at the end of which, opening their Bower of Bliss in a highly-respectable street, they offered their friendship to society,—were so joyous, so beautifully happy, that they were worth any amount of subsequent disasters. And the reaction was rather severe. In six months, Mrs. Recton agreed with her husband that it would be madness to neglect work: in nine months, she had ascertained that she must expect very little of his society: and in eighteen months, she was glad that his avocations at chambers left her perfectly free to occupy and amuse herself as she pleased, from breakfast-time to midnight.

Mr. Recton, on the other hand, though he did not regret his marriage, was kind to his wife; was pleased with the comfort and solidity of a home; had found out that he preferred the interest and excitement of his profession to dinner parties, or evening parties, or *fetes* of any sort; that his wife had only to talk to him of what did not greatly charm him into attention, and, generally, he was glad that her sisters and her old friends were so near her, to enable her to pass

her time pleasantly. They never had one quarrel about any slight matter: such quarrels as married people who determine to be affectionately always together so constantly have; and in their easy existence, of his prosperity, her satisfaction with that prosperity, their calm complete household, and their prevailing separation, great matters for altercation did not occur. Neither tried to rule or influence the other: they talked independently, and lived very independently; and though she sometimes sighed in envy of greater ladies, higher born and glittering in a sublimer sphere, and he, now and then, was vexed and brooded when he had to dine alone, and to have his tea brought to his little library by a servant; on the whole, neither regretted the matrimony in which they were implicated. What, then, if they were disillusioned? It was a comfortable match; and for this reason—both had become indifferent. When there is unhappiness—not merely negative, but positive and unfortunate unhappiness—it is when the one continues to love, and the other has become disgusted. Greatest unhappiness of all, it is when the indifference has become contemptuous indifference: the right sort of sensation for married life—as so few can sustain ardent, fresh, genuine love—is indifference accompanied with respect. Thus, a clever woman is often seen content with a husband who is a fool, but whose moral character is high; and of course, on the other hand, clever men cultivate idiotic wives—there is so much guarantee of goodness in a downright brainless angel.

The worst of such arrangements as those of the Rectons is, that if the wife is pretty, has been flirty before her marriage, and continues, after her marriage, in the old set, she runs great risks of damaging her moral character, and of having, in the last resort, to sacrifice her virtue to save her reputation. People never saw Mr. Rector—began to forget that there was a Mr. Rector; and though Mrs. Rector was a very good girl, so far as she knew, is it wonderful that she was sometimes tempted to forget that there was a Mr. Rector? She committed indiscretions; and she found that people saw them, and that, for the matter of their opinion, she might just as well have committed faults. A poor woman, neglected by a husband, pestered by her lover, gets into a false position, gets compromised, and the lover manages the rest, despite of her.

Mrs. Rector was a person without sufficient character to like sin as sin, or virtue as virtue: she was influenced by her education, her connections, her position, and was the victim of circumstances. She had no fault to find with her husband, except for that which, from the man's point of view, was to his and his father's honor—that his father had a somewhat ignoble trade in Northwhat; and, had her husband taken the trouble to study her and to manage her, she would have lived or died worthily enough. But she couldn't stay at home: she liked the motion, the glare, and the excitement of society. She had married sisters; and when married sisters get together they sometimes become cynical and unromantic, and talk of the abstract other sex much as men talk of women—never considering how their philosophy applies to their own womankind of wives and sisters. Mrs. Rector had not brain or heart enough to render her safe in her

freedom. Her old lovers, ineligible as husbands, clustered round her, and there was so much talk of love that she began to believe she had done a deadly wrong in marrying Rector.

Here for the present we leave the *Friends of Bohemia*, but we would Mr. Whitty had set up his tent for a time amongst the Irish Bohemians. What a world of observation the Bar and the Four Courts would open up. The seniors plotting and settling in corners who is likely to go up to heaven, and who likely thereupon to go up to that other heaven, the Bench. The juniors just wiggled, who are in training, and going in, for the Chancellorship, and who cultivate the Castle society by driving in batches of four, in a single-covered car and hired court suits, to the levee; the stuff gowmsmen of ten years standing toadying attorneys until they almost touch their wigs and say, "want a barrister, sir; do it cheap, only shop for law, sir;" the ignoring all merit save that of one man, the speaker's self. And then the judges, some, whose learning made them what they are, side by side with those who in old days were hoisted to the judgment seat, when the ermine was a disgrace, the shroud of ignorance, or the livery of bigotry. And the levee, with its mob of gentry, broken gentlemen, trading politicians, panting place men, aspiring attorneys, and the raff of the squares. And then the drawing-rooms; Mrs. Finnigan, the attorney's wife looking down on Flannagan the doctor's; and the young swells cursing the Lord Lieutenant because he stopped the champagne; and the sweet young things, talking of Kingstown, and the bands, and the free sights generally; and the clergymen toadying the bishops, and the seedy, parturient parsons' wives, full of converting the Papists by means of soup and stirabout; and then the young gentlemen who have been detailing to each other how cheaply they hired the resplendent vest and stained smalls in which they figure, just as the other sex have been telling those from whom they cannot conceal it, how well Packer of Leinster-street, or Morr-essie of South Frederick-street, cleans lace and feathers; and then the bustle of going home; Lord Pouldoody's carriage called, and Mrs. Mc'Sweeny Mulligan's covered car stopping the way; and then the servants with frowzy coats made to fit all sized men, and colored neck-ties, and baggy trousers, and uncut hair, and all with cockades in their four and ninepenny hats; and then the *Freeman* and *Saunders* in the morning, describing the dresses, whilst the milliner's man is in the hall waiting for the amount of the account; and papa is going off to pledge the

family diamonds, with the convenient relative, to raise money to meet a bill given for the outfit; and whilst the daughter is thinking of the compliments paid to her dress and figure by Snobbins, the Aid-de-Camp, Snobbins is taking a contemplative pipe, and thinking what a fool she must be not to wear a stays when she *will* dance the polka. And then the charming summer Receptions in the Lodge Gardens; the Lord Lieutenant vandyking about amongst the Wateauish groups who are making poses-plastiques of themselves. The brilliant young gentlemen in "all rounders," and the pretty young ladies in crinoline, those cruel sous jupes bouffantes, which are weapons in their tenseness, and make your shins black and blue with a whisk from the tail. We know nothing, for Whitty's book, like a Summer Reception;—a smiling Vice Roy, deputy of a deputy; bored aids; sweltering matrons; panting maidens, smothered in muslin and choaked with dust; pompous papas, hot from the courts or hospitals and waiting for a word from His Excellency; sons, all collars and cuffs and whiskers, and every body cruising for the refrigerated coffee, or gasping for, as Muldoon of the Sallynoggin Artillery calls it to Cleary of the Mullinahone Fencibles, the ice "with the dead could out of it."

Here would be a field for Mr. Whitty, a field totally unworked save by Lever, who is only capable of opening the surface unless he steals from somebody else; let us hope that Mr. Whitty will not neglect the opportunity. We meant to have kept the "diggin" for ourselves, but we are his friend, and he shall have it for his own pick-axe—"Gli amici legono la borsa con un filo di ragnatelo."

Turning now from the reality of Mr. Whitty to the romance of Mrs. Hemphill, we feel as if we had sprung from the highest summit of Magillicuddy's Reeks, with their stony facts, to float on the deep still bosom of the lake, where fancied chiefs of long ago lie sleeping.

It is refreshing to turn thus, away from the cares and turmoil of a busy world, and dwell, for even a short period, in the Eden of a romance; such is the tone and tenor of *Freida, the Jongleur*, and in this guise we mean to treat it. The scene opens towards the conclusion of the thirteenth century, when *Philip le Bel* though swaying the destinies of France, was still ruled by his brother, *Charles, Count de Valois*: both entertained a marked hostility to the Templars, in unison with many of the

crowned heads of Europe. This hostility was occasioned more by jealousy of the advancing power of the Templars, than by any feeling of morality regarding the shortcomings of the order, though unfortunately at a later period this served as a pretext for their total suppression. Our story, however, commences with a diplomatic journey of *Charles* to the *Duke of Bavaria*, where he meets and becomes enamoured of a beautiful girl, poor and dependent, though a near relative to the Duke. *Beatrice Visconti* has but just returned from a convent, where she had been educated ; and to a rare beauty of person, added the charms of a noble heart and highly cultivated mind ; her reserve of manner suited admirably with her peculiar style of beauty, her lofty stature and Juno-like bearing being in strict keeping with the dignity of her deportment. Such a combination of attractions acted as an incentive to *De Valois'* passion, and the Duke looked on this triumph of his ambition with an anxious eye. Nor was *Beatrice* herself unconscious of the proud man's regard, and aware of her inability to return it, used every effort of her gentle nature to repress his admiration. *Charles*, however, unaccustomed to refusal, and aware that both his military prowess and personal beauty, rendered him a meet companion for the first and fairest in the land, dreams not of repulse ; and without even consulting *Beatrice*, having obtained the consent of his brother through the intervention of a young priest, named *Francesco d'Esculo*, esteemed for superior talents, extensive learning, and unaffected piety ; he employs this *Esculo* to bear the glad tidings to *Beatrice*, never doubting her joyful consent. Judge then of this proud man's dismay, when informed that the lady rejects his suit, she having acknowledged in confidence, to the priest, her love for a young Templar, *Guy d'Auvergne*. The Duke's exasperation almost exceeds that of *De Valois*, though both are ignorant that an earthly rival occasions this sad rejection, for sad it proved, in the total subversion of every good quality in the mind of *Charles*, whose nature thenceforward became bold and bad. *Beatrice*, by her own desire, returns to a conventual life, for which they conceive she has a special inclination. It was during her sojourn at the convent that she met and loved *Guy d'Auvergne*: the *Prince of Dauphiny's* residence being near she spent her vacations with the daughter of that noble house, who was also a boarder in the convent. The Templar was a frequent inmate, and considered the best lance of his order, and next in power and in-

fluence to the grand master, *Peter de Beaujean*. Though not as handsome as Charles, he still gained the entire heart of *Beatrix*: *De Valois* anxious to know all of *Beatrix's* life in the convent, employs his squire, *Gaultier*, to act as spy and informer; well fitted by nature for this purpose he soon discovers her love for a Templar, and informs his master. *Gaultier* was intended for the Church, but having no vocation, on his sister marrying into the noble house of Evreux, he left the Church and became squire to *De Valois*. *Guy d'Auvergne* had an interview with *Beatrix*, and discovering the danger she had been in of been lost to him, got himself absolved from his vows and was married. On *Charles* being informed of the matter he immediately waited on *Philip* to enforce, on this plea, the suppression of the Templars.

Thirteen months have now elapsed, and the scene has changed to Palestine. *Peter Beaujean* being ill, *Guy de Auvergne* succeeds as grand master, though a perfect contrast in manner to the pure and ascetic *Peter*. It was Christmas Eve, and some of the younger and wilder spirits of the Templars have prevailed on *D'Auvergne* to admit a party of *Jongleurs* for their recreation. Tradition imparted to this wild race an ancient and noble ancestry, tracing their origin to the time of Constantine, whose desire of uprooting paganism banished them as wanderers; they still, however, retained a species of freemasonry, by which they recognised and aided each other in the most remote regions. The party entered; amongst them was *Freida*, daughter to the head or chief, a woman of amazing height, and features well out, bearing an expression at once austere and melancholy. *Freida*, who takes so prominent a position, merits a full description. Of surpassing loveliness,

She wore drawers of slight white Persian silk, of immense width, clasped round the delicate ankle by bands of elastic gold, studded with brilliants and emeralds of great price; over these was thrown a dress of Chios gauze, shading the bosom just swelling into womanhood. A robe of azure Damascus silk was confined to the waist by a zone of gold sparkling with jewels: and *Freida* wore bracelets of the same. A circle of orient pearl in the form of a diadem ornamented the head; from which flowed, nearly to the feet, a profusion of fair waving hair, unconfined by braiding or ornament. This fantastic and splendid dress in some degree resembled that at the period worn by the *Almaghs* of Egypt, only that of the latter too fully displayed the charms of the wearer; whereas *Freida's* was so arranged, that *Beatrix*, the Christian maid, need not have blushed

to have worn it before the stern Brothers of St. Bruno, who might have condemned its vanity and extravagance, but not its want of virgin delicacy.

We are, however, ashamed to admit that *D'Auvergne*, forgetful of his vows to *Beatrice* as he had been heretofore of his vows to his Order, falls desperately in love with *Freida*, and she returns his passion with all the ardor of her wild and heroic nature, but spurns his love unless he consents to make her his wife; and *Guy*, aware that his former marriage rendered any such contract a nullity, consents to the pagan rite. But the of Acre is approaching, and the punishment of the Templars at hand. *Gaultier, De Valois'* spy and squire, has come to Palestine, his maternal uncle being elected legate, he accompanies him, and distinguished himself amongst the Italian troops, who, being defeated, he joins the Templars, and having gallantly defended the grand master, he receives several spear wounds, and falls over the dead body of *Peter de Beaujean*. A few unhappy Christians fled in despair, whilst the flames from some burning fortresses cast a lurid glare, throwing the forms of the dead and dying into ghastly relief.

And now, amidst the partial darkness, a long train of nuns is seen; they come, like ministering spirits, to sooth the afflicted; and, as they raise their rich, clear, melodious voices, to chant forth the hymn,—

"Jesus, Lord, repair our losses,
Restore to us the holy Crosse,"

they seemed, to the wounded, a choir of angels; and hopes, blessed hopes of eternity, were awakened in hearts which, it may be, previously dared to murmur at the decrees of Providence. Oh! it was joy, rapture in the awful hour of death!—death in the cold, cheerless, bloody field of battle, of murder, and of strife, to hear the voice of prayer, to feel woman's soft hands dress their wounds, to recline on her bosom as she moistens the parched lips which before had frantically groaned for one drop to check the quenching thirst; for these blessed women had scattered themselves through the place assisting and comforting the victims of unsanctified ambition or of mistaken zeal!

We left *Gaultier* prostrate over the dead body of the master, when a strange phantom appears before him, and *Frieda* rescues him, and placing him on her palfrey, *Zineb*, supports him with her arms, but just as they are about to pass the Hospital of the *Knights of St John*, some of the Knights rushed forth and sinking on their knees, uplifted their swords and chanted forth the *Ora pro Nobis*.

The appearance which thus affected the Knights of St. John, though simple in description, in effect undoubtedly seemed strange and mysterious.

Amidst the reigning horrors Freida had ridden forth in a dancing costume,—the most superb in her possession,—merely casting over it a dark mantle, studded with a crescent and stars, to be worn on dramatic occasions when she personated Night. The breeze had spread the robe to its full extent; while the steed was shaded behind a heap of ruins, and to gain a bird's-eye view of the field, so as to guide her way, Freida (a perfect equestrian) stood on the palfrey, her beauty gleaming forth in renewed lustre, from the flush of excitement and anxiety. Against her was just distinguishable the ghastly face of the Legate's nephew, well known in Acre, and who had been seen by hundreds to fall dead (so it was believed), as he boldly shielded the remains of the Grand Master of the Templars from the infidel Saracens.

"Holy Saints, assail our suffering souls!" shouted the knights. "What is this we behold?—yes, it is Gaultier, the Legate's nephew;—there is no mistaking. God have mercy!—Holy Virgin, in pity inspire us with the knowledge whether it be a spirit of light or of evil which now wafts him to the final goal of the blessed or accursed?" They shuddered, elevated still higher the cross-handled weapons, and louder sang out the *Ora pro nobis*.

A period of twenty years has now passed over; *Freida* and her son have been forsaken by the Templar, who is now residing at Athens with *Beatrice*, and his son *Rodolphe*, a fine youth, to whose heels the Emperor of Germany had himself affixed the spurs of knighthood. *Gaultier* having received a deaconry at Naticolia, had lived there up to the present period, but his brother-in-law, *Count Nicon*, dying, and leaving him guardian to his nephew *Foulque*, he was summoned to Paris on business, where no sooner arrived, than he was discovered by the Knights of St. John. They summoned him to appear before the States General, to answer the charge of having been seen in the strange position we have before alluded to; three of the Knights who had escaped bore testimony to his having been recalled to life through the influence of witchcraft, and that he had sold his immortal soul, in order that his body might be resuscitated. In this dilemma *Gaultier* goes to *De Valois*, who, delighted with the opportunity of crushing the Templars, as soon as he had heard *Gaultier's* story, tells him that he must accuse the chief Templars, and arraign the Grand Master, *James De Molai*, and *Guy D' Auvergne*, of necromancy, and collusion with the infidels, and thus prostrate the Templars whom he hated. *Gaultier* at first refuses to tell aught but the truth, but between bribes of future favor, and menaces of death, he

consents, and having brought him before the *Provost*, better known by the sobriquet of *Chef des Rats*, he obtains an order for the appearance of the two Templars, and after a mock trial they were cruelly sentenced to the stake. Sad and bitter was the retribution endured by that same house of Valois.

But as one crime generally leads to another, *Gaultier* had no sooner consented to the destruction of the Templars, than he was called on by the same bold bad man, to hand him over seventy thousand florins of the money he held in trust as his nephew's guardian; the reason for this requirement was, he had squandered the public monies, of which the King was ignorant, and being taunted publicly with the crime, by *Enguerand Marigni* he had given him the lie; when the proud Norman in his rage struck him, and refused meeting him in combat, on the plea, that by his embezzlement of the public monies, he had proved himself a recreant Knight. On the tenth, it was then the fourth of the month, the prelates and peers of France were to meet, to enquire into those grave charges, and the only way he could refute them was by handing in the money, and then woe to the house of *Marigni*; the hatred of a Valois must only end with the destruction of a foe.

Gaultier yielded to his menaces on one hand, and his promises of a Cardinal's hat on the other, and thus effected a compromise with his conscience. Three more years have passed away, and with them the *Prince* and the *Pontiff*. *Louis Hulin* had also succeeded and died away, and the throne was now filled by *Philip V.* who had in his boyhood so warmly espoused the Templars cause as to challenge his uncle Charles in fair fight to decide the Templars' guilt or innocence. Another year has elapsed, and *Gaultier* is appointed to the see of Longus, and his first care on arriving at Paris is to seek out *De Valois* and demand the sums of money lent, now that the guardianship was at an end. He hired a magnificent hotel on the banks of the Seine, and went with much pomp to attend a reception of the King, but the young monarch's address to the newly elected Bishop was haughty and discourteous, unlike his usual bland politeness, for independent of the Templars he was irritated that his Queen, *Jane D'Artois*, should have selected him for her confessor. Retiring early *Gaultier* rode off at a brisk pace for the hôtel *De Valois*, and was surprised to behold all desolate; on inquiring, he discovered that during

the reign of *Louis Hutin*, *Charles* had ruled France, and wreaked his revenge on *Enguerand Marigni*; and it was considered that in so doing, he had recourse to magic, and was assisted in his designs by a pagan sorceress who was afterwards burned, but on the death of *Louis*, the Count vanished, some said to the Holy Land, but the general belief was, he was spirited away by the Saxon Jongleur. With this disjointed information, *Gaultier* departed to brood over his shattered hopes.

A woman in widowed garb seemed to be watching for him, and whilst some noisy disputants were wrangling, slipped a fold of vellum into his hands, and disappeared. On gaining his hotel, his first care was to examine the scroll he had so mysteriously received, he then hastened to greet his nephew *Foulque*, who had been awaiting his return. It is necessary, in order to elucidate our narrative, to enter into particulars relative to this young man and his claims. We have before related, that *Gaultier's* sister had been married to *Count Nicol* only brother to the *Baron D'Evreux*, who on inheriting his estates, found them encumbered to their full value. He married the beautiful heiress of the *Lord D'Anville*, and being romantically in love, permitted her father to dispose of her property at pleasure; it so happened, that in consequence of a large sum advanced to *Saint Louis* towards carrying on the Crusade, the *Lord D'Anville* and his heirs possessed the power of willing their property, though that power was at variance with the feudal law; proud of his daughter's connection with the royal house of France, to preserve that connection he had the entire property so settled, that in case of failure of male issue, the daughter would inherit. Ere fifteen months had elapsed, the lovely Baroness was laid in the grave, having first given birth to a daughter. As rumours were rife of the Baron's fierce temper having partially caused his bride's death, a hostile feeling grew up between him and the *Lord D'Anville*, which it was the policy of both parties to conceal, the Baron receiving large sums of money from his father-in-law to permit his guardianship of the infant *Louise*. She had scarcely attained her sixteenth year when *Lord D'Anville* died, leaving her in care of a young man, *Francesco D'Esculo*, a near kinsman; *D'Evreux* seemed unmindful of the weakness he had betrayed in permitting all his property to be thus sequestered, but on his father-in-law's death discovered that he, through hatred, had settled every rood on *Louise*. Having

never loved his child, he now detested her, and she remained two years longer under *Esculo's* care. Being of a delicate constitution and weak in mind, she trembled at her father's name, who at this period sent a stern mandate, informing her of his approaching nuptials with a lady of rank, and commanding her to prepare for the Convent of Laval. *Esculo*, aware of his fixity of purpose, as the only means of contraverting that cruelty, set out for Rome, to obtain the protection of *Pope Boniface* for *Louise*. During his absence, the castle was crowded with artisans, preparatory to the wedding. Amongst them was a jeweller named *Hubert Clisson*, who whilst polishing up the shields and corslets, enchanted *Louise* with his descriptions of them. An elopement took place, the Baron's marriage was broken off, and before six years *D'Eoreux* adopted *Foulque* as his heir. It had been reported, that in a fit of rage the Baron had wiped out the stain of a disgraceful marriage in his daughter's blood; that he done so, was true, but she before dying had given birth to a daughter, who was named *Bona*, the *Pope* having been her sponsor, granted her all the claims of heirship.

We now return to *Foulque's* interview with his worthy uncle. "I say, Bishop, you are welcome back to France," was the first salutation of this rude man, "that is, if you confirm the report of old *Baron D'Eoreux's* death; how died the old penitent? I mean to make good use of the large sums deposited in your hands, so, come at once to the reckoning; no lack of payment I hope." *Gaultier* replied, that when assured of his right of inheritance he would resign his trust; he then explained how matters were, the existence of the girl, and her claims ratified by *Pope Boniface*, and advised his nephew to seek her hand. He, however, informs him, that he is in love with *Agatha D'Abcis*, who was at Court, under the protection of the Queen; she was, however, thought to be under a cloud, from having been considered in communication with *Freida the Jongleur*. Her uncle when dying, made a testament, by which *Lord Rodolphe Visconti*, son of the Templar *Guy D'Auvergne*, was to enter the lists with *Foulque* for the maiden's hand; stranger still, should *Rodolphe* decline the proffered honor, one half her property was to go to him, and the remaining portion at her death to the Convent of Laval, and the Benedictine brothers of Mayenne. He moreover informs him, that under any circumstances, *Agatha* shall be his bride, that he is the head

of the malcontents, and that Paris, nay, even France, should be deluged in blood sooner than he should yield his claim. Philip, not being in good odor, in consequence of his patronage of the Jews, whom the Barons were anxious to destroy, thinking to liquidate by that means the large sums they owed to the Israelites; biassed by those feelings, they instigated the Parisians to demand from Philip the total destruction of the Jews by an *Auto-da-fe*. The King, however, sooner than consent to such an act of cruelty, appealed to the reason and good feeling of the people. The interests of the Barons, and the excited passions of the populace, rendered this mild appeal fruitless, and it was through the intervention of *Francesco D'Esculo*, the Cordelier brother, that a compromise was effected, on condition of the Jews evacuating Paris in three weeks.

Rodolphe Visconti having requested permission to hunt the wolves in the precincts of the Castle d'Abeis, the barons, incensed that a stranger should bear away the palm of victory, pledge themselves to unite in the dangerous encounter. *Gaulthier*, however, is determined, should *Rodolphe* succeed, to accuse him of accomplishing this noble feat by the aid of magic, inherited from his father. He again encounters the woman from whom he had received the mysterious note, who, as may be foreseen, was no other than *Freida*. She relates to him a long and painful history of the past; how, after the desertion of *Guy d'Auvergne*, she resided for some years in Jaffa with her boy *Edrid*, who at fifteen becoming delicate, was ordered to a European climate; she then, after escaping shipwreck, by which all her means were consigned to the deep, arrived at Paris with her son, at a time when the *Jongleurs* were banished by *Louis Hutin*, not alone from Paris but from all France. Destitute of all means of support, they lived in wretched chambers near Montfaucon, their only mode of subsistence being obtained by *Edrid's* singing Oriental ballads. Though perfectly untaught, this boy had a natural taste for music and the culture of flowers, and his only perception of right and wrong was an inherent love of truth which instinctively guided him. He passionately loved his mother, whose privations were to him a source of deep pain. Having lost his voice through hoarseness, he rushes out one evening in despair, not knowing how to procure even a cooling drink for his mother, who is in a fever. It was the feast of Corpus

Christi; and seeing crowds enter the church, he instinctively followed; the solemnity of the devotion he there witnessed impressed him with a strange feeling of awe, whilst the discourse of the saintly prelate, preaching the, to him unknown, doctrine of Christianity, shed a balm over his hitherto benighted soul, and he cast himself at the foot of the altar, impressed with the idea that he had at length found a source of happiness to which he had been hitherto a stranger. A strange feeling of unconsciousness overpowered him, and when he awoke he found the church almost empty; in traversing its sacred aisles he observes an altar on which was a gorgeous vase of oriental shape, imbedded with gems; he stops to admire it, and then, recollecting the state of his sick parent, and knowing that a Jew, from whom he had before obtained money for some of his mother's trinkets, would give him a large sum for this valuable prize, he, unconscious of the crime he was committing, bears it off to *Ozias the Jew*, and obtains sufficient for his present wants and a cithern of much value—this was an instrument on which he played to perfection. It unfortunately happened that this vase was one of the most valued gems in the whole kingdom; there was even a legend attached to it, which rendered it priceless; this was, that if the Jews could gain the possession of it for nine years, in three times nine they would be once more re-united, and in possession of their own Jerusalem. The vase having been discovered in a state of decay from neglect, by *De Valois*, who was a great admirer of the fine arts, he had given it to *Hubert Clisson* the jeweller, to restore it; the *King* himself kept the key of the casket to which it was consigned; *Clisson* had brought it home that evening, and left it on the altar by desire of the *Bishop of Beauvais*, till he had returned from the Louvre with the key; unhappily *Edrid* in his absence purloined the vase which led to most unfortunate conclusions. *De Valois*, in his hatred to *Enguerand Marigni*, thought this a good opportunity of accomplishing his vengeance and had the temerity to accuse the bishop, who was his brother, of the theft, and *Hubert Clisson* as an accomplice. The good prelate did not take the trouble of refuting this base charge, though it created a strange feeling throughout Paris. *Freida* was unconscious of the whole matter, till one evening she was admiring the cithern, and having asked *Edrid* where he got it, was the informed of the circumstance; she, terrified at the act, well aware that the Christians considered sacrilege as a crime

worthy of death, determined on flight next day; but ere dawn they were aroused by an unusual knocking, and on the door being opened *Hubert Clisson* entered, accompanied by a priest; *Freida* shrieked, well knowing their doom was sealed. Such was the fact, as on *Edrid* being questioned, he, despite his mother's screams and threats, told the whole truth. It appeared that the priest, *Père Langravare*, having met a woman in the street, running wildly, discovered that she was in search of a physician for a Jew, who was on the point of death; the *Père* being a physician also, went to see the Jew, to render him assistance, and, on arriving at his house, found him at the point of death, and pressing his hand against his breast, thought there lay the pain, opened his vest and discovered the vase. His joy was unbounded, he questioned him as to how he had obtained it, and the only information he could acquire was that a fair youth with a melodious voice, and who said he had a sick parent, had sold it to him. *Langravare* carried it at once to the good bishop, who told him he thought he had a clue to the perpetrator of the sacrilege, having heard the most divine music issuing from the neighbourhood of Montfaucon. Thus the discovery was effected. *Edrid's* manner won on the *Père*, there was such a holiness in his simplicity; however, nothing could be done, and *Hubert* was left to guard them whilst *Langravare* went for the *Provost*, who soon returned with guards to convey them to his own house. *Freida* has a return of fever, and on recovering thinks *Edrid* has been executed; however she is soon happily undecieved, as she hears him chaunting a hymn to the holy Virgin.

Within the arch, dressed in the graceful white robes of a novice, confined round the waist by a girdle, to which were suspended a rosary and crucifix, knelt opposite to an altar adorned with the symbols of Christianity, my son,—his head thrown back, his eyes cast upwards, his hands clasped, and his voice rising in prayer to the Christ; and I heard my name pronounced. My first sentiment was rapture, the next horror. My imagination, ever too vivid, worked another horrible fancy. I felt as if I was a serpent—the serpent SIN—crawling on the earth to check an angel's flight to heaven.

Edrid has become a Christian. The *Père* had introduced him to the holy *Bishop of Beauvais*, whose simple eloquence had won his heart on that fatal evening in the church; and so ardent had become his devotion, that now, life or death were equal, so that he walked in the footsteps of his Divine Master. Their trial was protracted, as *De Valois* knew, if

convicted, his vengeance was at an end. He sought an interview with *Freida*, and after admitting his hatred to the *Marigni*, worked on her maternal feelings by promises of her son's pardon, to accuse the bishop of having bribed them to admit their guilt of having abstracted the vase, and thus implicate the bishop himself in the theft. *Freida* promised all he required, so ardent was her desire to save *Edrid* whose Christian feeling and truthfulness would, she feared, mar her intentions. Her brother *Jacques de Lor*, was he informed her, secretary to *Enguerand de Marigni*, and through the occult sciences, of which *Jacques* was an adept, they were enabled to form figures so life-like as to require merely animation to make them as real as the persons they represented; this he had discovered but was not aware where they kept those figures, and persuaded *Freida* to write to her brother, who she was, till then, ignorant of being in Paris, and ask an interview, in which she was to obtain for him information of all matters connected with *Marigni*, especially where the images were kept, *Edrid's* life being still the guerdon offered. She unhappily yields, and gains for him the information required. *De Lor*, who loves his master dearly, warns her of the *Valois*, and hints to her of the interest taken in *Edrid*, both by *Enguerand de Marigni* and his brother, though he was not empowered to say more, he bade her take comfort, and they parted. *Freida* imparted to *De Valois* all she had acquired from her brother, relative to the images; information which afterwards proved fatal to the *Marigni*. Such was the superstition of the period that a natural taste for the noble art of sculpture was deemed an act of sorcery, and the supposition was, that if you desired the death of any one, by modelling one of those images, you could, by aid of magic, transfuse the vital power from the person whose death you desired to the inanimate figure. *Enguerand*, too enlightened to be a dupe to such folly, pursued this art for his pleasure, and presented to the Queen, Mother of Philip le Bel, a representation of him as a birth-day gift. Shortly after, *Philip* was killed by a fall from his house, and *De Valois*, his enemy, spread abroad strange and malicious rumours relative to this, which induced *Marigni*, sooner than resign his loved pursuit, to have his images conveyed to a private cabinet, where he and *De Lor* worked at them secretly. Thus, *De Valois*, if thwarted in his scheme regarding the bishop, was determined to accuse *Enguerand* of sorcery, and *Freida* sadly afforded him

an opportunity. *Edrid's* trial came on, and whilst *Freida* wickedly accused the Bishop of what she knew he was innocent, *Edrid*, true to that Holy Faith he had so lately adopted, simply narrated the whole occurrence, and disdained the gift of life as the price of dishonour. His condemnation was pronounced, and he was hurried to Montfaucon for execution. *Freida*, who was borne insensible to her chamber, on recovery beholds her beloved son dragged up to Montfaucon by *Clisson* and the *Père*, whilst the Bishop stood a pleased spectator, and there even before the arrival of the executioner, hurried him from the scaffold to the pyre, whilst *De Valois* was rushing to his rescue. *Freida* did not recover for some days, and then found herself cared by *De Valois*. One evening her brother entered, and told her mildly that she had by her communications to *Valois* brought ruin both on him and his beloved patron: that that Prince of evil had even seized his beloved wife *Shadi*, the charming Hindoo, and had offered large rewards for his apprehension. *Freida* besought him to fly lest *Valois* should arrive; he was about to do so, and was just mentioning that their mother was in Paris, when *De Valois* entered, who at once called on the guards to seize him, telling him that if he refused, (on the following Wednesday, that appointed for the trial of *Marigni*, to criminate his patron and accuse him of sorcery), he should be put to the torture. *Jacques* having nobly refused the bribe of even his *Shadi's* release, and promise of safe conduct to any part of the world with ample means, *Freida* was then informed that *De Lor* was foremost in dragging *Edrid* to the stake and hurrying his death; this he could not deny, but begged a few minutes private conversation to explain it, which *Freida* refused; he was then dragged away, and the *Jongleur* lived now for vengeance alone—on *Clisson* and *Langravaar* her hatred was concentrated.

Wednesday came, the day of trial to *Marigni*, *Freida* rushes out and is pursued by a mob from whom she takes refuge in Mountfaucon tower from the top of which she casts herself amidst the yells of the crowd, when we encounter her again she is on the banks of the Danube with her mother and their horde. Her mother having taken towards her a deeply rooted aversion tells her, that she intends to set out for Hindostan. She then informs her of all that had occurred from the time she met her bleeding at the foot of the tower. Of *Jacques'* death who killed himself on learning the fate of his patron *Enguerand de*

Marigni, whom *De Valois* hunted to the scaffold by false accusations, and he persuaded the king that the whole family were implicated and neither age nor sex was spared, the bishop alone escaping this general ruin. *Freida* having caused this woe, was hated by her mother, who after relating all, departed. *Freida* now determined to gratify a wish she had long entertained, and visit *Beatriz Visconti*, the Templar's wife, and see *Rhodolphe*, her *Edrid's* brother. She went disguised as a pilgrim, and was introduced to the chamber of the lady *Beatriz*, who on discovering who she was, received her with much kindness, and soothed by her gentle manner the bitter feelings of the *Jongleur*, on beholding the difference in their positions. *Beatriz*, the still beautiful woman possessing all that could make life happy, whilst she, the forlorn outcast a prey to every bad feeling, looked much older than her rival. The lady assured her that the Templar had bitterly repented the wrong he had done her and attributed his sad and ignominious death to a just retribution for his past misconduct ; that moreover, he had induced her, *Beatriz*, to promise to seek her and her boy out, and try by every means to win them to Christianity ; particularly to have his son baptized ; he had also left a large sum in her hands for them. *Freida* then informed her of *Edrid's* death, and of his having become a Christian. She stayed some days with *Beatriz* waiting the arrival of *Rhodolphe* whom she desired to see. One evening *Beatriz* informed her joyfully that she expected her son next day and with him the Archbishop of Rheims, who was no other than the good and holy bishop of Beauvais whom Philip V. had elevated to the Archbishopric of Rheims, and so great was her faith in his zeal and piety that she hoped he would be able to effect what she had failed in doing, namely, *Freida's* conversion. She told her further, that to him she was indebted for her happy state of mind ; he it was who had taught her in her hour of darkness and despair to turn her thoughts to Heaven, and bow down in humble submission to the will of Him who died for her on the cross, and like her Divine Master pray for her enemies. But anxious as *Freida* was to see *Rhodolphe* she could not be prevailed on to wait his arrival, accompanied as he was by the man whose brother she was instrumental in destroying, and having taken some of the money left in trust with *Beatriz*, determined on departing ere dawn. She now determined on seeking out *De Valois*, whom she discovered at the Convent of

St. Bruno in the Forest of Chartreuse, undergoing a severe and voluntary penance for his manifold crimes. He was attended by *Esculo*, and here it was that *Freida* found the parchment containing the certificate of *Bona Clisson's* birth and the will of *Count d'Evreux*, which had been dropt by *Francesco d'Esculo*, and picked up by her in mistake for her own scrip. This was the reward she held forth to *Gaultier*, for the furtherance of her revenge. He asked how he could benefit her in that way, she told him to introduce her to the *Queen* in the guise of a fortune teller, that she wanted speech with *Agatha d'Abcis*, and that circumstances should guide the rest.

We now return to *Rhodolphe* and his chivalrous attack of the wolves. It was in disobedience to his mother that he either accepted the inheritance of *d'Abcis*, or entered France.

On arriving at his castle he invited all the Nobles who had joined in the chase, and amongst them *Foulque*, though they were to break a lance for *Agatha*, and strange to say, *Rhodolphe* was under any circumstances determined not to seek the lady's hand. They had succeeded in an almost fabulous manner in extirpating the wolves. On the fourth morning, however, they were aroused by an account of an immense herd rushing forward, headed by a Demon Wolf, and committing fearful depredations; and so strange was the superstition of the age, that the wildest legends were recorded of it, and many would not venture to attack this demon. A young man rushed forward, demanding assistance for *Hubert Clisson* and his daughter, who were attacked. *Foulque* on hearing the name, was evil enough to rejoice at their danger, and would not go forward; but *Rhodolphe* hastened to their rescue, and was fortunate enough to release them, and succeeded in destroying the hideous monster. As they were all to adjourn to *Foulque's* castle that evening, he invited them there, but *Hubert* appeared terrified at the very name, and declined the proffered honor, requesting a safe guidance from the Knight, who seeing their anxiety, instantly accords it; mounting them on his noble steed, a gift as he informed them of *Louis of Bavaria*, told *Hubert* to care it for him till he reclaimed it, and after assuring himself by a glance that the lady was extremely lovely, though a jeweller's daughter, they went their way. On returning to secure the head of the wolf as a trophy of his victory, he found it gone, but seeing something sparkle, picked up part of a crucifix set with gems, which *Bona* had dropt. On arriving at

his castle, he found the *Archbishop of Rheims* awaiting him, who told him he wished to introduce him to a youth named *Chretien*, for whom he felt a deep interest.

The King feeling grateful to the young Bavarian for extirpating the wolves, was anxious to compliment him by a noble banquet, at which the lady *Agatha* was to preside. *Chretien* to whom we have just alluded, was known in Paris for more than a year as a pupil of *Père Lagravare*, and protege of the *Bishop of Beauvais*; he was to enter his noviciate in a few months. *Philip* took an interest in him, thinking him to be a son of *Enguerand de Marigni*, and was anxious he should reside in the Louvre, but *Esculo* prudently advised him to permit the youth to follow his vocation. As he had a taste for flowers he was permitted to visit the palace once a week, to provide the Queen with the choicest. His nature was so enthusiastic that the good *Père* tried to calm down his fervor to a more solid and steady form. Unfortunately for this youth of ardent temperament, he encountered the lady *Agatha*, and the love hitherto bestowed on his Creator, was now divided with the creature. The struggle between feeling and duty was intense, and he wildly accused her of casting a spell over him, weaning him by her condescension from that Heaven for which had heretofore so ardently longed. She, though imbued with vanity, felt touched by the ardor and sincerity of the fair youth, and is determined to avoid his presence for the future, *Rhodolphe* possessing her entire affections. One evening as she is about paying a visit to *Père Lagravare*, she meets *Bona*, and discovering that she is the person of whom she has heard as *Esculo's* protege, feels jealous lest such a beauty should be seen at Court and perhaps eclipse her in *Rhodolphe's* eyes. On reaching the *Père's* house she finds *Chretien* as enthusiastic in his love, as at their last interview, and to gratify his ardent desire to serve her, shews him a ring, telling him to deserve it, that whenever she required his services he would know by that ring, which she would despatch to him. He made a solemn vow that her slightest behest should be obeyed, were life itself to be sacrificed in her service; at that moment they heard retreating footsteps and separated.

Rhodolphe is received with regal honors by *Philip*, the gates of St. Denis are thrown open for his approach, and the *Oriflamme* brought forward, a compliment never before paid to a subject. He meets *Bona* at a religious ceremony in honor of the Holy Virgin which is being performed at Notre Dame.

They are mutually pleased at the interview, and he pays frequent visits to her home, resolved, for excuse to demand his steed should he encounter her father; they have had frequent interviews thus, though *Hubert* is determined she shall marry a young burgher whom she detests, and *Rhodolphe* though now prepared to sacrifice all class prejudice to his love, has not yet spoken, and does not purpose doing so till after the combat.

In the meantime he has an interview with *Freida*, who has also gained admittance to the Queen's apartments through *Gaulther*. *Rhodolphe*, desirous to avoid *Agatha*, devotes himself exclusively to the Queen, *Philip* at first pleased with this gallantry at last feels jealous. The day for the combat is approaching and *Rhodolphe* pays his visit to *Bona*, and meeting her father demands her in marriage. *Hubert*, who hates the nobles rejects his suit, telling him, she is engaged to an honest burgher. After *Rhodolphe's* departure, *Hubert* goes to *Bona*, and tells her to be prepared to marry *Paul Deschamp* in two days, she peremptorily refuses, and her father in a rage goes forth, telling her his mandate is imperative. *Bona* threw her mantle around her and almost ran to *Nôtre Dame*, as if there, certain of relief. She meets *Lagravare* to whom she relates her sorrows and he goes to apprise the King of the matter, leaving *Bona* at *Nôtre Dame*, he brings on his return a gown and cap of a student of the Sorbonne, and thus equipped brings her to the King's library. *Freida*, however, has seen her enter and goes at once to inform *Agatha* who in council with *Foulque* lay their plans. *Agatha* enters the library and tells her that the King is about to enforce the marriage between her and *Paul*, and thus induced her to steal away. *Foulque* is at the door awaiting them, and she is borne to the Apostate's Baths, which she refuses to enter from awe of the place, her screams attract *Rhodolphe* who is seeking an interview with *Freida* at the same time, he rushes forward to release her, wounding *Foulque* in the arm. *Freida* in her anxiety for *Rhodolphe* begs him to go instantly to the King and relate the whole fact, but he delays with *Bona*, and *Foulque* maddened at defeat, goes forward and accuses *Rhodolphe* of having killed the Demon Wolf by sorcery, and of having in his possession a broken Crucifix, which had been broken to propitiate the demon: strange fatuity of the period when such idle stories would be credited. *Philip's* jealousy removed all scruples, and *Rhodolphe* was tried and condemned. *Frieda* was now frantic, *Bona*, too, had disappeared, but that

was nothing ; her whole energies were employed to save *Rhodolphe*. Having got two pilgrim's dresses, she prevails on the *Queen* and *Agatha* to put them on, and bring all their jewels even to the *Queen's* royal cestus, to bribe the cupidity of the *Chef des Rats*, who consents to liberate *Rhodolphe* on condition of a substitute being procured. *Freida*, who overheard the promise made by *Chretien* relative to the ring, abstracts it from *Agatha* and despatches *Caleb the Suabian* for *Chretien* who bears with him this talismanic signal. She then prevails on *Agatha* to induce *Chretien* to make this sacrifice, who has to undergo a severe struggle with herself before she consents. On *Chretien* arriving, she, with the most subtle and refined delicacy, broaches to him the matter, who, shocked and disgusted at her selfish cruelty, rebukes her for her heartlessness, and admitting that did he not wildly dream he was dear to her, the fatal vow would never have been pledged. A vow, which though rashly made, should nevertheless be redeemed, his only regret being the absence of the good *Archbishop*, who could enlighten his ignorance as to whether he erred in thus rushing unbidden into the presence of his Creator, in fulfilment of any vow, no matter how solemnly uttered. *Chretien* being now led to the *Provost's* is placed in the same room, which three years before had been occupied by *Edrid* ; he uttered a piercing cry, and flinging himself before the shrine burst into tears. On the *Provost* retiring he sung the *Regina Cali*, a hymn in honor of Our Lady, in strains which *Edrid* alone could pour forth.

“ Hail, sainted Mary, glorious Queen
Of heaven's bright angelic choir,
Mother of Him who died to screen
All mortals from eternal fire.
Mother of Him who, born to save,
Viewed sinners with a pitying eye,
And with his latest breath forgave
His murderers on Calvary.
Mother of Jesus, deign to pour
One bright, consolatory ray,
Which may illume this gloomy hour,
And bitter thoughts of death allay.
Breathe o'er my soul the breath of life,
Until no thought of earth remain ;
Remove those doubts, this mental strife,
And I will love my dungeon chain.
Give me, oh give thy blessed aid
To calm those unavailing sighs,

And gleams of seraph hosts arrayed
In never-ending Paradise.

Away, away, this mortal woe ;—

Come, hope and high celestial joy :

Borne on thy healing wings, I go

To heaven and immortality."

On hearing this the *Provost* rushes back, terrified, thinking it *Edrid* raised from the dead, but when informed that the youth is called *Chretien*, his terror knows no bounds ; aware, that the King feels interested in his fate : *Rhodolphe* has however departed, and the victim must be sacrificed.

Freida now, that her purpose is accomplished, is seized with remorse, and knocks wildly at the *Provost's* gate, but receiving no answer, she is seized with a dizziness, and instinctively stretching out her arms in search of support they cling to a colossal cross which was near the *Provost's* door. Prostrate at the base of this symbol of our redemption, a Divine inspiration seemed to pervade her, and bursting forth into loud hallelujahs, fell against the cross and burst into tears. From that moment the *Jongleur* felt conscious of being under Divine influence. The demons of Pride, Anger and Revenge are now displaced by the Angels of Mercy and Truth, and whilst bowed in humiliation at the foot of the cross, the blessed seed of genial repentance were sown in *Freida's* soul, who was from that moment an altered being. Arising from her prostrate condition, she sought the King, with whom was the *Archbishop*, and told him how the *Provost* had accepted a bribe to save *Rhodolphe*, and that *Chretien* was to be executed in his stead. The King, though fired with indignation, arranges his plans, sends for *Gaultier*, who having heard from the *Queen* of *Chretien's* imprisonment, knows all must soon be discovered. He, however, obeys the *King's* mandate, and riding after him to the *Provost's* house, was commanded to enter and tell the *Provost* that it was now the hour for the execution, and that his presence was required at Montfaucon. The King having explained to the people the misconduct of the *Provost*, he was, without even the form of a trial, forced up the gibbet and executed.

We must now return to *Bona*, whom a party of students met in the Apostate's Grove, and seeing her dressed in a habit of the Sorbonne, proposed she should join their party as they were proceeding to Bourges ; she joyfully acceded, and on arriving there, sought the Convent of St. Mary's, that abode of peace and virtue which had been her saintly home for many years.

Esculo, who was in Bourges, was soon apprised of her arrival. He, having heard a report of *Rhodolphe's* danger, is desirous to visit *Beatriz* to afford her comfort, and brings *Bona* with him. He was, however, rejoiced to find on arriving at the Castle, that *Rhodolphe* was before him. *Beatriz* receives *Bona* with much courtesy; her son, however, is resolved sooner than again wound his mother by an act of disobedience to resign *Bona*, well knowing that his mother would never consent to a marriage with a jeweller's daughter. The *Archbishop* arrives bearing the intelligence of *Gaultier's* death, and the disgrace which had fallen on *Agatha* and *Foulque*. The *Queen* had been pardoned, it being discovered that she was innocently drawn into the matter. To be brief, he then related how *Chretien* was no other than *Edrid*, the son of *Freida*, who had been saved through the intervention of *Enguerand de Marigni* and *De Lor*, who substituted a waxen figure for him on Mont-faucon, whilst the Bishop bore him away in the royal carriage, and placed him with *Lagravare*, under the name of *Chretien*. This was the secret that *Jacques* sought to tell *Freida*, who unfortunately rejected the kindness.

We have little more to add. *Freida* was of course received by the *Archbishop* into the Christian church; her joy was unbounded on discovering *Edrid* and she poured forth her soul in gratitude to God for saving her from sacrificing his life, not knowing whom she was offering as a victim. *Edrid*, also, purified from his late trials of passion, resolved with *Freida* to take up the Cross of his Divine Master and work out the salvation of others. They arrived in pilgrim's attire at the Castle of *Beatriz*, where they were received warmly both by mother and son. *Freida* having called *Esculo* to her, presented him with the documents relative to the birth and claims of *Bona*, and placing *Bona's* hand in that of *Rhodolphe*, told *Beatriz* she was worthy of her son, not alone for her royal descent, but owing to her many virtues. *Beatriz* consents to their union. *Hubert*, still strong in his antipathy to the nobles, unwillingly assents, but refuses being present at the marriage. The Emperor acts as her father on the occasion, and gives her away. Whilst the Archbishop performed the ceremony, *Freida* and *Edrid* departed to take up the cross they had chosen to walk under and work out their heavenly mission. *Freida*, considering the love of country one of the purest next to love of God, proceeded first to Saxony, and for seven years *Chretien* successfully preached the

gospel. Thence proceeding to Lithuania, where idolatry reigned, they preached Christ Crucified, having gained this permission from the Grand Duke as a reward for having recovered *Jagello*, his infant son, from a bed of sickness. It would be tedious to follow her footsteps, suffice it to say, that tens of thousands crushed their idols before the cross; and, we give in conclusion the last words of that truly entertaining romance, *Freida the Jongleur*:—

“Although the Jongleurs had thus laid the foundation of Christianity in this benighted land, Freida did not live to see the great work perpetuated. It was not until the year 1386 that Jagello, Duke of Lithuania,—he who in his childhood Freida had restored to health,—influenced by the impress received from her instructions, on the death of his father, avowed his religious sentiments, and was publicly baptized, with all the members of his family and court. Edrid, though far advanced in life, was one of the officiating priests; and within a few months, subsequently, the whole kingdom followed their Duke’s example, and Lithuania became a Christian land.”

And now that we have completed our notice of these books, let the writers come up for judgment. Place Barbara Hemphill at the bar. Barbara, we are very happy to be able to tell you that you leave this court without a stain on your literary reputation: we are proud of you as an Irishwoman, and are very glad that we can tell you, you have written as agreeable a book as we have read for many a day, and by very much the best book you have yet published. Sixteen months ago, in the twenty-first number of THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, in a paper entitled “Novels and Novelists,” and in which we recorded opinions of Charles Dickens, the wretched shade of *Boz*, precisely such as *Blackwood* expressed three months ago, we had you before us charged with having written a book called *The Priest’s Niece; or the Heirship of Barnulph*. Barbara, we then thought you a man, for although you did not wear whiskers, you wore a long Noa’s Ark coat, and called yourself “Author of Lionel Deerhurst.” We said to you: “*The Priest’s Niece*, has unfortunately, a most deceptive title, and one most ill-chosen. It “takes” a Protestant reader, who is disappointed at finding that it has nothing about cloisters, or convents, in the Maria Monk style: Roman Catholics, looking at the book, and being alarmed, or prejudiced by the name, will throw it aside, or will read it in an antagonistic spirit; whilst the mere circulating library haunter, who

has been so frequently deceived by the titles of books, will think to himself, as he ponders on the name, *The Priest's Niece*,—

“ His gran' aunt was once King of Connaught,
His Mother Viceroy of Tralee,
Priests' Nieces, but sure they're in Heaven,
An' his faylin's is nothin' to me.”

Yet this work is a good novel : full of incident, of invention, of bright flashes of genius, of descriptive power rarely excelled in these days, and placing before us the fair land of Spain, the varying scenery of Scotland, ‘the summer isles,’ the ‘knots of Paradise,’ at ‘the gateways of the day :’ and Ireland, too, has been sketched by our Author. The dialogue is good, worthy the other portions of the story ; and considering the work as a whole, and judging it by the best of our modern novels, it deserves the success it has achieved, by arriving at a second edition, within five months of its publication.

“ It is not our custom to give extracts from novels, and indeed in this particular instance it would be impossible to do so with justice to the Author, who has that true talent of the genuine novelist, by which he is enabled to ingraft scene upon scene, to involve character with character so intimately, and so closely, that not a chapter can be extracted without injury to the story.

“ We hope soon again to find a work from the pen of the Author of *The Priest's Niece* before us, but we hope too, to find it with a less excitable title. A writer, such as this, with ability of the highest order, with invention, quickness of thought, and great power of observation; may, and is, bound to depend on his knowledge of the heart, of life and of the world : the heart, life, and the world are wide enough in their range of thoughts, of manners, and of feelings ; out of such materials then, this Author can create forms of beauty, or strength, or passion ; but these creations must be works of time, and formed with the perfection of elaboration. We earnestly hope that neither the request of friends, nor the golden goadings of publishers, will induce this writer to damage or jeopardise a reputation already more than half made ; the pen too, which has thus been graced, should never be envenomed or stained by the recital of a tale hurtful to the feelings of the professors of any religion. The heart is the property of the novelist ; with it, and the world, alone has he to deal, and if from these he cannot form his story he is not a novelist. If the Author of

The Priest's Niece will but observe these rules, he will produce fictions worthy his genius, and worthy his reputation; and though he may never achieve the glory of a GREAT NOVELIST, he will, at all events, reach the reputation, the highest any now living can claim, of a good novelist."

Thus, Barbara, we wrote; leave the court now, and as quickly as you can, always bearing in mind the fact, that easy writing is not easy reading; come before us with another work; make it as good as *Freida*, and you will be beloved of Mudie, cherished by Mitchell, and Saunders and Ottley, and demanded by all who like a book showing fancy, genius, study, and knowledge of characters. Barbara Hemphill, you are discharged.

Put forward the other subject. Whitty, you are a literary vagabond: you were found in a disgraceful state of hopeless morality, with a mind reeling in a condition showing that you had saturated yourself with French novels, and had lived too much with men: you are charged with exposing for sale books of a character which, if you persist in writing any more of a like class, must be sold in sealed envelopes, and advertised as "The Swell's (Mental) Guide," or as, "The Silent Monitor, or How to Break the Ten Commandments." But, Whitty, we do not sentence you to silence; true you have done, perhaps unintentionally, great and grave wrong to society, and have drawn portraits of "living celebrities" not always correct, and have painted all nature from one point of view; yet you are too able a man, and too clear-headed, and the court hopes too true-hearted and genuine, a man, to persist in writing books such as *Friends of Bohemia*. Think, Whitty, how few women will like to admit that they have read your book; think how few women could resist the instinctive modesty that would impel them to hide it under the sofa cushion, if they would read it at all; think what man would or ought to hold a good opinion of a woman whom he loved, and who had been a pleased reader of your volumes; think of this and say what real difference there is between your book and any of Reynolds', save that yours comes from Smith and Elder, and his from the congenial neighbourhood of "the drabs and bloods of Drury Lane." There is, however, one difference, that whilst Reynolds is only a clever scoundrel, you are one of the cleverest writers of this time. You have, by one book, earned, and well earned and deserved, a reputation such as few men have ever gained by a first publication. Do not, Whitty, the court intreats you, tarnish that reputation by another book such as *Friends of Bohemia*. We

told you, in the course of your trial, what Sydney Smith, not a much abler man than you, but far a wiser one, had said of French women; note now another passage of his, in reviewing *Les Mémoires et Correspondance de Madame D'Epinay*. "It is a lively, entertaining book—relating in an agreeable manner the opinions and habits of many remarkable men—mingled with some very scandalous and improper passages, which degrade the whole work. But if all the decencies and delicacies of life were in one scale, and five francs in the other, what French bookseller would feel a single moment of doubt in making his election?" Would you, Whitty, like to have these sentences written of you? Do not mind the book-sellers; they have, through railways, got much of the "five francs" morality; but a man of your genius can rise above booksellers, for your wings are the voices of the readers. But, you must go in to win; do not desecrate your genius by writing your name up through your *Friends of Bohemia*, and then turning to another phase of literature. The stuff is in you, and good intentions are nothing. Hell, you know is paved with good intentions, but as Julius Hare says, "pluck up the stones, ye sluggards, and break the devil's head with them." Do this, Whitty, and write as you now write, like a man of deep thought, of consummate genius, and of wonderful power of observation, but write, in addition to all these, as a Christian.

The Court has not, Whitty, treated you harshly or unfairly. You have displeased us, but we never forget a wise question of Fuller's in which he demands—"Is there no way to bring home a wandering sheep but by worrying him to death?" You may now leave the bar, but never again come before us with a *Friends of Bohemia*; it has literary power and genius sufficient to secure success for half a dozen novels; it has faults against morality which should condemn a dozen; its success is the best tribute to your genius, and should be the most painful circumstance to your heart.

The Court does not want you to be sentimental, or to come the pious dodge, like Mr. Samuel Warren; do not give us an *Aubry*, nor yet a *Dr. Cantwell*, nor yet a *Bellars* nor a *Roper*, nor a *Diego*, nor two she devils like *Lady Beaming* and *Therese*. Do not write a tale of pathos, and stuff, and folly such as Dickens now obtains money for under false pretences; the Court appreciates genuine feeling, but whilst it listens to false sentiment it feels inclined to act, as did that shepherdess who sang,—

"I sits with my feet in a brook;
 And if any one asks me for why,
 I hits him a lick with my crook,
 And says, sentiment kills me, says I."

Write as you *write* in *Friends of Bohemia*, and you cannot fail to write well, but if you are tempted to write another such *book*, this Court will treat you as it ought to treat you, and remember that our maxim is expressed in that wise Italian saying which, like all Italian sayings is good and true when not rascally, "Non v'è il peggior ladro d'un cattivo libro"—NO WORSE ROBBER THAN A BAD BOOK.

Do not again declare that "we; men, want men's books. No body dare write a man's book—a novel, or a poem, or a memoir. When a fellow writes, he considers what can go into a family—what virgin sisters can read; so, because our virgin sisters are idiots, we get idiotic books;" this is bad sense, and bad philosophy, and bad morality, and without religion. Consider that without the "families" at which you sneer you could not have "virgin" sisters such as you despise:—would you have the "men's books," at the risk of having a bride not idiotic and not a virgin? Would you play over again the farce of Godwin and Mary Wollstoucraft? We think not, but you must remember that "laxity of talk" may be harmless: "laxity" of writing may become a deadly evil. As Robert Pollok has it, in *The Course of Time*, a novel was, and is, a book,

"Oft crammed full
 Of poisonous error, blackening every page;
 And oftener still, of trifling, second-hand
 Remark, and old, diseased, putrid thought;
 And miserable incident, at war
 With nature, with itself and truth at war."

Not much of this applies to you, Whitty, as the Court has already shown; but, beware, lest the world, the Court, the "families," and the virtuous sisters, may consider that "men's books," are but "old, diseased, and putrid thought."

ART. VI.—PRINCIPLES AND PARTIES—THE YOUNG PARLIAMENT.

1. *Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox.* Edited by Lord John Russell. 3 vols., 8 vo. London: Bentley. 1854.
- 1 *Contributions to the Edinburgh Review.* By Henry Lord Brougham, F.R.S., &c. London and Glasgow: Griffin. 1856.
3. *Memoirs of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., M.P.* Published by the Trustees of his Papers, Lord Mahon (now Earl Stanhope) and the Right Hon. Edwd. Cardwell, M.P, Parts II. and III. London: Murray. 1857.
4. *Speech delivered by James Anthony Lawson, LL.D., Q.C., at the Election of Members to serve in Parliament for the University of Dublin, held on the 30th of March, 1857, and five following days.* Dublin: Hodges and Smith. 1857.

The sovereign and the people have been in travail together, and we are now to congratulate the country on the simultaneous birth of a Princess and of a Parliament. From long clothes to crinoline, and from leading strings to the valse à deux temps, the Princess will, no doubt, be trained in the way in which she is to go, and we are happy in the belief that when she is old she will not depart from it. Can this, or anything like it, be presumed in favour of the young Parliament? Her Royal Highness will pass from rosy nurses to serious governesses, and from saints in crape to saints in lawn. From her father she will learn to score music, and from her mother to practise virtue; but what far-reaching conjecture can hit the destiny of the new Parliament? True, it will have its share of nursing, and teaching, and preaching, and of maternal discipline, less gentle, however, than would be sufficient to sustain the comparison between its own training and that of the Princess. Its parent, the Country, has a loud and, truth to say, a masculine voice; an uncommon flow of free and not seldom of abusive speech; a sturdy will, and a broad and heavy hand withal. But we have in this no guarantee that the present Parliament will prove more dutiful or reasonable than its prede-

cessor. It may be that, at the end of its course, the constituencies will have to say, we have piped to you, and you have not danced; we have mourned to you, and you have not wept. The present House of Commons may be taken as evidence of national feeling, but not of national purpose. It means confidence in Palmerston, and nothing more. Possibly the country may have intended to give expression to its eagerness for reform; but, if so, it has failed to convey its meaning in the precise way which a minister is most likely to understand. The failure, however, admits of explanation. The disturbing influences that affect an election are many and powerful, commonly well known and well understood, but often capricious and inscrutable; so that constituencies the best affected towards a measure frequently return either cold friends or avowed enemies. It is fortunate indeed that the people have other modes of expressing their wishes and their purposes than one which private interests and ambition are so largely concerned in appropriating and perverting. The present Parliament is not itself the expression of a purpose; but, if the people have a real purpose, Parliament will be obedient. The easiest Parliament will yield nothing to popular preference, but the most obstinate will bow to the popular will. And it is in this our hope of Reform lies; for otherwise there never sat in Westminster an assembly less likely to deal largely with the question of reform. It contains hardly a score of members bound to a decided course, or whose discretion within certain easy limits is not quite unfettered. Parliament has seldom been so deficient in heart or freshness. A very undue proportion of its new members has been taken from that class of all others which has done most to dishonor the British character. Corn has been perverse, selfish, impracticable, bigoted, stupid; Cotton has been crotchety, visionary, conceited, and unpatriotic; but Money has been altogether infamous. And yet money was never so largely represented in Parliament. Its martyrs and confessors—the Sadleirs, Pauls, Strahans, Redpaths, and Hudsons—have not died, and suffered in vain. English constituencies by the dozen have committed their interests to men who love and cherish that one only interest which accrues upon principal; whose hearts beat time to the fluctuations of the market; whose colour obeys the

panic or rally of the funds, and who look forward to no more distant future than the maturity of their bills.

But, even were Parliament less favourably constituted than it is, and were its leader far less sagacious of the popular mind than we know him to be, there could be no doubt of the permanent supremacy of reform. Reform has no longer to wage an equal battle against this or that inveterate abuse. She has already won her decision victories and established her title. Henceforward she rules without dispute, subject only, like any other sensible ruler, to constitutional restraints. No one is disposed to question a moderate, even if not strictly regular exercise of her prerogative, but if she finds it necessary to upset an institution or two, no matter how ricketty or vicious, it must be done after the old English fashion, in the proper manner, with stately delay, and decent ceremonial, in form of law agreeably to precedent, and perhaps in Norman French, but with a redeeming nationality of accent. Under these mild restrictions, the power of reform is unlimited, because the principle is sound, has won its way gradually, and having gained the ascendant is precisely the same that it was on the horizon. In other countries reform is a name for revolution, in this country, reform is itself. A really great principle fairly before the world is certain to triumph. The men who advance it may not believe in it—they may imagine they are merely turning it to account, or that it is a clever invention of their own; possibly they may hate and fear it, and once they have attained their ends, it is the most usual thing in the world that they should disown and decry the means. It is the experience of all ages, that men who have acquired power by the profession of a principle or set of principles, often employ their power to defeat or at least to delay the operation of the principle they advocated. We do not here allude to the threadbare topic of ministerial shortcomings as compared with opposition engagements. Opposition leaders do certainly protest too much, and minister are undoubtedly too forgetful of their promises, but it is extremely probable that no well-informed Court of Equity, if government could for its vices be thrown into Chancery, would decree specific performance of opposition contracts against a man in office. We refer to those who, having obtained power under favour of a principle, employ that power to defeat, and if

possible to extinguish the principle. The English Revolution furnishes more instances of the kind alluded to than any other event in history ; but it also furnishes the most remarkable instance of the vitality of a great principle, resisting every effort to silence and appress it. The Revolution has eventuated in a very limited monarchy upon the basis of civil and religious liberty. The principle is excellent, but this limited monarchy was established by regicides in the person of a man who loved unlimited monarchy as dearly as ever did Tudor or Stuart. Civil liberty was taken under the patronage of aristocratic families, much as an heir expectant is favoured by a money lender ; and religious liberty inaugurated the reign of persecution for a century and a half. The fathers of the Revolution were traitors, perjurers and parricides ; soldiers who betrayed their flag, churchmen who denied their vows, and children who forswore their nature. Their political profligacy was only to be equalled by their private wickedness, and such as were not greatly bad were profoundly mean. The kings they set upon the throne soon found them to love their own barns better than the house of Brunswick, and had early notice that the prince's prerogative was in fact the prerogative of his ministers, under the sanction of principles which he and they alike despised. The Georges were unwilling to be " Doges ;" the governing classes were resolved to be " Patricians," but of the people there was no account. Meanwhile, civil and religious liberty were unknown, unless by name ; but that name was in itself a power, and once exalted, drew all things after it.

This it may be said is declamation, loose rhetoric, blind slashing, or, at best, random hitting. Nevertheless the facts are as we stated. Our limited monarchy was the work of the regicides ; for Hampden, the associate of Russell and Sydney in the Council of Six, declared after the Revolution, that it was only a continuation of the Commonwealth, and that the Revolution itself began fourteen years before its nominal date. That absolute monarchy was the creed and the ambition of William no one offers to question. We have Whig authority for saying that the Whigs of 1688 " had no notion of freedom beyond their sect or party," and that " with liberty upon the lip, monopoly and persecution were in their hearts." Another Whig authority,* in speaking of

the Parliament, which introduced the Revolution in continuation of the Commonwealth, says that under the "Whig Parliament which brooded over and hatched the popish plot, and under which neither life, nor character, nor property were safe, all was violence, prejudice, and blood. Wilful perjury was rashly believed if not suborned, and such men as Lord Russell proved themselves to be more bloody, ruthless, and tyrannical than all the Stuarts put together." He afterwards declares the same Parliament to have been distinguished by "an infatuated despotism, and an extent of tyranny infinitely exceeding anything ever attempted by the Stuarts." Fox is obliged to admit the revolution to have been the not very remote consequence of "Oates' Plot,"* and to confess that the revolutionists were indebted to it for their strength and success. We have much the same kind of evidence as to the character of the individual heroes of the Revolution, that we have quoted as to the character of their party generally. The former we described as traitors, perjurers, and parricides; as not even whitened sepulchres, but equally foul without and within; seared in conscience, bronzed in forehead, and steeped in iniquity more completely than Achilles in the Styx, so that not one spot in soul or body should be vulnerable to grace. We have good authority for everything we say of them. The villanies of Shaftesbury in private life are not disputed, and we find in the memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, that he sat in judgment upon and sentenced to death his former associates the regicides, after having declared to the Colonel "if ever the violence of the people should bring the king upon us, let me be damned body and soul if I ever see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate." Lord Grey, afterwards created Earl of Tankerville by William, and one of the prime movers of the Revolution, a wretch who had turned approver against Sydney and Russell, is described by Lord John Russell as stained with the private vices of licentiousness, cowardice, falsehood, and ingratitude. The seduction of his wife's sister, pursues Lord John Russell, "was aggravated by duplicity to her parents, and barbarity to her." Compton, the Bishop of London, and one of those who invited the Liberator, receives from one Whig historian the complimentary addition of "the lying."† And another‡ says of him, that "he signed the invitation, and in the presence

* History of James II. † Ward. ‡ Sir James Mackintosh.

of King James, forswore in the worst form his hand and his word. He was ready to sign anything like the libertine and to swear anything, like the Jew in the 'School for Scandal.' "Vigour and virtue," says Ward, "had fled from the 'seven heroes' as we are taught to think those who invited William to aid their distressed country, and the names of Danby, Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Sydney, and Russell, sink into the dirt. . . . The seven heroes were Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sydney. **THEY WERE ALL EMINENT ROGUES,** and Russell, Admiral Percival, and Shrewsbury afterwards proved traitors to the cause they had espoused" Churchill according to the same authority, but for his military glory as Marlborough, would only have been known in history as a villain. The infamies of Cornbury and Grafton are "such as to make the heart sick." Halifax was not less corrupt than Sunderland; "though that infamous man, while he contributed perhaps most to the revolution, was the pattern and father of all corruption." Godolphin and Danby are similarly dealt with; and yet it was by these men that the principles of liberty and toleration and the constitutional monarchy were reduced to an authentic form, and accepted as their title to the crown by a race of princes who detested them always, and resisted them while they could.

But the vices of the Shaftsburies and Danbys were not in every instance transmitted with their names. The grandeur and the truth of the principles they had set up were too evident, too beautiful, not to win belief, after a time at least, from those to whose charge they were committed. Children were born to the old whigs, who believed in the reality of virtue, liberty, and conscience. The party desired to see and embrace the principle in its real shape and glory; Liberty was well pleased, and revealing himself in all his beauty and all his majesty with all his smiles and all his lightnings took the party to his embrace, shrivelled up and calcined the corrupt form it had borrowed from Shaftsbury and Danby, transferred the germs of virtue he had himself implanted to his own most glorious essence, and in the fulness of time presented to the world the party of which Burke, Fox, and Grattan were the children. These were the first worshippers of

liberty and reform, these were the first who would exclude no sect or party from her altars, and to whose very grave-stones lay an appeal from the bigotry of later times, when Sheil said so truly that if he were to poll the monuments in the Abbey, Emancipation could rely upon a majority.

It was from this period, from the age of Burke and Fox, thus that liberal principles took their start; forwarded at once, and delayed by the French Revolution. From that period to the present these principles have often been stationary, but they never encountered a real defeat. They have sometimes advanced slowly, and at other times by bounds, but there is no instance of a retreat. The volumes of Fox's correspondence before us, throw a strong but peculiar light upon the infancy of liberal opinions. For a long time Fox, with his many faults and weaknesses, was accepted both by his own party and by the enemy, as the incarnation of liberal opinion. You cannot read his letters without entering into the spirit of his time, and understanding how he ruled the hour. His genius, his learning, his unreserve, his amiability, his very indolence, and recklessness, are seductive; for they strike you as differing alike from the austerity that belongs to ambition, as well as to patriotism; and from the industry that is oftener devoted to the manufacture of parties than to the advancement of principles. His directness and simplicity are typical of the same qualities in the principles he advocates. Simplicity is the test of a great and conquering principle. A good principle in politics as in everything else goes far to explain itself. The arguments in its favour are soon exhausted. When you have said that authority is a trust for the people, that all men are born free, that liberty is essential to progress, that a free press is essential to liberty, that discussion is not hurtful to truth, that taxation without representation is a grievance, that nomination boroughs were a fraud upon the Constitution, that the Church Establishment in Ireland is the worst wrong existing; when you have said any of these things your reasons are at hand, they are even anticipated by your adversary. He will rarely maintain that any of them, as abstract propositions are untrue, or that your argument in support of them is unsound. He will at most endeavour to qualify and refine, or to raise false issues. Your reasons are necessarily few but they are conclusive; like your principle itself they are in the nature of axioms, and cannot

be met directly. But the supporters of the counter principle are very differently circumstanced. If they have to defend arbitrary power, or divine right, or jury packing, or borough mongering, or the Irish Church Establishment, there is no artifice of rhetoric and logic, not used and not needed for the occasion. Fragments of history, and saws of philosophy, and snatches of poetry, misty sublimity, and unmistakeable claptrap are pieced and matched into the defence. As shews of art those speeches and treatises are nearly perfect. Invention is taxed to its last resources; ingenuity contrives new and uncommon shifts; wit, ridicule and enthusiasm play their several parts; and the strongest conservative measures from the slaughter of the innocents to the massacre of Peterloo, as well as every conservative maxim from "we have a law" to "thank God, we have a House of Lords," will be upheld, explained, illustrated, and enforced by reason, example, and authority to an extent, that no vulgar truth of reform could ever require or endure.

Ἀπλὸς ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἴφιν,
 Κού περικλιν δὴ τὰ διχ' ἱερμανισμάτων
 Ἔχου γὰρ αὐτὰ παῖδ' ὁ δ' ἀδίκος λόγος.
 Νοσῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φαρμάκων δῶται σοφῶν.*

Hence is that so much more of the energy of reformers has been expended upon the removal of contrary theories than upon the enforcement of their own doctrines. That was done for them effectually by the doctrines themselves, which came recommended by their own directness and simplicity. It is owing also to its natural infirmity of constitution that conservatism has wasted and dwindled away. It was in possession; it had for its servants Kings and Nobles and Churchmen, and great Ministers, Pitt and Castlereagh and Canning and Perceval and Wellington and Peel; it had the better part of the landed interest devoted to it, heart and soul and mind and strength; it had unlimited funds, unlimited credit, and almost unlimited power. There was an air of romance about it too, a faint suggestion of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers, or rather more perhaps of Charles Edward and Mar, that made it popular at least with the readers of the Waverly novels. It was supported of old as now by ge-

* Simple the word of truth is from the birth,
 Nor need just judgments highly laboured glosses;
 Their fitness is their proof—but the unjust word
 Diseased in nature, must be drugged by learning.
Eurip. Phænissæ.

nuine enthusiasm, and strong faith as well as by profound roguery and perfect incredulity. The amiable, generous, sincere, learned and eloquent Wyndham has written and spoken in defence of the most indefensible enormities of conservatism things that at the moment at least it would be impossible to refute, or even to turn aside. Lord Brougham describes him as having had "the advantages of a refined classical education, a lively wit of the most powerful and yet abstruse description, a turn for subtle reasoning, drawing nice distinctions and pursuing remote analogies, great and early knowledge of the world, familiarity with men of letters, and nobles as well as politicians, with Burke, Johnston, and Reynolds, as well as with Fox and North, and much acquaintance with constitutional history and principle." Further on he describes Wyndham's style as "full of new observation and profound remark. It was "he says" instinct with classical allusion; it was even over informed with philosophic and with learned reflections; it sparkled with the finest wit, a wit which was as far superior to Sheridan's as his to the gambols of the clown, or the movements of Pantaloon, and his wit how exuberant soever still seemed to help on the argument as well as to illustrate the meaning of the speaker. He was, however, in the main a serious persuasive speaker, whose words plainly flowed from deep and vehement and long considered and well weighed feelings of the heart." And this same man, [such is conservatism,] would not hear of voluntary service for the defence of the country, would not vote its thanks to the meritorious soldier, maintained the morality and decency of bull-baiting, and opposed any law restrictive of cruelty to animals. "Upon other subjects of graver import" says Lord Brougham, "his paradoxes stood prominent and mischievous: unredeemed by ingenuity, unpalliated by opposite exaggeration, and even unmitigated by any admixture of truth. He defended the slave-trade which he had first opposed, only because the French Royalists were injured by the revolt which their own follies had occasioned in St. Domingo; he resisted all mitigation of our criminal law, only because it formed part of our antiquated jurisprudence like trial by battle, nay, ordeal by fire and water, and he opposed every project for educating the people."

What therefore has been the result? The common soldier is not only thanked, but admitted to a military order of knight-

hood ; bull-baiting is a misdemeanour ; the slave trade is at an end ; so far from being allowed to "wallop your own nigger," you cannot "wallop your own donkey ;" the venerable wickednesses of the criminal law have been abolished, and by the Conservative Peel ; the very Irish are being educated without a hope or suspicion of conversion ; and other disasters have fallen upon Conservatism too long to catalogue. The wit, the ingenuity, the eloquence of Wyndham are just a specimen of the learned quackery that Euripides despises. If man cannot live upon bread alone, still less can he live upon blue pill and cod liver oil, even of the the light brown description. Conservatism *verum in auctō* organically diseased—a born invalid, ossifying at heart from day to day—could not be kept alive upon patronage and exchequer bills ; much more substantial support than rhetoric, wit, fine distinctions, remote analogies, and speeches instinct with classical allusions. Lord Brougham, in one of his essays upon "High Tory Principles," draws a picture of the constitutional infirmity, the essential falsehood of Conservatism, so curious as to be well worth a little study :—

Among the strange sights of the present day, connected with this subject, it is impossible to pass over the solemn mockery lately performed at Paris by the orders, it is said, though it seems hardly credible, of the English Government, in removing the remains of James II., and depositing them in a new church. There was something intelligible and consistent in the restored government of France ordering funeral rites to be celebrated for Louis XVI. and his unfortunate Queen. Nor could any one have greatly blamed Charles II. in this country, had he done something of the same kind upon his returning, instead of basely insulting the ashes of the great leaders of the Commonwealth. Some eleven or twelve years ago, the remains of Charles I. were discovered at Windsor ; and it was not deemed necessary, perhaps not considered very expedient, to bestow any funeral honours upon the dust of him whom the Church of England, in her great loyalty and (we good Presbyterians are bound to add) idolatry, denominates the Blessed Martyr of Almighty God—a Saint who followed the steps of the Saviour, and the shedding of whose blood nothing but the blood of the Son of God can expiate. Whence comes it to pass, then, that such singular respect should have been paid to the remains of him whom the same Church stigmatizes as a cruel and bloodthirsty enemy of herself and the State, and for deliverance from whose Popish tyranny and arbitrary power, by the instrumentality of those who dethroned him, she periodically offers up unfeigned thanks ? Those expressions, indeed, seem to have been wholly forgotten by the conductors of this strange solemnity. He

who was driven from the throne into exile for his misgovernment, and deemed by his criminality to have forfeited the crown, is treated as a lawful sovereign, and one to whom nothing worse than bad fortune could be imputed. "*Reliquiæ Jacobi II. qui in secundo civitatis gradu clarus triumphis, in primo infelicior;*" and the King, who owes his crown to the resistance which our ancestors made against this tyrant, is represented as ordering to be paid the honours due to the royal race—"quo decet honore in stirpem regiam!" But his issue were as much entitled to royal honours, because they were as much of the royal stock as himself; and yet the Parliament, King and all, of this country, thought fit to set a price upon their heads. It really looks as if there were some foolish Tories about the court, who deemed the title of the Royal Family, under the Act of Settlement, less firm than it would be, if the descendants of the Duchess of Orleans, Charles I.'s youngest daughter, were extinct, and those of his sister, the Queen of Bohemia, could claim by the exploded hereditary title which the Revolution of 1688 has for ever set aside. Yet, strange to tell, those very persons seem to have the greatest horror of everything like Popery, and, from a senseless enmity to a mere name, are perpetuating the misgovernment and the misery of a third part of the King's dominions. The whole ceremonial upon the occasion we are alluding to, was of course purely Popish, accompanied with prayers for the soul of the deceased, and, as the accounts add, with "all the solemnities, so powerful in their effect, which distinguish the Catholic Church service." It is reasonable to conclude from this, that no prejudice against Popery having stood in the way of the King's servants honouring the memory of a dethroned tyrant, none will now prevent their adopting those measures necessary to the peace, prosperity, and indeed the safety, of the empire.

And this is Conservatism! These are High Tory principles! Never was their constitutional malady, falsehood, more strikingly disclosed than in the foregoing extract. Trickling itself out in a cast-off legitimacy, Conservatism celebrates the parentalia of a king who had been expelled for proclaiming liberty of conscience a century too soon; and the same Conservatism upholds tyranny of conscience a century too late, and would uphold it for centuries to come in the name of legitimacy and divine right. What learned doctoring could administer to a disease like that? What oratory or statesmanship could keep up an unreality of the kind? The wonder is, that Conservatism was enabled to hold its ground so long against reason and the popular will; but, when it did fall, it was to rise no more. The men whose party designation it was—the missing tribes of Conservatism—were re-organised after their first dispersion, and as a party seemed stronger, more united, and better disciplined than ever. They included every variety of

talent—oratorical, legislative, and administrative, under the greatest statesman of the age; but they never attempted to revive Conservatism; on the contrary, it was in the fulness of Conservative power, and while the country was disaffected towards the persons, even if not estranged from the doctrines of the Liberal leaders, that the essential truth and virtue of reform was most signally triumphant. With a parliamentary majority equal, apparently, to anything, Peel never tried it in reaction. Reform never paused in her career, lost none of her conquests, and suffered no session to pass without adding to them by some unobserved but solid victory. Principles had been avowed, and measures adopted by the conservative leaders which, even before the dissolution of their party in 1846, caused the title Conservative to sit rather uneasily upon it. The criminal law was reformed after the sweeping fashion in which Peel always did his work. The law of parliamentary elections was also reformed, with a view to purity of election—a principle not only not Conservative, but almost revolutionary, as compared with the old Tory theories of the legitimate influence of property. The extended Maynooth grant was a reform of incalculable magnitude, because it was the beginning of a series of reforms adjourned by the calamities of the time and the death of their projector. The Queen's Colleges—a scheme in our minds so little worthy the genius of Peel that we are glad it originated with Mr. Wyse—were, after all, in the nature of a reform, because their assumed principle was borrowed from the National system of education, and involved an affirmation of that principle by a Conservative Parliament, which tended to place it beyond the danger of reaction.

But the great triumph of reform in those days is recorded in the book upon our table, the second part of the Peel Memoirs. The conquest of a mind like that of Peel, circumstanced as Peel was in 1846, is greater proof of the virtue and power of the principle of Free Trade than could have been, furnished by universal bread riots and a march of the provinces upon London. There was nothing to force his surrender; there was nothing to compel his adoption of the principle. His party would have borne him harmless had he thought proper to resist all concession, and there is no doubt that with the immense and consoli-

dated power of administration in 1846, had he decided upon appealing to the country, the protectionist majority would not have suffered material diminution. In any event the party he had drawn together so painfully, and disciplined so carefully, and educated so thoroughly, and made so strong and preponderant, would have indulged his tenderness for Ireland in the approaching famine, to the utmost. They were naturally kind and open-hearted and open-handed gentlemen. They would almost have embarrassed their private fortunes, and were ready to drain the public purse, in bounty to the starving Irish, provided agriculture should be still protected, or at the very worst they would have consented to a temporary remission of the duty upon corn, and returned to the protection duties upon the cessation of the famine. Sir Robert Peel, however, thought differently. At no time friendly to petty or provisional measures, he saw in the first instance, that if the existing law were to be interfered with, the question should be permanently settled; he saw that no final settlement could stop short of total repeal; he saw that free trade in corn let in the question of free trade in everything, and with his characteristic love of completeness in any measure to which he set his hand, he adopted the principle of free trade, with all its accidents and all its consequences. The process by which he arrived at all his conclusions; the spirit of sacrifice in which he gave effect to them; his immediate and unqualified surrender to conviction; the promptitude and decision of his course under conviction; his single-mindedness, whether in abandoning, retaining or resuming power; all these as disclosed in the memoir before us, are so faithful a copy of the working of his mind upon the Emancipation Question, that we have only to refer to our paper upon the first part of his memoirs, and we find all that we think upon that branch of the subject already said. We believe that the rant about betrayal, and perfidy, and treachery, had gone the way of all conservatism, even before the appearance of this volume, and that the country did not wait for its appearance to do justice to its great author. Sir Robert Peel had never committed himself absolutely to a protectionist policy. He had always refused, as he afterwards observed, to give any pledge against the alteration of the corn laws, as they then existed, and had always held that protective duties were in them-

selves evils," and it followed, as of course, that upon a fitting opportunity they should be removed—It was reserved for his sagacity to note the opportunity. It would however be false to say that Sir Robert Peel ever ceased to be a conservative in the sense which he himself attached to the word, a sense which, if generally adopted, would go far to reconcile conservatism with reform.—Conservatism in his view meant nothing else than the preservation as nearly as might be of the existing balance between the powers of the constitution. He considered the commonwealth generally as gravitating round the crown and the aristocracy. Any interference with what he regarded, and perhaps not wrongly, as the centre of our system, was therefore to be resisted as a dangerous if not fatal experiment. You could not, he argued, notably reduce the power, weight, or dimensions of the centre, or greatly relieve the attendant bodies from its attractive influences without driving them into eccentric orbits, or perhaps into boundless space. Where he apprehended no such danger, or became convinced that there was none, or that a change, however, deprecated by his party, would only serve to adjust the balance, he consulted his own judgment, and not the ill-informed tastes or weaknesses of his party. He loved his party not for his party's sake, but for the sake of the country—he did not fall into the common mistake of valuing the raiment more than the body, and the food more than the life. He gave preponderance to aristocracy, not from an undue regard for an order, to which he thought it undesirable to associate himself or his name, but because he considered it useful to the country, as the patient and not the mixture is foremost with the physician who prescribes. He states it very roundly and explicitly himself.

It appeared to me that all these considerations—the betrayal of party attachments—the maintenance of the honour of public men—the real interests of the cause of Constitutional Government, must all be determined by the answer which the heart and conscience of a responsible Minister might give to the question, What is that course which the public interests really demand? What is the course best calculated under present circumstances to diminish the risk of great suffering and the discontent which will be the consequence of that suffering if timely precautions which might be taken be neglected?

If, after mature reflection, there was the honest belief that certain measures ought to be adopted, and adopted without delay, it would

not be consistent with true fidelity to party attachments, with a true sense of personal honour, with a true devotion to the cause of Constitutional Government, to evade the conclusions of a man's own deliberate judgment and to tax his ingenuity for specious reasons for maintaining in debate some alternative of which in his conscience he did not approve.

It was not difficult indeed to find such reasons, and not unsafe to insist on them. There was the full assurance of support from powerful majorities in each House of Parliament well disposed to the maintenance of the Corn Laws. I was not insensible to the evil of acting counter to the will of those majorities, of severing party connections, and of subjecting public men to suspicion and reproach and the loss of public confidence; but I felt a strong conviction that such evils were light in comparison with those which must be incurred by the sacrifice of national interests to party attachments, and by deferring necessary precautions against scarcity of food for the purpose of consulting appearances and preserving the show of personal consistency. I felt, too, that the injury to the character of public men, the admitted evil of shaking confidence in their integrity and honour, would be only temporary; that if a public man resolved to take a course which his own deliberate judgment approved—if that course were manifestly opposed to his own private and political interests—if he preferred it with all its sacrifices to some other, the taking of which would exempt him from personal responsibility, would enable him to escape much obloquy, and to retain the goodwill and favour of his party—I felt, I say, a strong conviction that no clamour and misrepresentation, however sustained and systematic, would prevent the ultimate development of the truth, the ultimate acknowledgment that party interests would not have been promoted—the honour of public men would not have been maintained—the cause of Constitutional Government would not have been served, if a Minister had at a critical period shrunk from the duty of giving that advice which he believed to be the best, and from incurring every personal sacrifice which the giving of that advice might entail. I felt assured that this ultimate acknowledgment, however tardily made, would amply repair, so far at least as the public interests were concerned, the temporary evil of unjust suspicion and unjust reproach cast upon the motives and conduct of public men.

We think we have not over-estimated the value of Sir Robert Peel's career as a proof that sound principles will prevail equally under discouragement as under favour, once they are before the world. But sound principles have often to encounter enemies more formidable than hostile majorities or popular prejudices. A far more dangerous enemy is corruption; far more dangerous is even a relaxation of public virtue short of corruption; far more dangerous the languor, disarray, and unguardedness that follow victory; infinitely dangerous the presumption belonging

to an excess of strength. Popular extravagance is also a great and, perhaps, an inevitable danger; the timidity and half-mindedness of leaders stand in the way not seldom; but reform has had to encounter all this, and more. Not many years ago the author of the first Reform Bill declared that measure to have been final; and now the idea of finality is as far from his mind or purpose as the idea of Protection. A Reform Bill is about to be laid before the country. It may not effect all possible, all desirable, or even all indispensable reforms; but the drowsiest Conservative will not deal with it as final. The Conservatives are appeased, for the present by authoritative statements that there shall be no organic changes. The greatness of the changes we have already gone through, smoothly and safely, has had the not unnatural effect of making us think a little slightly of the reforms that are every day enacted and effected—reforms much more organic in character than they appear, and which must not only be carried to the account of the first great measure of reform, but which are every one a pledge and guarantee of reforms to come. Any measure of reform, therefore, at all worthy of being offered to the people must be important—nay, must be, to a great extent, organic; and for this reason chiefly, that reform is now the settled principle of all administrations, applicable to all institutions, and that when a measure takes the express style and title of reform, it cannot fail of being a serious, even if not quite an adequate measure. But it is painful to think that, while reform is inevitable, and Ireland must, of course, share in its advantages, reform must owe, on this occasion, so little to Ireland, and that Ireland must owe so little to herself. It would be neither profitable nor pleasant to inquire just now into all the causes of the miserable disorganisation that has left Ireland dumb and neutral on the question of reform. Certain it is that England and Scotland—after a fashion of their own, perhaps, but emphatically and decisively—have declared for reform. Ireland is the only portion of the kingdom that stands utterly disgraced. Ireland, to whom reform is not an abstract principle, a point of honour, or a party motto, but a necessary condition of peace and progress, is the one member of the British Union to whom reform must owe nothing in the present Parliament. Ireland, to whom reform means free religion, free charity, free education, free votes—the right to prosper, the very right to

live—Ireland alone is hostile or, at best, indifferent to reform. The poor old idol, Conservatism, has been fished up from the slough into which popular contempt had dropt it, and now finds an altar in Ireland alone. Reform has a value and a significance in Ireland, different as we have stated from those of reform elsewhere. The same may be said of Conservatism. And, if in Ireland Reform have the meaning we ascribe to it, can there be any doubt as to the meaning of Conservatism? It means a more than Corsican vitality of hatred for the Irish and their religion; it means the treasured recollection of gone-by cruelty, and the sharp appetite for more; it means injury whenever possible, and insult always; it is Nero at a loss for men victims, in a solitude even of flies, but equally ready for practice with the rack or the bodkin; it is a pig on the highroad—in the way, even when running out of the way; obstructing although retreating; causing an occasional upset, and sometimes ridden over, but ever the same perverse, unmanageable, unteachable swine. Nay, we do this Conservatism too much honour; for there has been such a thing as an educated pig—a pig who could tell the hour of the day, and the day of the month, for the bribe of an acorn; but what genuine Irish Conservative could be trained, through any instinct of his, to mark the place of his country in the nineteenth century? Peace, union, prosperity, education, progress—none of these are a bait for him. He hardly realizes the notion that ascendancy is over—that the penal laws have been actually repealed—that we have left the rebellion of '98 nearly sixty years behind—and that martial law, the cat, the triangle, and the pitch-cap are no longer part of our Constitution in Church and State. But Irish Conservatives cannot tell why, and are determined not to learn. And yet it is men like these that Irish constituencies, who could have done otherwise, have sent into Parliament—not statesmen who have taken the thing up for a purpose, like Disraeli and Sir John Pakington, and even Mr. Walpole—but men who positively believe in it and love it. The one element of consolation in all this vileness is derived from the persuasion that Conservatism has reached the last degree of ridicule by becoming something merely Irish. It is Lambert Simnel qualifying for the scullery in England by an Irish coronation. But, in any case, ours is the shame, although the penalty may be remitted. Does the Maynooth grant stand? England alone is to be thanked. Does the National system of education yet exist? England alone protects it. Has

the Catholic soldier the last sacraments in his agony? It is to Protestant England that he owes his salvation. Ireland has sent men to Parliament who, sooner than allow the soldier the services of a priest, would see him die in despair; and rather than that the "wafer-god" should repose upon his tongue, would have him spend its last action in blasphemy. There undoubtedly are men, amongst us who still love to be called Conservatives, and who notwithstanding are liberals and reformers in practice, like Lord Stanley and others we could name in England, but Ireland has sent no such Conservatives to Parliament. We used to refer with pride to the election of liberal Protestants by a Catholic constituency; but here there is not a question between Catholic and Protestant. No man in his senses will connect Irish Orangism with any form of religion. What has the Orangeman to do with the Synod of Dort or Confession of Augsburg? What does he know about the articles of religion or the Westminster Catechism? He believes in whiskey, powder, blood, Fermanagh juries, Sir William Verner, and Lord Roden—that is the full sweep and compass of his religion. Conservatism in Ireland is just a sicklier, but more malignant type of Orangeism. Smooth, civil-spoken, kid-gloved, and perfumed, it coats and preserves with a varnish of civilisation all the instincts and passions of the savage life. Yet we find this Conservatism sharing, and thus destroying, the representation of Louth, Mayo, Leitrim, and Kilkenny. In other counties—such as Sligo, Carlow, and Dublin, and again in towns like Dublin, Belfast, Carlow, and New Ross—we meet it absolutely dominant, and in almost undisputed possession. It is a convenient resource to throw the blame on our disunion, as if disunion were, in fact, something distinct from ourselves—a deity, or demon to be propitiated, as if we could set everything right by a sacrifice to Ate. More or less of the fault may be with those who assume to guide opinion; but there must be something wrong everywhere, or it would be impossible that, under a constitutional government, and with education so generally diffused, the people could be absolutely at the disposal of a few pretenders. In one way or another, we are all accountable for the loss and the disgrace. It is to be hoped we may all profit by the lesson.

In nothing, however, are we more humbled than in

sterility of genius, or even of decent ability which has fallen upon Ireland, as represented in Parliament, within the last few years. Adventurers, with abundant but inferior brains; fops with none at all worth mentioning; Militia captains, made up of moustache and strut; country gentlemen with none but the property qualification; one or two respectable lawyers; five or six other members who can speak connectedly for twenty minutes; these, and a few not ranging under any one class, exhaust our entire list of representatives. What little show of talent does exist, and it is mere show, must go to the credit of the enemy. In number they are half, or only less than half the entire representation; in union, discipline, and zeal they are worth us all twice told, and if they really had a cause to gain, the probability is, they would gain it. It is strange that Ireland should have no man to keep up the tradition, the now lost tradition, of her intellectual equality with the other members of the empire. Grattan and Plunkett were succeeded by O'Connell and Shiel; nor were Doherty and Shaw unfavourable representatives of Irish intellect. Now we contribute absolutely nothing, as far at least as can be known, to the dignity, brilliancy, or wisdom of the Imperial Parliament. Upon other fields of competition we succeed beyond expectation, but take us to Parliament and we subside into dregs or rise and break as bubbles. This, however, is a state of things too unnatural and too unusual to be of long continuance. Our native parliaments were turbulent, factious, and corrupt assemblies—but they were never dull. For many years after the Union we contributed largely, or, at least, fairly, to the oratorical, legislative, and administrative ability of the empire; but all this is for the present at an end. At this moment it would be quite possible to form an administration of Scotchmen alone, if ability and experience merely were regarded; nor would it be once thought possible to form an administration without any Scotchmen. Ireland is never thought of in these arrangements, and we make no complaint upon the subject. Not one single member have we sent to the House of Commons with personal qualities or parliamentary following, such as to command respect. Not one Irish Peer has Eton, Harrow, this or that university, or the great university of the world, experience, study, and official life, been able to work into a cabinet minister. How could it be otherwise? We have

no policy, we are agreed upon nothing, we have no friends, no sympathies, no attachments, little to make us loved, and nothing to make us feared.

We have said in former papers, what we still adhere to; that the blame of Irish disorganization, is not all chargeable upon ourselves. The sad policy of provisional government for Ireland is still followed by those in power. Their one desire seems to be the temporary preservation of a state of things which every one knows to be unreal and unnatural, and which is maintained to the detriment of the national spirit and the national morals. But making due allowance for this circumstance, we are in a far worse position than we ought to be, with all our disadvantages. Perverseness, credulity, pride, meanness, jealousy, division, and weakness of intellect, such as usually mark the Irish members, would be enough to defeat opportunities far more happy than are likely to present themselves; whereas discipline, union, and ability, if not genius, are quite as powerful to ensure success. Let us, for a moment, suppose an Irishman of position, character, and ability; a liberal politician, not below the standard of statesmanship, even if somewhat under that of genius; imperial in policy, but national in his affections, practical but not mean; let him have that high-bred quietness so compatible with high spirit; give him the ordinary knowledge of parliamentary generalship which many men possess; make such a man the leader of some thirty or forty liberal Irish members, as loyal and as disciplined, through intelligence, as are the conservatives through dullness, and then over-estimate, if you can, the effect that such leadership and such following will produce.

We hardly know whether Ireland is destined to see a man and a party of this description; but it is, at least, consoling to think that the work of reform will be done without him or us, if not with us, and that our miscalculations and neglect can have little influence upon the final issue of the struggle. Men are coming from the East and from the West to do what we ought to do, and to reap the reward of our intermitted labours. At the City of Dublin election no less than two hundred and fifty late professing Conservatives voted for the Liberal candidates. We freely bid them welcome, and we have no suspicion as to their motives; but to this class does not belong Mr. Lawson, the late candidate

for the University of Dublin, whose remarkable speech lies before us. He belongs to a class from whom we are very willing to draw recruits. A Liberal of old standing, but hitherto a contemplative, rather than a working politician, he has at length taken the field, and, with a temperate courage that speaks well for the maturity of his convictions, has assaulted the stronghold of Conservatism in Ireland. Mr. Lawson, although not a working politician, has been a working man, and contested the University as the candidate of the working men. Accustomed to deal with realities—the student of real studies—the master of real arts—the doctor of real laws—the lawyer of well-earned fees—he was the fitting representative of those who labour and those who succeed. By those alone was he supported. Whatever is laborious and enterprising in the College went with Mr. Lawson. He stood there, in fact, for Young Trinity. Young Trinity, however, by no means includes the young gentlemen who filled the theatre during the election. The scene was not ludicrous, for that would imply drollery; it was not melancholy, for to that belong interest and pity; it was not strange, for, unfortunately, we have seen it before; but it was painful and indecent—very painful, very indecent. You stood in presence of a room-full of reputed gentlemen and students, whom no tailor could ever cut into gentility—no robemaker drape into scholarship. You felt sure that few in the hall were destined to scale anything higher than a lamp-post, or would ever dare more nobly than to bonnet a policeman. Some of the orators you knew were sadly out of place, and others still more unhappily at home. It was shocking to hear a clergyman say to the unfortunate youths beneath him he was glad they had not forgotten to give the Kentish fire. It would have been as becoming had he congratulated them upon not forgetting to blaspheme or to talk bawdry, as to appeal to that signal of insult, defiance, and bloodshed. But the man may be effective on a stump who is not so in a pulpit, and an indifferent minister may be a very proper mountebank—

“Worthy thou of Egypt’s blest abodes:

A decent priest, where monkeys were the gods.”

These, then, are not Young Trinity. It is composed of laborious professors and students, who have done more to elevate the character of the University within the last three years than their predecessors had done during the last three

hundred, and who are still labouring, with insufficient courage, and against mortal odds, to raise the College teaching out of the old ruts where it had remained embedded time out of mind, and to set it running upon a smooth and even road. Against this the genius of "disputations" and "respondencies," and jargon in all its varieties, and routine and make-believe, rallied and stood together. All who slumber at council-boards; all who know when they were well off; all who are disposed to let ill alone; all the "quieta non movere" dignitaries; all the elements of Conservatism, in a word, forgetting their gout, and clubbing their crutches, presented a horrid front to Lawson, in the name of Protestantism, Scriptural education, Protection, rotation without progress, Derby, Hamilton, Napier, and our glorious institutions generally, in Church and State.

For the present they have succeeded; but it will be remembered, as Sir Robert Peel stated, in his letter to Dr. Jebb, the then Protestant Bishop of Limerick, the defection of all the young men of promise was the first symptom of dissolution in the old Conservatives before Emancipation. We shall always have Conservatives, as we occasionally meet a coal-scuttle bonnet or Hessian boots with tassels; but the country will take, and must take, the modern fashion. A few years hence Conservatism will be as obsolete as doublet and hose, for there will be no abuse quite rank enough to be worth preservation; but meanwhile Mr. Lawson does not seek to run beyond the natural progress of reform, or outbid any one in promises. On the contrary, he has been obliged to "pitch his Whiggery low," to suit the understanding of the constituency; at the same time that his professions are as distinct and honest, within their proper limits, as can be reasonably desired. We shall quote one or two passages from his speech, as very forcibly illustrating the movement which he represents:—

Electors of the University of Dublin,—I stand before you to answer one question; that question is,—What brings me here? I appear before you as the advocate of principles unpopular with many of you (cries of hear, hear, and no, no). I have had the courage to avow those principles in my address, when I might have shrunk from the declaration of them (cheers). I ask you now to hear me while I vindicate them (cheers). To the students, and to the scholars of this University in particular, do I address myself. It seems to me but a short time since, like one of yourselves, I sat in this hall an eager and aspiring student. I, too, have been a scholar of this

House; for many years have I been resident within its walls; and believe me all my sympathies are with you. I come forward here supported by a body of men in this University, of whose support I have reason to be proud (cheers), many of them differing from me in political sentiment; but they all know this, that the principles which I now advocate have been the principles of my life (hear, hear). I have not put them on for this occasion; but I have come here to state and to vindicate those principles which are the honest convictions of my heart. Gentlemen, I have not, in appearing before you here, the advantage of being supported by any of the Senior Fellows of this great University. I entertain for them profound respect. I have received nothing but kindness from them, and though I have not been fortunate enough, on this occasion, to secure their support, they shall never hear anything from me disrespectful to them or to the high office which they fill; but I honestly confess that my ambition, if I represent this University at all, is to represent the young and vigorous intellect which is now energizing and vivifying it (loud cheers), and if you confer upon me that honour, the greatest in your power to bestow, and the highest to which I can aspire, it shall be my endeavour to aid in the assertion of those sound principles of University reform which were so forcibly stated on this platform by Mr. Haughton (loud cheers)—and in promoting every internal improvement which will make our University keep pace, as it ought to do, with the advancing spirit of the times (loud cheers).

Gentlemen, I have been told that I came here to disturb the peace of this University (hear, hear).—I *have* come to disturb that peace—I recognize not the peace which consists in the deprecation of a contest and in the deprecation of manly discussion upon the hustings. I believe it is thus that truth is best elicited; thus that your youth can be best trained to habits of independent judgment on political affairs, and of generous forbearance for the opinions of others who differ from them, which will fit them to take that part in public life, which is the duty and the right of every man; and, whatever the result of this contest may be, I believe it will redound to the good of the University, the advancement of which I have at heart, and which has a right to command my best and most energetic services. Gentlemen, I honestly confess that I desire to open the University—I desire that it shall not be considered any longer a close borough—I desire that the young men who are growing up, when they may become conscious in themselves of the possession of qualities which fit them for public life, and may aspire to the honour of hereafter representing their own Alma Mater, shall not be told that its representation is under lease, and that they cannot succeed to it until the demise of the present occupants. Gentlemen, I deny that either Mr. Hamilton or Mr. Napier has a vested right in the representation of the University; they are not exempted from that liability which is common to all members of Parliament, to stand upon the hustings, and justify their acts as they can; they are bound, when they ask you to re-elect them, to satisfy you that there are no other candidates so well entitled to represent this great University as the Right Honourable Joseph Napier and Mr. George Alexander

Hamilton (loud cheers). Why, then, do I ask your suffrages this day? I first came to your College as a student having no patrimony, except those talents which God has committed to my charge (cheers). I went from this place to a profession, where, by patient and diligent industry, apart from the turmoil of the political world, I have achieved an honourable position, which makes me independent of the favours of any government (cheers). I delight in the exercise of that profession. By it I am able to satisfy every wish, and I enjoy there that which I value more than anything else—the love and esteem of my brethern of the bar (cheers). I never asked and I never received a favour from any government. Why, then, do I come forward to seek the representation of this University? Why do I put myself by so doing, in opposition to many with whom I have been long associated on terms of the closest intimacy? I have come forward, in the first place, to vindicate the principle, that our University should be represented in Parliament by a graduate of her own. So powerful is the action of this principle, that before I addressed the Electors, two Junior Fellows, who have done much to revivify this institution—men whose moral conduct and firmness, in defending the rights of the College, gained them, upon a recent occasion, the approval of every right-thinking man of the community (cheer); these two gentlemen, Messrs. Galbraith and Haughton, had given their support to Mr. Wilson, who has made the manly, straightforward speech which you have heard this day upon this hustings, and they did so because he is a graduate of this University; although he certainly did not possess a requisite which is generally considered to be necessary for the representative of a University like this—namely, having gained distinctions within its walls. I confess, it did strike me that when he came forward upon University principles, and was able to obtain such an amount of support as this, that I should flinch from my duty if I did not abandon the paths of private and professional life in which I had walked (cheers), and present myself as a candidate for your suffrages. I have now done so, and it will be for you to say whether I have done right or not (cheers, and several voices, “you have”).

But I have yet more to say. My great political object, I frankly avow, in coming here, has been to induce the Protestants and the clergy of this country to rally round a liberal government. I do believe that the Protestants of Ireland occupy a false position—I do believe that they are associated with a party with whom they have no real or genuine sympathy. My earnest desire is to rescue them from that association, and to ask them to rally round a government which is friendly to their Church, and at the same time friendly to measures of liberal reform. I have yet to learn that the genius of Protestantism is not liberality. When I turn to every country of the world except our own, how do I find the parties classed? I find Protestants universally advocating the cause of progress and of reform—I find that the spread of their faith has been coincident with the extension of personal liberty and the establishment of free institutions. Why then is it in this country only that this natural order

is reversed? Are you, in opposition to the very essence of your faith, to be excluded from the ranks of liberalism and of progress, and to range yourselves under the banners of a party whose only political creed is resistance? I come forward to claim and vindicate for my Protestant brethren their true and just position, to rescue them from connexion with a party with which they have no genuine sympathy—the effete and decaying party of Conservatism. I have been taunted here with having stated in my address that I approved generally of Lord Palmerston's policy in this country, and it has been put to me—Has not Lord Palmerston been Protestant in England and Roman Catholic in Ireland? Whose fault is that? I say it is the fault of those Protestants who stood aloof from that government, and gave it every opposition in their power (hear, hear). I ask you to make your choice. Will you commit the fortunes of the Irish Church to the care of Lord Derby? Is Mr. Benjamin Disraeli, under whose banner my honourable opponents served in the House of Commons—is he the Christian statesman to whom we are to look for sustinment of Protestantism? I ask the Protestant clergy can they have reliance on him? What is this party of Lord Derby pledged to? What is Mr. Disraeli pledged to? Mr. Disraeli stated the other day that it was of importance that party distinctions should be preserved—that it was only by means of party that the country could be governed, and he announced himself as belonging to the old Conservative and country party. That party is pledged to resistance to improvement, opposed to the cause of progress and reform, with which the genius of Protestantism is inseparably associated. I have heard it claimed for this party that they are supporters of all sound and rational reforms. But I shall not be driven from this ground by a play upon words—I look to acts. I look to the history of the past. Look to the three great political events of modern times, and see what part the Conservative party took in connexion with them. Look at the Emancipation Act of 1829. We have now under the hand of Sir Robert Peel himself an avowal of the motives which led the Conservative party to concede emancipation; they resisted the force of argument, they denied the justice of the claim, the matchless eloquence of Plunkett could not convince them; but they yielded to threats of violence and rebellion what neither reason, nor justice, nor eloquence could extort from them. Look, again, to the Reform Bill. The old representative system had become unsuited to the growing greatness of the nation; Manchester and Bradford unrepresented, Old Sarum and Gatton sending members to Parliament; but here again the Conservative party were steadfast to their creed, and they strenuously resisted this great and obvious reform as a dangerous innovation. Take, again, the Repeal of the Corn Laws. The agitation for this measure lasted for years; the public mind was fully informed upon the subject and the public voice called loudly for their repeal; year after year it was steadily opposed by the Conservative party; and when Sir Robert Peel yielded at last, and, although the head of the Conservative Cabinet, passed the measure, his party never forgave him the his offence, and he was pursued with persevering malignity to death, by the present

leader of that party in the House of Commons. Are the Protestant Clergy prepared to continue to associate themselves with that effete and expiring party. I ask you, Protestants of this kingdom, to fulfil your proper destiny—to take your proper place—rally round the banner of liberal, rational reform, and no longer associate yourselves with a stationary and decaying party. Do so, and what will be the result? What will be the position of Lord Palmerston in this country? You will place him at the head of a powerful government, a government able to afford to disregard the suggestions of any one section—able to govern for the country—not forced to rule through a party. Let but the Protestant clergy and Protestant gentry of Ireland rally round that minister; let them but take their just part in the administration of his government, and the complaint will be for ever at an end, that their interests are neglected, or that patronage is bestowed upon others to which they are more justly entitled. I am convinced that it has been a disastrous thing that the Protestant Church in this country should be always found in antagonism to a Liberal Government. I know the liberality of sentiment of the great majority of this constituency, and I believe that they do not entertain the extreme opinions to which my honourable opponents have pledged themselves. I know they would be desirous to adopt more just, more temperate, and liberal views of politics. I ask them now to have the courage to make that choice, and to dissociate themselves from the party to which they have been so long unnaturally allied. The Church is a noble institution, full of life and vigour, sending forth its rays of truth into the darkest corners of the land (hear, hear). I call upon you not to bind it any longer to this party which has no principle of life. Pronounce not upon it the doom to which the tyrant of old consigned his victim—

*Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis
Complexu in misero et longâ sic morte necabat.*

Unite not that living form to the decaying corpse of Conservatism—shake off this old, unnatural, unworthy association, and take the place which the genius of your religion tells you is your own. Let not the name of Liberal Protestant be any longer unknown in Ireland. Let not the cause of Liberalism and Protestantism be any longer antagonistic. That is the exposition of my creed—that is the embodiment of the principles on which I seek the suffrages of this great constituency.

We stated in our paper upon Mr. Miall and his Irish policy that, for all practical purposes, there was no Liberal party in Ireland not Catholic, and no liberal opinion to speak of outside the Catholic body. The facts to which we appealed in confirmation of that statement were exactly those which have been referred to by Mr. Lawson, for the same purpose; and, as a consequence of these facts, we called upon English Liberals to acknowledge and act upon the doctrine—first, that Irish Catholics were almost univer-

sally Liberal ; and secondly, that they are the only Liberals in Ireland. But we are happy to admit now that Liberal principles include among their advocates at least one distinguished Protestant more than we supposed, and amongst whose titles to distinction it is not the least to have been rejected by the University. The University disgraced itself, as a matter of course, and will continue to do so as long as it can. It rejected Lawson as it had rejected M'Culloch, and would prefer the most unfurnished head, whether as to beard or brains, that grinned and shouted in the hall, to a Newton or an Erskine unpractised in the Kentish fire. But, of its own strength, reform will complete its triumph. It may do so by the hands of the indolent, the reluctant, and the insincere, as well as by those of the earnest and the virtuous ; but its success is not the less assured. Local circumstances, parliamentary tactics, the jealousies of leaders, their weakness or treachery ; popular inconstancy, popular extravagance, miscarriages that look like accident—any and, perhaps, each of these may cause delay ; yet, if we are to judge from the actual power and progress of reform, the respite allowed to Conservatism will never be very long. Sydney Smith enumerates, with laudable pride, the reforms that had taken place in the course of some thirty-five years from the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review* to the year 1839. At the period when that journal began, he says—"The Catholics were not emancipated ; the Corporation and Test laws were not repealed ; the game laws were horribly oppressive ; steel traps and spring guns were set all over the country ; Lord Eldon and the Court of Chancery pressed heavily on mankind ; libel was punished by the most cruel and vindictive imprisonment ; the laws of debt and of conspiracy were then upon the worst possible footing ; the enormous wickedness of the slave trade was tolerated ; and a thousand evils were in existence which the talents of good and able men have since lessened or removed." Never has the power of a great principle been so strongly illustrated as within the last thirty years. Reform has chosen her instruments with a haughty indifference. She turned the conscript Peel to better account than the volunteer Russell, and incorporated the enemy by scores in her battalions. She has chosen adverse times, and strong governments, and hostile majorities for

the especial matter of her triumph. Never for one year has her course been materially altered by change of men or circumstances. Reforms such as the Incumbered Estates measure, the Civil Service examinations, or the Clergy Reserves Act, which Pitt would have encountered with sword and gun, and jury and gallows-tree, which would have revolted Burke himself, and which it never entered into the heart of Fox to conceive—these have been suffered to take place without resistance, and almost without protest; and now, that a new measure of reform is promised and must pass, it will be carried in the virtue of a principle, it will pass under the law of progress, and it will be opposed in the name of a name, and by the ghost of a shade, that, for want of decent burial, is still at large upon the hither side of the Styx. Tenderly would we compose the limbs of old Conservatism, and gently insinuate our charitable obolus into a mouth that never strained at millions sterling; but, alas! there are no limbs to compose—there is no mouth to fill. After exposure to dogs, and all the birds of the press, no more is left of the great Conservative party than what remained of the Long Parliament after its recall in 1659. To name the part would be hardly decent, and it is our desire to be respectful; but it would be a mockery to bestow the honour of sepulture on that. But the coming measure of reform, whatever be its shape or its dimensions, must of necessity be reproductive. Reform, like Lyttleton's successful lawyer, can never be intestatus or improles. We can almost count the numbers and tell the names and offices of the future generations of reform—

“Another yet? a seventh?

And yet the eighth appears, who bears a glass

Which shews me many more; and some I see

That two-fold balls, and triple sceptres carry.”

And against the irresistible principle of reform a little war of outposts is waged by the suttlers of the old army of Conservatism, under an ancient Hotspur in the Lords, and a leader in the Commons whom they would despise if they durst, and who despises them without their leave. Strange infatuation! With Catholics in Parliament, and Catholics in place; with Manchester represented, and old Sarum disfranchised; with the ports open to corn, and the public service open to merit; in such a state of things, full-grown country gentlemen, to the

number of two hundred and over, discreet and proper persons in their own families, trusted, and fit to be trusted, with the management of their own affairs, have, nevertheless, conspired to obstruct and annoy the progress of reform. Like their own bumpkins, who were Papists three hundred years ago, but who now believe in little else than prize cattle and witchcraft, these unfortunate gentlemen Conservatives have no political creed or sacraments to stand for. Neither the Protestant Constitution, nor the parish stocks, nor Protection, nor John Doe, nor Richard Roe, nor the name of a principle has been left them to believe in; but they still believe in tests, and abjurations, and loose swearing, to keep up whatever of Protestantism or persecution—for they, not we, identify the two—may have survived the fatal measure of 1829. The country may not be fanatical upon points or niceties of reform—probably it cares not much whether this old-clothes-man or that money-lender sit in Parliament; but it is not of a temper to endure obstruction in its general plans or cavilling at their details. Reform is decreed, progress is decreed, universal emancipation is decreed; and we have reached the time when neither tactics, nor forms, nor privileges, nor tests will be submitted to if they interfere with the decree. Allegiance nobody refuses; supremacy and abjuration we also subscribe to, and will enforce; but it is the supremacy of Reform, and the abjuration of all pretenders, whether they be Mormons, Peace Societies, Evangelical Alliances, Maine-Liquor-law men, or Conservatives.

ART. VII.—WHO WROTE THE WAVERLEY NOVELS?

1. *Who Wrote the Earlier Waverley Novels? an essay showing on Evidence Amounting to Moral Demonstration that Sir Walter Scott's Relation to Waverley, Guy Mannering, Rob Roy, The Antiquary, and the Tales of my Landlord, was that of an Editor.* By William John Fitzpatrick, (Second Edition). *Strengthened by a mass of new, and well authenticated facts.* S. Effingham Wilson, London: Dublin, W. B. Kelly, 8, Grafton-street. 1857.
2. *An Enquiry into the Origin of the Earlier Waverley Novels,* by Gilbert J. French, *Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.* Printed for Presentation.—
3. *Captious Criticism, an Essay* by R. Grattan, M.D. Printed for Private Circulation.

We admit at once that we sat down to the perusal of Mr. Fitzpatrick's work in a singularly critical spirit, and altogether indisposed to have any of our long cherished associations of the name of Sir Walter Scott interfered with or broken up. We had read years ago all, or almost all, that he was supposed to have written, and, with equal pleasure, we had read all that was written about him. Now and then, to be sure, the "grumblings" which have now ended in a positive peal of thunder, reached, and for a moment discomposed us. In our younger days, we, in common, of course, with thousands of others, had listened to the tale of Thomas Scott, the Paymaster, and his wife, being, in some way or other, mysteriously linked with the composition of the earlier Waverley Novels, but these *on dits* possessed little interest for us at the time, and such passing speculations as they did give rise to were finally set at rest, as we thought, for ever, by the reported declaration of Sir Walter Scott himself at the Theatrical Fund Dinner in Edinburgh, on which occasion, when "the Health of the Author of Waverley" was proposed by his friend Lord Meadowbank, he is said to have replied:—"I plead guilty, nor shall I detain the court by a long explanation of why my confession has been so long deferred. Perhaps caprice might have had a considerable share in the matter. I have now to say, however, that the merits of these works, if they had any, and their faults are all entirely attributable to myself." The

strain continues still stronger as he proceeds : " I mean then, seriously, to state," he goes on, " that when I say I am the author, I mean the total and undivided author, with the exception of quotations, there is not a single word that was not derived from myself, or suggested in the course of my reading." This is strong language certainly : but it is very probable that Sir Walter's speech may have been too strongly reported, for in a letter addressed by him to the Editor of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, printed by Mr. Fitzpatrick, we find the following. " Sir :—I am extremely sorry I have not leisure to correct what I am stated to have said at the dinner to the Theatrical Fund. . . I hope your reporter has been more fortunate in other instances than in mine. I have corrected one passage. . . Other errors I have left as I found them, it being of little consequence whether I spoke sense or nonsense, in what was merely intended for the purpose of the hour."

In 1836 appeared the *Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, from the pen of the executor, Mr. Lockhart, who from his connexion with the great man, ought to have known as much about him as any human being could, and who, if the spirit of truth was in him, was bound to tell it, in its entirety or not at all. We confess, however, that we never could make up our minds to accept Mr. Lockhart's dazzling account without an accompanying mental protest. It wore always to us a great deal too much the air of a biographical romance, in which the hero performed gigantic feats out of all proportion to the human strength. It had the fault common to all eager panegyrists—it proved too much, and still more, it had the vulgar fault of endeavoring to elevate the character of its favorite by sinking the claims of others, and depreciating them when it dare. We were struck, in particular, with the always loose and fragmentary way in which the name of Thomas Scott was mentioned, when we remembered that Sir Walter himself must have had the very highest opinion of the literary talents of his brother. In 1809, as the following letter shows, he sought Thomas Scott's co-operation when establishing *The Quarterly Review*. The opening passage refers to a new edition of Shadwell's plays which Thomas Scott had projected :—

" DEAR TOM,—Owing to certain pressing business, I have not yet had time to complete my collection of Shadwell for you, though it is now nearly ready. I wish you to have all the originals to collate with the edition in 8vo. But I have a

more pressing employment for your pen, and to which I think it particularly suited. . . . You are to be informed, but under the seal of the strictest secrecy, that a plot has been long hatching to countermine the *Edinburgh Review*, by establishing one which should display similar talent and independence, with a better strain of politics. . . . Now, as I know no one who possesses more power of humour, or perception of the ridiculous, than yourself, I think your leisure hours might be most pleasantly passed in this way. Novels, light poetry, and quizzical books of all kinds, might be sent to you by the packet; you glide back your Reviews in the same way, and touch upon the publication of the number (quarterly), ten guineas per printed sheet of sixteen pages. If you are shy of communicating directly with Gifford, you may, for some time at least, send your communications through me, and *I will revise them*. We want the matter to be a profound secret." In 1814, shortly after Thomas Scott had gone to Canada, we find Sir Walter offering him the substantial sum of £500 for a novel intermixing humorous detail with descriptions of scenery, and which he himself would undertake to revise and prepare for publication. It was hardly to be supposed, we thought, that a man so intellectually gifted, and who was considered capable of such efforts, should, at the same time, have been incapable of giving some mark of it in his epistolary correspondence, extracts from which, were assuredly due to his memory, and must for many reasons have greatly added to the interest of the book.

But Mr. Lockhart it seems thought otherwise. This intellectual and gifted man, throughout the whole memoir, is brought on the scene as seldom as possible, and when all is done, we venture to say, that the general impression left by what is said will tell rather against him, than in his favor; and that so far from being looked upon in the light which he deserved, and in which his brother officers (as Mr. Fitzpatrick shows) regarded him, he will be considered as an extravagant, careless, loose living, good-for-little fellow, who was a drag upon the resources of his prosperous, hard-working brother, and had no notion of the value either of time or money, save to squander both in improfitable pursuits. Mr. Lockhart is not always so chary of his space; we have copious extracts enough from other correspondents of Sir Walter, many of which have little merit, and less interest to the general eye and mind, and a great deal of which ought to

have been left unpublished; but of the many letters which must have passed between these two clever men—"Arcades Ambe"—Brothers both, in every sense—we have none from Thomas, and only very "few and far between" from Walter. With Mrs. Thomas Scott, (the Paymaster's wife,) and who fully equalled her husband in literary taste, and talent, Sir Walter maintained a frequent correspondence; but not a vestige of it can be discovered in the ten volumes of voluminous, and biographical detail, known as *The Life and Correspondence of Sir Walter Scott*. Mr. Fitzpatrick having noticed this circumstance to Mr. Edgar MacCulloch, J.P., the lady's cousin, he replied by letter as follows:

"As for Lockhart's reticences, any one who has read his Life of Sir Walter cannot fail being aware of them. He is said to have been vindictive; and I have heard that personal dislike led him to suppress any allusion to individuals, whose names one would otherwise have expected to find in that work. Such I believe to have been the case with my uncle, Dr. John Mac Culloch, whose valuable and erudite work on 'The Highlands and Islands of Scotland' was written in the form of letters, addressed to Sir Walter Scott."

This unaccountable *hiatus* has been noticed by others besides Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Mac Culloch. It struck us years ago, as a strange, and remarkable omission for any honest biographer to make. But both our regret, and our disappointment deepen as we read the ample testimony afforded by Mr. Fitzpatrick's pages, culled from the most reliable, and authentic sources, as to the amiable character, and extraordinary talents of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Scott. On this head there can be no mistake, and if for nothing else we humbly conceive that the author before us, is well deserving of the praise of all honest and fair thinking men, for rescuing the brother of the man whose memoir Mr. Lockhart undertook to write, from that calumnious shadow which it is well calculated to throw, and for doing his best—and in our opinion that is a great deal—to relieve both the name and character of a man of genius from the unpleasant odour, which has been floating about them, ever since the publication of this one-sided book.

We must take leave, also, to say that Mr. Lockhart is by no means a man whose assertions are to be taken on trust; his own literary career gives ample proof that he never hesitated to assert whatever would serve the immediate purpose he had in view,

and, so thinking, we are not surprised to find him sporting with, and indeed rather glorying in than otherwise, the lax notion of literary veracity which was one of the besetting sins of Sir Walter's life. He takes great delight in recording the efforts which his illustrious relative made, at one time, "to puzzle and confound the mob of dulness," at another "to mystify the public," again "to try another experiment on the public sagacity," once more, "to set the mob of readers on the stare," by any and every sort of mystification "to entrap reviewers," and to surround himself with a halo of mystery, which after all, as every body knows, he was determined should be so conducted as to lead both to his profit and his fame. Lockhart's treatment of Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, of Sir William Gell, of Doctor John Mac Culloch, of Mr. French, and others, must go far to unsettle our reliance on any statement he may make, and his treatment of the Ballantynes was altogether so illiberal, ungenerous, and withal so untrue, that we can only account for his utter want of taste and candour, by supposing that in some of Sir Walter's moments of "mystification," his Boswell formed a particle of "the mob of dullness."

"Bibliographers," says Mr. Fitzpatrick at the close of his work "are acquainted with a remarkable, but now exceedingly scarce pamphlet, published in Edinburgh in 1838, entitled *A Refutation of Mr. Lockhart's Misrepresentations in the Life of Sir Walter Scott, by the Son and Executors of James Ballantyne*. Its arguments ought not to be forgotten, and for this reason, coupled with the fact, that we have seen it stated in biographical sketches, that Scott was ruined by his connexion with the Ballantynes, we revive a few of the more respectable opinions of the Press on the case.

Chambers' Edinburgh Journal said:—"Mr. Ballantyne's friends triumphantly vindicate his fair fame, and show that, so far from his being in any degree the cause of the ruin of Scott, the latter was the cause of *his* ruin." The *Literary Gazette* said:—"Warmly and powerfully vindicated." The *Naval and Military Gazette* said: "The letters written by Lockhart to Ballantyne on his death bed, full of professions of the warmest gratitude, and most cordial attachment, afford a lamentable specimen of the hollowness of the world." The *Spectator* said:—"It disproves the statements of Lockhart, by the production of counter evidence, leaving the biographer in no very enviable light." The *Times* said:—"Goes far to

unsettle Mr. Lockhart's conclusion." The *Morning Chronicle* said :—"Lockhart has been led to do great injustice to the Messrs. Ballantyne." The *Sun* said :—"There are few who, before reading this plain, straightforward statement of facts, could persuade themselves that the son-in-law of Scott could misrepresent, as he is proved to have done, the character and conduct of two excellent persons, who were the victims of the aristocratical ambition of his illustrious relative." The *Edinburgh Chronicle* said :—"This book will ever afterwards divest Lockhart's word of any authority."

Those who remember the mercilessly cutting, and bitter tone adopted by Mr. Lockhart against not only the public acts, but the private characters of those unfortunate men, both of whom Scott, at one period, ruled with a rod of iron, using and abusing them at the same time, cannot but be grateful to Mr. Fitzpatrick for rescuing from ephemeral pages the salient points of an intelligible defence made for them, and placing it on record in a work which will last as long as that *Life of Scott*, which, in edition after edition, has continued so unrelentingly to pursue their memory with poisoned arrows.

Sir William Gell, the antiquary, who was generally the chief companion of Sir Walter when in Italy, was requested by Mr. Lockhart to send him his reminiscences of the great man. Writing to Lady Blessington, January 22, 1834, Sir William says :—"As for Mr. Lockhart, I much fear that he is not good for much, and I am certain he got the work, for I sent it to Mr. W. Hamilton, who gave it with a request that he would not omit a word of it in printing. There are no remarks, except such as tend to explain away, and render less ridiculous, the total want of classical taste and knowledge of the hero, in a situation full of classical recollections, and which I have added that I might not seem insensible to his real merits. They were written for the family, and, therefore, nothing offensive could have been inserted. . . I shall send a copy to you, and if the life is published by the said Lockhart, without use of my papers, the best way will be to sell it to the bookseller, and to let it come before the public." Five months later (June 2, 1834) Sir William goes on to say :—"You have had a great deal of trouble in fishing for a decent escape from the business of Mr. L., and I thank you for it. I do not desire to do anything disagreeable to the wishes of the family, but *I think it very ill-judged of them not to place everything in*

its true light." Sir William concludes the subject with an allusion to "that want of candor which spoils the book without hiding the truth." A portion of Sir William Gell's "Life of Sir Walter Scott in Italy," was subsequently inserted by Mr. Lockhart, under the title of "Memoranda."

Robert Southey, in one of his last letters (vol. iv. p. 538) speaking of Cottle's "Recollections" says:—"Nothing ever made me so fully aware how incorrect the most careful biography must inevitably be, than what I saw in this book, and in the Life of Sir Walter Scott." In another letter (p. 510) Southey complains of certain passages in his correspondence with Scott having been suppressed.

We might multiply proofs, if our space permitted, of Lockhart's determination to suppress any and everything that clashed with his object in elevating his idol at the expense of whatsoever object interfered with it, but we have said enough and quoted enough, to let our readers see that a man actuated by such motives as he wrote with, is not to be trusted, when the claims of another to share in the glory of the literary renown of Sir Walter was the matter to be handled by him.

As to the wholesale claim said to have been put in by the poet himself, at the Theatrical Fund dinner, it is really good for nothing, if we contrast it with his own assertions made at different times.

The following line of argument is in reply to Mr. Francis Ballantyne, who was the first to fling down the gauntlet, and constitute himself the great champion on the other side. It will be seen that Mr. Fitzpatrick when put upon his mettle, has met his opponents courageously, and in a very conclusive way.

That the author of "Marmion," he says, would descend to the degrading practice of falsehood, in his ordinary intercourse with society, I do not, nor ever will, believe; but certainly there is ample evidence to show that he never scrupled very broad equivocation (to say the least) in matters immediately connected with literature. There are many who consider such things allowable. - Scott would appear to have been one of them.

"Sir W. Scott," writes Mr. Ballantyne, "was well known to possess as much honor and integrity as any gentleman in Scotland. Can his assurance to Lord Meadowbank, be seriously discredited by Mr. Fitzpatrick (*and this declaration remains on record to confront him*), that he was the sole and undoubted author of the Waverley Novels?"

I cannot think that Sir Walter's assurance to Lord Meadowbank is entitled to greater credence than his reiterated denials extending over fifteen years, that he had any "hand, act, or part," in the composition of the novels. These solemn renunciations of all know-

ledge of their paternity are distinctly remembered by many at the present day who heard them, and to whom they were made. It is easily seen that Mr. Lockhart, in the discharge of his duty as Scott's "literary executor," wishes to place as few of them on record as possible. Three or four detailed cases, however, appear; but the descriptive circumstances are usually so diluted, that their introduction here can prove of but partial value as an argument.

At a dinner given by the Prince Regent, in Carlton House (p. 312), his Royal Highness called for a bumper, with all the honors, to the author of "Waverley," looking significantly at Scott as he charged his own glass. Scott filled also, and said, "Your Royal Highness looks as if you thought I had some claims to the honors of the toast. I have no such pretensions, but I shall take care that the real Simon Pure hears of the compliment that has been paid him." The company present comprised the Dukes of York and Gordon, Lords Hertford, Fife, and Melville, the Right Hon. J.W. Croker and Chief Commissioner Adam. Lockhart, in his second edition, tells us that he has been assured by two gentlemen, who were at the dinner, that the Prince did not, on this occasion, run "so near the wind" as was originally represented in the text. This statement is corroborated by an entry in Moore's Diary, on May 13th, 1829:—"Dined with C [roker] Party at dinner—Lord Palmerston, Lord Lowther, Sir George Clerk, and Spencer Percival. The conversation agreeable. The King, it appears, did not ask Scott (as I have always understood) whether he was the author of the novels; he only pointedly alluded to some character in them, upon which Scott said, 'Sir, it is impossible to mistake the meaning, &c., &c., and I beg to say,' disclaiming in the most decided manner his being the author. This was going out of his way to deny; had the Prince asked him he *might* have been justified in doing so; but volunteering an untruth in this way is unintelligible; always taking it for granted that the story is true, which it may not be. C [roker], however, said he was by when it happened."

Thomas Moore in his Diary (vol. ii, p. 199), records a conversation with Samuel Rogers on the "Scotch novels":—

"Scott gave his honor to the Prince Regent they were not his; and Rogers *heard* him do the same to Sheridan, who asked him, with some degree of brusquerie, whether he was the author of them. All this rather confirms me in my first idea, *that they are not Scott's*. Another argument between us, on the justifiableness of a man asserting so solemnly that a book was *not his*, when it really *was*. I maintained that no man had a right to put himself into a situation which required lies to support him in it. R. quoted Paley about the expediency of occasionally lying, and mentioned extreme cases of murder, &c., which had nothing whatever to do with the point in question, and which certainly did not convince me that Scott could be at all justified in such a solemn falsehood. At last Rogers acknowledged that saying '*on his honor*' was going too far, as if the simple, solemn assertion was not equally sacred."

In the recently published Table Talk of Samuel Rogers (p. 193),

a detailed account appears of Scott's protestation "upon his honor" that he had not written *Waverley*. The incident occurred at Lady Jersey's.

In a letter to John Murray, dated December 18th, 1816, in answer to one from that eminent publisher panegyrising "The Tales of my Landlord," Scott writes:—"My dear Sir,—I give you heartily joy of the success of the 'Tales,' although I do not claim that paternal interest in them which my friends do me the credit to assign me. I assure you I have never read a volume of them until they were printed, and can only join with the rest of the world in applauding the true and striking portraits which they present of old Scottish manners . . . I have a mode of convincing you that I am perfectly serious in my denial—pretty similar to that by which Solomon distinguished the real mother—and that is by reviewing the work, which I take to be an operation equal to that of quartering the child."

On 18th January, 1819, Scott, writing to Mr. Richardson, goes on to say, after informing him of an attempt made by the wife of one of the Edinburgh judges to ascertain the author, "In plain words, I denied the charge, and as she insisted to know who else could write these novels, I suggested Adam Ferguson, as a person having all the information and capacity necessary for that purpose."

Six years after, during Sir Walter Scott's sojourn in Dublin, he visited Marsh's Library with a well known bibliographer as his cicerone. Among other particulars connected with this visit which appear in the *Irish Monthly Magazine* for November, 1832, is the following:—"The Librarian entered into some familiar conversation with Scott, and carelessly abandoning the immediate theme, 'do you know, Sir Walter,' he remarked, 'that it was only the other day I finished your Redgauntlet?' 'Sir,' said the Baronet with perfect composure, 'I NEVER MET with such a book.'"

I am sorry that Mr. Ballantyne and the other opponents of my views should have compelled me, in self-defence, to revive these denials: but the line of argument they have adopted has created the necessity. The declarations of sole authorship are clearly more than counterbalanced by the solemn and deliberate renunciations previously.

Mr. Shilleto, of the University of Cambridge, laid great stress in *Notes and Queries* on a declaration of Scott's in the General Preface, viz.—that Thomas Scott was not the "author of the whole or a great part of the Waverley Novels."

Sir Walter Scott might safely make this declaration without telling an absolute falsehood, but certainly not without a certain amount of mental reservation, which, as the sequel will further shew, he never scrupled in his literary transactions.

There is a letter of Sir W. Scott's preserved in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in which he distinctly assures his correspondent, Mr. O. G. Gavelin, that he had nothing whatever to do with

* Sir Walter goes on to say, that "the report had some alliance to probability, and indeed might have proved, in some degree true."—See General Preface to the "Waverley Novels."

the revision or publication of the second edition of Swift. This letter had not turned up when Mr. Lockhart introduced the following passage into his 60th Chapter. He had at this period (1824) been a member of Sir Walter's family for four years, and spoke from personal knowledge:—"Sir Walter had a labor of some weight to go through in preparing for the press a second edition of his voluminous Swift. The additions to this reprint were numerous, and he corrected his Notes, and his Life of the Dean throughout, with considerable care."

For reviewing his own "Tales of my Landlord," in the *Quarterly*, Scott has been severely censured. Taking advantage of this tempting opportunity, he devoted a large portion of the article to an elaborate defence of his own picture of the Covenanters, which Dr. Macrie had trenchantly assailed. Speaking of this attack in a letter to Lady Louisa Stewart, sister of the late Primate of all Ireland and an influential person in her way, Scott writes:—"I have not read it, and certainly never shall. . . I make it a rule never to read attacks made on me."

This letter is dated January 31, 1817. In the number of the *Quarterly*, published January 1, 1817, appears Scott's Reviewal of his own "Tales"—the greater part of which is occupied with a clever confutation of Dr. Macrie's still cleverer attack. It was the zeal with which Scott entered into the matter which at first aroused suspicion. Mr. Lockhart, when he gave this celebrated Review a place in "Scott's Miscellaneous Prose Works," would seem to have forgotten the Historical Introduction of 1829. "The plan of this edition," writes Scott, "leads me to insert here some account of the incidents on which Waverley is founded. They have been already given to the public by my friend William Erskine, afterwards Lord Kinneder, when reviewing the 'Tales of my Landlord,' in the *Quarterly Review*, in 1817!" Mr. Lockhart gives it as his opinion that a portion of the critique was written by Erskine. Certes, all the original MS. of the Reviewal was in Scott's autograph. Erskine died in 1822.

From this it is evident that Scott was never very scrupulous about what he either said or did in his literary transactions, and that certain declarations of the General Preface, to which such importance has been attached, should be flung overboard in judging this question. Conscientiously guarded by a species of mental reservation, which some study and research has enabled me, as I believe, to see through, he made declarations of being the unassisted author which were not even literally true.*

Now, from all this, and a great deal more to the same purpose which could be quoted, there are two facts palpably evident, namely, that Mr. Lockhart manipulated his materials with

* Setting the more considerable aid aside, was Scott the unassisted author of the "Waverley Novels?" Sir Adam Ferguson, William Erskine, Mr. Train, James Ballantyne, and others, were known to have given Scott valuable assistance in his novels, at various times.

more ability than candour and that Sir Walter himself in his literary capacity had always an abundant supply of "mental reservations" about him. But Mr. Fitzpatrick has had a more generous object in view than to establish facts, so unfavorable to Scott and Lockhart. He has extricated Sir Walter with great ingenuity from the ugly position which a superficial knowledge of the fact might, in some estimations, place him, and he has shown, we think, very satisfactorily, that his conduct throughout the trying circumstances of his literary career was that of an affectionate brother and honorable man. Indeed Mr. G. J. French in the second *brochure* upon our table feels and expresses this; "Mr. Fitzpatrick," he says "does not write with any desire to detract from the fair fame of Sir Walter Scott: but on the contrary has with much ingenuity endeavoured to excuse and extenuate the errors and discrepancies which assuredly rest upon his memory." We are glad to observe, from the "Opinions of the Press" annexed that the Rev. Dr. Wilmot, editor of the *Literary Gazette*, and formerly the critic of the *Times*, views Mr Fitzpatrick's work in a similar light. "No imputation," he writes, "rests upon the good faith of Scott apart from the habitual mystery sustained as to his novels, nor is there the remotest idea of detracting from the genius and power universally recognized in his writings."

We have seen how Mr. Fitzpatrick cleared away the principal difficulties which opposed the investigation, and which some of our brother critics have very freely strewed before his path since the first edition was published. We now come to the main argument, and will very shortly show that the author had very excellent grounds to go on, and that his progress over them has been vigour, and successful.

The whole controversy arose in this way. We prefer letting Mr. Fitzpatrick tell his own tale where we can.

On Saturday, November 3rd, 1855, there appeared in *Notes and Queries* bearing my address and signature, an article commencing in the following words:—

"It has often seemed to me, and I believe to others, that the seventy-four volumes of the Waverley Novels could hardly have been the work of Sir Walter Scott's pen exclusively. People have latterly whispered that Alexander Dumas, and Mr. G. P. R. James receive, *sub rosa*, considerable assistance in their Novel manufactures. The interesting 'Tales of the O'Hara Family,' which some thirty years ago excited a marked sensation in literary circles, were, until quite recently, believed to owe their popularity entirely to John Banim. A memoir of Mr. Banim, at present appearing in the *Irish Quarterly*

Review, informs the public that his brother Michael, ex-Mayor of Kilkenny, wrote 'Crohoore of the Bill Hook,' the 'Croppy,'—in fact, some of the very best of the O'Hara Tales. Recent memoirs of Hannah More assure us that Bishop Porteous flung his masculine thought and sense into her famous novel of 'Cœlebs in Search of a Wife.' The forthcoming life of Maria Edgeworth, if honestly told, will reveal the invaluable benefit her works derived from the intellectual co-operation of Richard Lovel Edgeworth.

"Sir Walter Scott had a brother who died in America, on Valentine's Day, 1823, singularly endowed with literary taste and talent; but, except by a few personal friends, he has long been forgotten. Various accounts which have reached me from time to time, decidedly warrant the opinion that Thomas Scott, Paymaster of the 70th Regiment, together with his gifted wife, had some important share in the composition of the 'Waverley Novels.' Some of these masterpieces of fictitious narrative appeared in such rapid succession, that the mere manual labor of transcribing could not possibly have been accomplished by any ordinary writer in the time. Sir Walter must have had friendly assistance; but he was not a man likely ever to have revealed any secret calculated to lower his literary *prestige*. The whole secret, doubtless, died thirty-three years ago far away in the plantations of Canada. No body expected to find any startling revelations in Scott's 'Life,' by his son-in-law, and none were found. In any case, it would have been most difficult for Lockhart to know all Scott's literary doings. In chap. xxvi. he expresses his ignorance of how far Sir Walter was concerned in Terry's dramatised version of 'Guy Mannering,' but presumes 'that he modified the plot, and re-arranged the dialogue.' Similar expressions of doubt appear in the book. Nor is it surprising. The vigour of the Novels had begun to flag before Lockhart ever saw Scott."

The foregoing appeared in *Notes and Queries*. After some further remarks, Mr. Fitzpatrick proceeded to lay before its readers a curious letter, which appeared in the *Quebec Herald* of July 14, 1820, and which the Editor of that Journal pledged his word to have been written by "one of the most respectable gentlemen in Canada." Here it is:

York, December 12th, 1818.

With respect to these new publications, "Rob Roy," &c., I have no hesitation in saying I believe them to be the production of the Scotts. I say the Scotts, because Mr. Thomas Scott (who wrote the principal part of them) was often assisted by Mrs. Scott; and the works were generally revised by his brother Walter before going to press. The "Antiquary" I can answer for particularly, because Mr. Thomas Scott told me himself that he wrote it, a very few days after it appeared in this country. Any person who had the least intimacy with the paymaster would at once recognize him as the author of these celebrated works. The same native humour, the same cast of expression, and that intimate acquaintance with Scottish manners and the Scottish annals, which are in almost every page of those works, could be traced in his conversation by any person of the least observation. Besides this, I have often heard Mrs. Scott describe the very originals from whom the principal characters are drawn. The

Antiquary himself was an intimate acquaintance of the paymaster; his name I have now forgotten, but he lived in Dumfries;* and that finely drawn character, Dominie Sampson, was an old college acquaintance. Flora M'lvor's character was written by Mrs. Scott herself. I have seen several of the manuscripts, in Mr. Scott's possession, of his other works; but I do not recollect seeing any of the novels in manuscript except the "Antiquary." I am pretty certain that it is his own handwriting."

It may be worthy of remark that this interesting article appeared in a Canadian Journal under the very eye of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Scott, and was copied at once into every American Newspaper. The Paymaster or his gifted wife never contradicted it, but by their silence converted into a public, what was originally a private admission. This we think is an answer to the letter which has recently appeared in *The Times* from their daughters.

Mr. Fitzpatrick proceeds, in forensic fashion, to state the case as follows:—

In the last century Walter Scott, Esq., of George's square, Edinburgh, enjoyed a lucrative business as writer to the Signet. He died in 1799, and his second son, Thomas, succeeded him. Like most persons, however, of literary propensities, the latter made but an indifferent man of business. "His varied and powerful talents," writes Mr. Lockhart (p. 124), "were, unfortunately, combined with some tastes by no means favorable to the successful prosecution of his prudent father's vocation." We are further informed (p. 189) that "about the time when Thomas Scott's affairs fell into derangement, but before they were yet *hopeless*," he was appointed to an office worth £250 a year, under his brother Walter, and through his patronage. Thomas Scott was deeply embarrassed, and his creditors gave him considerable annoyance. Soon after the appointment, "he was compelled to withdraw from Edinburgh to the Isle of Man, leaving his official duties to the care of a substitute, until circumstances should permit his return. It was not, however, found so easy to wind up his accounts, and settle with his creditors." Thomas Scott possessed some military experience, and from having previously served in the Edinburgh Volunteers, he found little difficulty in obtaining a commission from the Duke of Athol who commanded the Manx Fencibles. For several succeeding years he and Mrs. Scott resided in the Isle of Man. That Mr. Lockhart desires it to be inferred that Thomas Scott retired to that refugium to avoid threatened personal arrest, is obvious. In 1810 we find him (p. 189) "anxiously expecting some arrangement which would allow him to re-establish himself at Edinburgh."

* One of the few references made by Lockhart to Mrs. Thomas Scott is that at p. 239 (Edit. 1845), where she is mentioned as having passed much of her early life at Dumfries. Many of the more finely drawn characters introduced in the "Scottish Novels" are professedly daguerrotyped from Dumfries' originals. When resident here she and her brother enjoyed the friendship and intellectual society of Robert Burns. Mrs. Scott was educated and married at Dumfries,

That there never were any regular dividend or formal meeting of Scott's creditors is certain.

In 1812 a war between England and the United States commenced. Soon afterwards the 70th Regiment was, with others, ordered to reinforce the British Army in Canada. Thomas Scott was appointed Paymaster to that corps through his brother's influence, and as there is no evidence to show that he ever returned to Great Britain afterwards, even on leave of absence, as Captain Kelsall and other officers of the Regiment did, his affairs were probably not entirely settled at the time of his demise. Mrs. Thomas Scott paid several visits to England, on, as is alleged, literary business, between the interval of her husband's appointment and death. This latter event occurred on Feb. 14, 1823.

From the evidence supplied by Mr. Lockhart in the *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, it is easy to gather that Thomas Scott was obliged to absent himself from Scotland to avoid imprisonment for debts which he had no means of discharging, however honorably anxious to do so. The law in cases of this kind has often been laid down. Of course whatever property Mr. Scott or his wife might possess or acquire in Scotland, would, so long as their affairs remained unsettled, have been liable to seizure. That both had some important share in the composition of the earlier Waverley novels, the following pages must, I think, conclusively prove. It was clearly of paramount importance that no legal connection between Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Scott and such a valuable property should have been publicly recognised, admitted, or traced. Such acknowledgment would not only have damaged all *prestige*, and upset the progress of those splendid works, but have roughly drawn down an embargo upon the Copyright.

It would have been worthy of Walter Scott, and doubtless was so, gradually to reduce the Scottish liabilities of his brother, by employing a large portion of the profit realised by the earlier Tales, in satisfying the claims of the most destitute, or importunate of the creditors. Doubtless, whatever liabilities, which from peculiar circumstances came within the category of debts of honor, were the first discharged. It is possible that the late Marquis of Abercorn, for whose Scottish Estates Mr. Thomas Scott acted as confidential auditor, was included in the latter arrangement. Walter Scott, as the acknowledged agent of his brother Thomas, had frequent interviews with Lord Abercorn. We find him (p. 240), taking a long and inconvenient journey to Carlisle, "for the transaction of business connected with Thomas Scott's administration of that nobleman's Scottish affairs."

A letter to Thomas Scott in Canada, written during the Autumn of 1814, and printed by Mr. Lockhart, laudably suggests the liquidation of his debts by means of mental exertion. Scott tells him to write a novel intermixing humorous detail with descriptions of scenery, and to transmit it to him for revision.

When Thomas Scott sailed for Canada in 1813, Walter Scott was in high popularity as a Poet. Although he had reached the mature

age of forty, and had repeatedly attempted to produce a readable work of prose fiction, it is clear, on his own shewing, that each signally failed. In the General Preface to the *Novels*, (p. ix) he observes that "in 1800 he had nourished the ambitious desire of composing a tale of Chivalry, with plenty of Border character, and supernatural incidents, to be called 'Thomas the Rhymer.' It was given up, however, at the tenth page." Another attempt, "*The Lord of Ennersdale*," also broke down. "About the year 1805," continues Sir Walter Scott, (p. xi.) "I threw together about one-third part of the first volume of *Waverley*, having proceeded as far as the seventh chapter. I showed my work to a critical friend whose opinion was unfavourable. I therefore threw aside the work."

In 1805 Scott undertook to prepare for publication some posthumous papers of Strutt, the distinguished antiquary, among which was a fragment of a novel entitled "*Queen Hoo Hall*." Scott completed it, as he thought, artistically; but it appears from his General Preface that "*Queen Hoo Hall*" was far from successful. This is the fourth record of failure.

In 1810 *Waverley* was resumed, and submitted to James Ballantyne for his opinion. Ballantyne's letter in reply is dated September 16, 1810. Considering that it is a courteous private letter, and not a public criticism, we may regard the fragment of *Waverley* even of less value than might be gathered from the friendly critic's remark. "The account of the studies of *Waverley*," he writes, "seems unnecessarily minute. There are few novel readers to whom it would be interesting." "The *Novel*," observes Mr. Lockhart, "appears to have been forthwith laid aside again."

We have seen that, until 1813, Walter Scott had signally and repeatedly failed as a writer of prose fiction. Hints which have reached me justify the opinion that Scott placed experimentally in his brother's and sister-in-law's hands the condemned fragment of *Waverley* shortly prior to their departure for Canada.

In chemistry, it is a common principle that two bodies which separately tested are weak, ineffective, and inodorous, form, when united, a powerful, and often beautiful element. In philosophy, as there are two noises, respectively loud, but when struck simultaneously, produce silence, so also are there discordant sounds, which, when similarly excited, create delicious harmony.

I am not of opinion that Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Scott, intellectually gifted, as they admittedly were, could themselves alone have produced a powerful and sparkling Romance: but on that happy principle which we every day behold in the ramifications of Nature, Art, and Science, I look upon an intellectual, literary admixture, as likely to have formed under the circumstances, a striking and a beautiful result.

The various accounts which have reached me from time to time, in relation to this enquiry, concur in stating that the earlier *Waverley Novels* were forwarded to Walter Scott, in a rough unfinished guise, and that he not only carefully revised but transcribed the

manuscript throughout.* Doubtless as he went along, his rich poetic fancy, gilt the thread of Narrative. Doubtless, too, he cancelled much, filled the vacuum with bright creations, flung out into bold relief the characters introduced—strengthened their outline, grouped them dramatically, purified the sentiments and language, and finally guided to a crisis, with mechanic skill, the lagging, and perhaps originally crude plot.

There is in none of Scott's, or Mr. Lockhart's published writings, not even in the communicative General Preface to the collected edition of the Novels, any admission, or allusion, which could even indirectly lead one to suspect that Thomas Scott shared in the profits of "Waverley." Moore records, however, in his Diary of October 29th, 1825, written during his visit to Abbotsford, that in the course of a *tele-a-tete* conversation Sir Walter "mentioned to his no small surprise and pleasure, the novels as his own—that he had begun Waverley long before, and then thrown it by, till having occasion for some money to help his brother, he bethought himself of it. By this he made £3,000."

The clearly established connection, on the authority of Sir Walter's casual assurance to Moore, between the novel of Waverley, and Thomas Scott and his difficulties, deserves attention. The celebrated General Preface, although replete with particulars respecting the origin and progress of Waverley, is silent on the point referred to by Moore.†

Mr. Fitzpatrick's article in *Notes and Queries*, produced a visible sensation, and many rejoinders sprung out of it. The principal one of them, however, was from Mr. Ballantyne, who called upon the public "to suspend their judgment," and promised that "in a fortnight's time" he would let loose such an avalanche of information as must inevitably crush all scepticism beneath it. The fortnight elapsed, and Mr. Ballantyne appeared not. At length his mountain brought forth a very

* Scott thought nothing of transcribing, even when no particular object was to be gained by doing so. Moore mentions in his Diary, that when he got books for review he copied the extracts sooner than literally cut them up (as most Critics do) or place them in a compositor's inky hands to "set up." Mr. Lockhart relates several instances in which Scott, for the purpose of mystification, transcribed the writings of certain contemporaries of his acquaintance.

† Moore, in the same day's journal, continues to record his desultory after dinner conversation with Scott. Speaking of Holt, the Irish Rebel chief, Scott said,—“I could have put a thousand pounds in his pocket by getting him to tell simply the adventures in which he had been engaged, and then dressing them up for him.” All this is evidently expressed with the confident tone of a man who was in the habit of refining literary gold: and yet, strange to say, there is no evidence, in Lockhart's Life of Scott, to show that he had ever revised another's writings; although two letters to his brother appear, one dated 1809, requesting papers for the Quarterly Review, which he would revise, and another in 1814, requesting a novel, which he would also revise. “All that you want,” said Scott, “the mere practice of composition, I can supply, or the devil's in it.”

ridiculous mouse indeed.* Mr. Ballantyne leaned altogether on Sir Walter's assertion at the Edinburgh dinner, and left the question solely depending on that single fact. This, together with some illiberal animadversions, stimulated Mr. Fitzpatrick to further enquiry, in order to make good his belief, and substantiate the promises expressed, and accordingly he put himself in communication with almost all the surviving brother officers of Thomas Scott whom he could hear of or reach. Our author says: "There is not a more startling proof of the uncertainty of human life than the fact that out of nearly ninety officers, full of strength and vigour, who had been contemporaneously attached to the 70th Regiment (though not *all*, at the same time) with Captain Thomas Scott and his lady, not more than a dozen now survive. Much curious and important evidence has doubtless perished with them." Mr. Fitzpatrick having communicated with the survivors, has been singularly fortunate in his appeals. There is not one of them who did not believe Thomas Scott perfectly able to answer the expectations formed of his talents by Sir Walter himself, and their belief is general that he, assisted by Mrs. Scott, did so.

"Send me a novel," says Sir Walter, writing to his brother, "intermixing your exuberant and natural humor with any incidents and descriptions of scenery you may see, particularly with characters and traits of manners. I will give it all the cobbling that is necessary, and, if you do but exert yourself, I have not the least doubt it will be worth £500; and to encourage you, you may, when you send the manuscript, draw on me for £100 at fifty days' sight; so that your labors will, at any rate, not be quite thrown away. You have more fun and descriptive talent than most people; and all that you want, *i.e.*, the mere practice of composition, I can supply, or the devil's in it. Keep this matter a dead secret," [a very necessary caution] "and if," it continues, "you are not Sir John Falstaff, you are as good a man as he, and may, therefore, face Colville of the Dale." [In other words, if you cannot claim the honor of

* "We were exceedingly amused," says the *Liverpool Albion*, "with one feature in this new 'Battle of the Books.' As soon as ever W. J. F. had started his doubts, Mr. Francis Ballantyne put forth a counter manifesto, saying, only in more words, with the witch in Macbeth, 'I'll do, I'll do, I'll do.' But the result has amply proved that he is neither witch nor conjuror. When his promised refutation appeared, it turned out to be a very popgun, the lightest of all light artillery, blank firing with no shot, and 'no nothing,' putting weak questions and effecting faint denials, with, to use his own word, a 'rickety' joke or two, and then a baffled retreat from the Redan which he has failed to carry. Meanwhile, W. J. F., with trumpets flourishing, and lance in rest, is in the lists, waiting, like a good knight and true, to do his *devoirs* with all comers."

writing it, you will nevertheless derive a more substantial benefit, and may, therefore, plunge *con amore* into the labor.] "Mind that your MS attends the draft. I am perfectly serious and confident, that in two or three months you might clear the cobs," [i.e., your Edinburgh difficulties.]

"If the worth," comments Mr. Fitzpatrick, "of the next projected novel of the Waverley series, as it came crude and unfinished from the Canadian crucible, was estimated by Walter Scott at £500, why should he restrict his embarrassed brother to a draft for £100 only with the MS. ? Because, as the inference expresses, the remaining £400 would be applied, as by previous arrangement, to 'clearing the cobs,' or, in other words, to the liquidation of troublesome debts."

"But if a crude story, fresh from the pen of Mr. and Mrs. Scott, would be worth £500, it must, after undergoing vivifying revision from Walter, have been value for at least four times that sum. So much revision may he have bestowed on his brother's writings as to consider their success owing to himself, and that for this reason he might safely view them with a parent's eye. Canova always employed a workman to execute in the rough whatever piece of sculpture his fancy planned. It was the statuarist's finishing touch that gave life and spirituality to the conception."

The letter concludes with the following playful passage:—

"I beg my compliments to the hero who is afraid of Jeffrey's scalping knife."

This allusion was clearly to Thomas Scott's fair *collaborateur*, who very naturally must have winced before the probability of receiving a 'slash' or two from the leading reviewer of the day—a man whose critical acumen had struck terror through the length and breadth of the literary world—Francis, afterwards Lord Jeffrey.

Here, "or the devil's in it," to use Sir Walter Scott's own phrase, is a direct enunciation that the poet believed his brother perfectly equal to the task of writing a good novel, and although Mr. Lockhart ingeniously throws cold water on the facts of his having done so, it is hardly to be supposed that a man in difficulties, and with ample leisure, would have hesitated to try his hand in an effort where he was promised efficient assistance, and we *now* know, through Mr. Fitzpatrick's indefatigable enquiries, that there is no reasonable doubt whatever, but that Thomas Scott, aided by his accomplished wife, *did* get through some considerable quantity of literary composition at this, and subsequent periods.

Colonel White, Colonel MacDonell, Colonel Kelsall, Major Sweeny, Captain Colles, Lieutenant Mahon, Lieutenant Bland, in fact, every brother officer Thomas Scott had, are all quite positive in their belief, that Thomas Scott and his talented wife, were the main designers of "the Scotch Novels," properly so called, and that Sir Walter was the manipulator who revised and prepared them for the press.

Out of a mass of documentary evidence, which taken conjointly, amounts to demonstration, we select one or two letters bearing strongly on the subject. Lieutenant Mahon's letter, dated from "Corr House, Ballinasloe," runs thus—

Some months previous to my leaving the Regiment in 1817, Mr. Thomas Scott occupied apartments in the Barracks at Kingston, Canada, *next to mine*, when I repeatedly heard him up very late at night and alone, Mrs. Scott being in Great Britain. Knowing he had no regimental accounts to attend to then, as there was another officer at that time doing *his* duty, I alluded one day, in course of conversation, to his sitting up so late. I was the only officer then, who, from the situation of my apartments, *could* have been aware of this fact. Mr. Scott unreservedly replied that he was engaged in *revising a novel*; but it would appear that he said so unguardedly, for he hurriedly and at once changed the subject of conversation. I have ever since been under the impression that both himself and Mrs. Scott, who was also highly talented, and full of anecdotes, had materially assisted Sir Walter Scott in the earlier Waverley novels: but until very recently I never heard that it was suspected these works were a joint production. I do not remember any conversation in the Regiment as to the authorship of these novels, nor do I think I ever mentioned what Mr. Scott said to me to any of the officers, as judging from his manner I thought he would not wish it.

Among the various communications elicited in *Notes and Queries*, during the slight ventilation of the subject, was a letter from Mr. Edgar MacCulloch, Jurat of the Royal Court of Guernsey, and a cousin of the late Mrs. Thomas Scott. Mr. MacCulloch, observed that Thomas Scott married Elizabeth MacCulloch of Ardwall, in Kirkcudbrightshire, and that her knowledge of the legendary lore of her native province of Galloway was very great. Mr. MacCulloch added that it was generally thought in her family that she had supplied many of the anecdotes and characters which Sir Walter Scott worked up in his Scotch novels. "Much of the scenery described in '*Guy Mannering*,'" proceeded Mr. MacCulloch, "appears to have been sketched from localities in the immediate vicinity of Mrs. Scott's birthplace; a remarkable cavern,

the cove of Kirkclaugh, for example, being pointed out to tourists as Dirk Hatteraick's cave.

"Many of the features in the character of the miser, Morton of Milnwood, in *Old Mortality*, are traditionally ascribed to a Mr. MacCulloch of Barnholm [in Galloway,] who lived about the time of the civil wars described in that novel." Mr. MacCulloch went on to say that these circumstances appeared to him worthy of being recorded, and might perhaps tend to elicit further information on the subject.

In a letter to Mr. Fitzpatrick, Mr. MacCulloch observes :

A strangely eccentric man, the late Mr. MacCulloch of Barholm, was fully persuaded that he had formed the prototype of Harry Bertram, in what relates to the dilapidation of his estates by the machinations of a dishonest lawyer. The estate was entailed, and his father, by carelessness, and unbounded hospitality, plunged himself in difficulties, and died, leaving his son a minor. When young MacCulloch of Barholm came of age, he succeeded in recovering some of the property, and wrote, as I have heard, a pamphlet, exposing the villany of the "Glossin," who had taken advantage of his minority to make away with large portions of the estate. The old tower of Barholm, from which he takes his territorial designation, was thus disposed of to the proprietors of the contiguous estate of Kirkdale. Any one, with the descriptions of "Guy Mannering" fresh in his mind, cannot but be struck with the resemblance between the old tower of Barholm, on a height overlooking the modern house of Kirkdale, at no great distance from the sea-shore—the cave of Kirkclaugh, with the spreading bay of Wigton, and the wooded glen (a very haunt for gypsies), and the description of the auld and new places of Ellangowan, and their surrounding scenery.

The belief of Colonel MacDonell, C. B., is not less energetic than Lieutenant Mahon's. His letter to Mr. Fitzpatrick is exceedingly interesting, on many accounts. It follows up and completes a long chain of circumstantial evidence especially tending to connect the Canadian Scotts with the novel of *Guy Mannering*.

Portobello, Edinburgh,
June 21st, 1856.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant. I have read it with great interest, having ever been convinced, from many circumstances, that Thomas Scott and his wife, were, to say the least, great contributors to the Waverley Novels.

What I know of the case is simply this. In 1814 and 1815 I was in command of the eastern district of Upper Canada, and resided in the town of Cornwall, where the 70th Regiment was stationed under my orders. Mr. Scott was Paymaster of the corps, and as they did me the honor to admit me to be a member of their mess I was, of course,

very intimately acquainted with all the officers, and *particularly so with him*. Throughout the two years referred to I had a great deal of intercourse and conversation with Mr. Scott, often of the most serious description, and in which his sense of honor and veracity was always traceable. Occasionally, Thomas Scott would come to my quarters to take his glass of grog, and talk over Scotch stories, of which he had an endless store; and he told them with infinite humour, being a remarkably intelligent and well informed person. He was in fact an *alter-idem* of his brother Walter, whom I had the pleasure of knowing at a later period. I have repeatedly heard the officers of the 70th say, that when a new novel of the Waverley series appeared, they immediately recognised the characters to be some personages Tom Scott had previously detailed to them in his convivial moments. This fact I well remember hearing spoken of as indisputable. And, moreover, I have a perfect recollection that he, Thomas Scott, one evening told me, that "his wife Elizabeth could never shew her face again in Galloway, as she had let out so many family stories they would never forgive her." I understood him to allude particularly to "Guy Mannering." Indeed, he also told me, that she had sent—or rather it strikes me *had taken*—home to Walter *as large a mass of manuscript "as could be tied up in a pocket-handkerchief."* And I was not surprised when, some years after, I was told in Edinburgh, that *she and Sir Walter used to be closeted together for hours*; as I had no doubt they were preparing and arranging the matters for the press. Mrs. Scott I saw so little of in Canada, that I cannot now remember having met her there; but I did so, in Edinburgh afterwards, when I well recollect having been struck with her intelligence and *esprit*.

The old newspaper cutting which you enclosed does not relate to me, but to my worthy friend and old messmate, the late Major General M'Donal. Unfortunately for me I was neither the *aide-de-camp* of any general in the war referred to, nor was "our special correspondent" a being then in existence. Had the *Times* thundered as loud then as it has done for the last twelve months, I should probably have been now a senior general officer to Lord Hardinge by *eighteen years*, instead of having actually less rank this day, than I had *before*, I (gratuitously) won the two actions of Ogdensburg and Chateaugay, on each of which, and especially the latter, hung the instant destiny of all British America! That is, as Alison says, of "nearly one-ninth of the entire terrestrial surface of the Globe"—a larger portion of the earth than, I believe, ever immediately hinged on any previous single action, since the creation of the world, and neither of these actions ever made even a corporal! It was considered politic to ignore their vital importance, as it might have taught the natives, the enemy, and the British people, the shameful neglect of the Government. *Sic transit gloriæ mundi!* You may make what use you please of this letter.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. MAC DONELL, Lieut.-Col.

Late of the 79th Regt.

To William John Fitzpatrick, Esq.

"In those days," says Colonel White, "a regiment was one large family, and officers were really *brother officers*." Colonel White used to be constantly in and out of the house, and he scarcely ever entered without finding Mrs. Scott at her desk with a heap of MSS. before her.

Lieutenant Bland, who dates his letter from the island of Walcheren, writes :

I have frequently heard it remarked, that Mr. and Mrs. Scott, wherever they went, made it a point to cultivate the acquaintance of all classes in society, in order to study men, manners, and customs, and that, by the result of this scrutiny, they afforded full scope for the prolific pen of Sir Walter, whom they greatly assisted with their pen and knowledge of mankind.

Mr. Hutton, of Grey's Inn Square, writing to Mr. Fitzpatrick, says :

Mrs. Hutton, of Bath, tells me that Mr. Mac Culloch said at her table in Calcutta—at the time the *second* Waverley novel appeared—he had received a letter from his sister Mrs. Thomas Scott, in which she admitted her husband's intimate connection with the authorship of the novels which were then making so much noise in the world.

Major Foxall says :

Mrs. Scott one morning told me in 1817, when apologising for finishing a letter to go by that day's mail to England, that she was sending home some curious and interesting anecdotes, which she had collected from the Highland settlers in Glengarry (near Cornwall in Upper Canada), but she did not say to whom she was sending them.

Another officer writes :

A gentleman of the strictest honour and integrity having had occasion to visit Captain Scott in his official capacity, entered his office somewhat earlier than usual, and being left alone for some time, his eyes wandered over the table, which was crowded with public documents, and inadvertently glanced upon a postscript of a letter, which lay partly open, and seeing signed "Walter Scott," he read the following:—

"Guy Mannering has succeeded admirably, beyond expectation ;
YOU COULD NOT DO BETTER THAN PROCEED."

The substance of an interesting conversation between Colonel Kelsall and Mr. Fitzpatrick is given :

On the 30th March and the 7th August, 1856, I had an interview with Colonel Kelsall, formerly commander of the 70th regiment. I mention the name of that respected officer with his own permission.

He was a Captain of the 70th in Thomas Scott's time. He commanded the firing-party at Scott's funeral, and remembers the general feeling of regret which his death caused. They had to dig through two feet of snow, when preparing his grave. Colonel Kelsall al-

ways suspected, and has now no doubt, that some literary connexion existed between Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Scott and Sir Walter. Of its extent he could form no idea; the matter always appeared wrapped up in much mystery, and as it was easy to collect that any direct inquiries would not be welcome, he had too much delicacy to investigate the subject.

"The reason I did not fully comprehend," said Colonel Kelsall, "but the uniform manner both of Mr. Scott and his lady, was such as could not fail to impress me with the conviction that any direct inquiry into their mysterious occupation would prove unwelcome to them, and awkward to the inquisitor. It was evident they desired to keep their co-operation private from the officers of the Regiment, several of whom were light-hearted, open-mouthed fellows, who knew not what it was to respect a private communication."

Adjutant James Sampson was an exception. He was a quiet discreet person, who united with the best qualities of a soldier, much substantial, personal worth. A countryman of the Scotts, he was understood in the Regiment to possess no trifling share of their confidence and friendship.

In the year 1816, Colonel Kelsall left Canada on leave of absence, and passed several months in England and Ireland. On rejoining the Regiment in 1818, he "had a *tete-a-tete* conversation with the Adjutant, which left a fixed impression on his mind." Mr. Sampson gave the Colonel distinctly to understand that during his absence in Europe certain literary manufactures had been in full vigour of operation. Mr. and Mrs. Scott had been much closeted together; manuscripts were preparing, and Mrs. Scott had even been to England in the *interim*, to look after their publication, and whatever pecuniary arrangements were connected with it. It also appeared that Thomas Scott had so completely neglected his business, that a person had been temporally appointed to discharge the duties of paymaster. "But," again remarked Sampson significantly, "a good deal of pen-work of another sort has been done since you left Canada in 1816."

Colonel Kelsall now regards, as he then regarded, Mr. Sampson's statement as excellent authority. The Colonel looked upon the communication as confidential at the time, and he did not mention it for many years after.

Thomas Scott was quite celebrated in the regiment, and in his own immediate circle of friends, for his extraordinary tact and talent for story telling. Colonel Kelsall and the other officers often remarked, what an admirable story Tom Scott could make out of very indifferent materials. He could rivet the breathless attention of his hearers, or, like Yorick, "set the table in a roar." A narrative of the most common-place circumstances could, in his hands, be made a strangely fascinating story. He embellished largely, but, nevertheless, so adhered to actual fact, that the narrative lost none of its interest even to those who had before heard it, or who were aware of his tendency to amplify.

Mrs. Scott was a most strong-minded woman, highly accomplished, with much judgment and talent, and abounding in anecdote, and literary knowledge.

Colonel Kelsall was not aware, until informed of the fact, by the Editor of these pages, that Colonel White when visiting the Paymaster's quarters, had repeatedly seen Mrs. Scott at her desk, with a heap of mysterious manuscript before her. But whenever Colonel Kelsall saw Mrs. Scott write, which frequently happened, he observed that she did so in a manner at once so bold and fluent, as to establish the conviction in his mind, that she must have been a peculiarly practised writer. During the ten years, that Colonel Kelsall knew Mrs. Thomas Scott, she appeared continually engaged in some engrossing occupation, the nature of which could only be surmised.

Mrs. Scott asked Colonel Kelsall, on his return to Canada, if he had read "the Scotch Novels," and was greatly astonished to hear from him, that in consequence of his extensive professional occupation previously, he had not. She at once made him promise that he should read them then and there. Not content with the Colonel's affirmative assurances, however, Mrs. Scott retired to her room, brought them forth, placed them in his hands, and saw that he was fairly "under weigh" before she appeared quite satisfied. The Colonel afterwards thought, and very naturally, that Mrs. Scott's zeal in the matter indicated something approaching a parental interest.

The plot thickens as we come to the evidence of other officers.

Major Sweeney visited Great Britain and Ireland, on leave of absence, in 1817, and did not rejoin the Regiment until the following year. When leaving Canada, Thomas Scott entrusted to Major Sweeney's care a large, heavy, closely-written MS., with a request that on the Major's arrival in England it should be forwarded to Abbotsford. Major Sweeney did not feel himself at liberty to examine the MSS. throughout; but from a casual scrutiny he was led to believe that it constituted a series of sketches, studies, and rough frame-work, which were afterwards embodied, or amplified, in the Waverley Novels.

"From a comparison of dates," comments Mr. Fitzpatrick, "there can be little doubt that the MS. novel referred to in Lieutenant Mahon's letter, and in Colonel Kelsall's evidence, as having been in progress of composition during the spring or summer of 1817, was the rough draft of Rob Roy. It strikes me not less forcibly that the large MS. which Major Sweeney conveyed from Canada soon after, and which he imagined to have been a series of rough 'Waverley' sketches, was, in a great degree, the basis of Rob Roy. This suspicion is strengthened by reference to the *Philadelphian Magazine* for May, 1818, (see p. 65, *ante*) wherein it is chronicled that Mrs. Thomas Scott passed through New York a short time previously, and her arrival there was immediately distinguished by an advertisement in the papers of a new Tale in three volumes, entitled Rob Roy, as having been put to press in England, 'by the Author of Waverley and other Novels.' Sir Walter's Preface to the first edition of Rob Roy appears so strangely corroborative of this suspicion, that I am tempted to revive it here.

"Six months previously, he received a parcel of papers, contain-

ing the outlines of this narrative, with a permission, or rather with a request, that they might be given to the public, with such alterations as should be found suitable. These were of course so numerous, that besides the suppression of names, and of incidents approaching too much to reality, the work may in a great measure be said to be new written. Several anachronisms have probably crept in, and the mottoes for the chapters have been selected without any reference to the supposed date of the incidents. For these, of course, the editor is responsible. Some others occurred in the original materials, but they are of little consequence. In point of minute accuracy it may be stated that the bridge over the Forth, or rather the Avondu (or Black river), near the hamlet of Aberfoil, had not an existence thirty years ago. It does not, however, become the editor to be the first to point out these errors: and he takes this public opportunity to thank the unknown and nameless correspondent to whom the reader will owe the principal share of any amusement which he may derive from the following pages."

It is pleasant to see the surviving officers of the old 70th, scattered as they are, unconsciously corroborating each other's views so strikingly. We shall conclude these extracts, already too voluminous, with Mr. Fitzpatrick's account of his visit to the old Doctor of the Regiment.

On the 4th January, 1856, I had an interview with Dr. G—— of Elmgrove, near Dublin, and received from him the following scraps of information:—

He was surgeon to the 70th Regiment from June 18th, 1812, to January 17th, 1828. Soon after joining the regiment it was ordered to Canada, where for many years after it remained stationed. Thomas Scott was one of the most agreeable companions he ever knew. Dr. G—— loved him dearly, and so did all who were fortunate enough to possess his friendship. He bitterly deplored his death. It caused a general gloom. Although thirty-three years dead, Dr. G—— remembers his wit, anecdote, and extensive information, as vividly as the events of yesterday. Few had a more keen perception of the ludicrous in character than Tom Scott. The Doctor often heard him say, in allusion to some eccentric friend, "What a capital character that fellow would make!"

The Scotts were very literary people. They possessed a large number of books, chiefly old ones, and read every new publication that appeared. Dr. G—— knew Mrs. Scott intimately, and always called her "Bessie." She was a remarkably clever woman; and the officers loved to hear her pour forth that fund of Scottish anecdote and reminiscence to which, guided by a safe judgment, she occasionally gave full rein. He always knew that she had a taste and a talent for writing; but never heard her say that she aided the "Waverley novels."

Mr. and Mrs. Scott were in constant communication with "the Great Unknown." Dr. G—— was an eye-witness to it. He has even seen large packages interchanging which may possibly have been manuscript. The "Scotch novels," almost wet from the press, regu-

larly arrived, and both these and the other packages always came *via* New York.

Dr. G—— was fond of reading, and generally got the loan of the novels from Mrs. Scott. When Walter Scott rejoiced in the title of "Great Unknown," and every *quid nunc* was puzzling his brains to detect the author, Dr. G—— was perfectly well aware of Walter's connexion with the novels. Tom Scott never maintained much reserve about them, and would often allude to compositions *in petto*, saying, "He is on the second volume of so and so—now; you will see so and so next month."

For his stock of familiar and supernatural stories, Tom was altogether unrivalled. The officers often sat up half the night listening to his recitals.

Tom occasionally got elevated over his cups: and everybody knows that in *vino veritas*. Colonel White informs Mr. Fitzpatrick that one night having drank pretty freely, the paymaster addressing some of his comrades said, "ah, boys, you'll be astonished some of these days to find all your names in print."

Mr. Fitzpatrick hunted up an old army list of the day, and discovered that the name of nearly every officer of the regiment had been introduced, generally identically, sometimes slightly altered, in the Waverley Novels. What is still more coincident the real names are generally given to imaginary military characters! The army list, and the names of the actors who figure in the novels, are very effectively printed in parallel columns by Mr. Fitzpatrick. We find among them a Dalgetty, a McIvor, an Allan Cameron, a Galbraith, a Sampson, and "a host of old familiar names." Novel readers will remember Captain Dalgetty in the Legend of Montrose, McIvor in Waverley, Sergeant Allan Cameron, in the Canongate, Major Galbraith in Rob Roy, and Domine Sampson in Guy Mannering. Other parties, whose name and evidence we have not thought necessary to quote, are quite as enthusiastic in their belief of the literary complicity of Thomas and his wife, and looking at the whole matter with a dispassionately critical eye, we cannot see how the fact can be questioned, or cushioned, that Sir Walter was in relation to the earlier tales, merely the lapidary who polished the rough work sent him by his brother, giving to it the credit of his name and the value of his style. This, of course does not detract from the genius of Sir Walter Scott. The attorney who briefed Curran in the case of Hamilton Rowan is not entitled to the fame of the immortal orator's great speech.

Mr. Fitzpatrick, in referring to the curious information which he has collected, says:—

It is right that the scattered evidence in a case of such literary interest and importance, should be carefully gathered and sifted. Apart from the arguments I have arrayed, perhaps in years hence I will be gratefully thanked for now placing oral evidence on record, which, according to the natural course of events, must otherwise soon have been irrevocably lost.

The phrase "perhaps I will be thanked" is unworthy of a pen which writes the English tongue with such vigour and fluency as Mr. Fitzpatrick's. When may we hope to see this Hibernicism purged out of the language? Purely Irish readers and writers, have no idea how it grates on English ears. The improper use of the words "will and shall," has long sullied the best of Irish, and even Scottish literary composition. Goldsmith, one of the most polished of our writers, has repeatedly fallen into the error. "If I draw a cord," says the author of the *Deserted Village*, "to a great length between my fingers, I *will* make it smaller than it was before." Of course it ought to be *shall* because he speaks of a matter merely contingent.

We must also take the liberty of directing Mr. Fitzpatrick's attention to the improper placing of the word "only." This he has done in three instances; but one will suffice to exemplify our meaning. At p. 40, he says: "This I believe to be only, to a certain extent, true." It, of course, would have stood more correctly thus: "This I believe to be true only to a certain extent," or "to a certain extent only." But we are becoming hypercritical, and must beware of Dr. Grattan.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's style of composition, is, in general, clear, epigrammatic, and forcible: and as his "Life and Times of Cloncurry," testifies, he can attain, when the subject tempts, a high order of ornate eloquence. In arranging materials he displays great artistic power; and for logical acumen, few can surpass him.

Throughout the 120 pages, which constitute the extent of the work, there are endless traces of a most extraordinary tact for successful research—a quality much more rarely found among literary men than is generally supposed. Mr. Fitzpatrick had been styled "a literary detective;" and we believe it was poor Terry Driscoll who said that when either of the Irish Commissioners of Police die, Lord Carlisle could not do a better thing than select the author as his successor, and thereby give his analytical talents free scope in a larger sphere.

An Enquiry into the Authorship of the Earlier Waverley

Novels, by Gilbert J. French, Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, is an able logical corroboration of Mr. Fitzpatrick's views. It runs to 60 pages, but does not bring to the illustration of the question any of that startling direct evidence which Mr. Fitzpatrick has so zealously accumulated. At the commencement of his *brochure*, Mr. French observes :

Mr. Fitzpatrick's brochure is full of extraordinary interest. Availing himself of much information communicated from various persons since the question was resuscitated, and again buried in *Notes and Queries*, the author has, with great industry and skill, strung together many facts, coincidences, probabilities, fair inferences, and analogical arguments, all tending most convincingly to associate Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Scott with the authorship of the earlier Waverley novels, —so that whatever additional light may be thrown by others upon the subject, with him remains the honour of a highly interesting literary discovery.

The third pamphlet upon our table is a spirited denunciation of that ill-natured and unfair style of criticism which whilom caused the death of Keats and Montesquieu. In a recent number of the *Dublin University Magazine*, there appeared some six and twenty columns of ungenerous hostility towards Mr. Fitzpatrick and his views. Dr. Grattan is evidently a friend of Mr. Fitzpatrick's, and he takes up the cudgels for him *com-amore*.

It is stated in this letter (but without mentioning names) that the writer of the article alluded to is a Dublin gentleman, who in May, 1856, foisted upon the then editor of the *University* a piece of criticism still more virulent, but which, when viewed in proof shape by the editor, was ignominiously cancelled by him, to the infinite mortification of the ill-natured scribe. Following the spirit of Captain Marryat's trenchant strictures upon critics, in his admirable novel of *The King's Own*, Dr. Grattan does not hesitate to ascribe the course pursued by Mr. Fitzpatrick's opponent to "the corroding envy of authors." And, indeed, his implacability looks like it. "In July last," observes a note from Mr. Fitzpatrick, to Dr. Grattan, "he privately circulated a pamphlet rancorously assailing me, and had not the chivalrous feeling to let me even see the charges, or inuendos contained in it." It further appears that he had recourse to the dishonorable medium of assault—anonymous letter writing; but with this we have nothing to do. On the literary grounds of the controversy, Dr. Grattan may now be heard.

An eminent critic has confessed with truth that there never yet was published a book, no matter how able or honest, that could not, by means of garbling, and other arts of ill-natured criticism, be made to look almost ridiculous in a Review. It ought to be a gratifying reflection for Mr. Fitzpatrick that the critic, after having exhausted all his cavilling resources on the second edition of this little pamphlet, was at last constrained to hunt up a copy of the first in order to see what points or remarks (which the absence of revision may have left open to hyper-criticism) would present themselves to his eye. *Vide pp. 504, 505, 508, &c. &c., of the University.* The Critic professes to give a syllabus of the evidence, and refute it in detail, but there is not a single good point either quoted, or incidentally glanced at! Every piece of evidence or logical deduction, inconvenient for this sophist to handle (and there are a very myriad of such points) he silently passes by. Were it not for the perpetual mentioning of Mr. Fitzpatrick's name, no reader acquainted with the contents of his pamphlet, could possibly recognise it under the critic's treatment! Other opponents when professing to review the *first* edition picked out a point or two from the cumulative evidence, and beneath an avalanche of blustering counter arguments smothered them. This course, Mr. Fitzpatrick figuratively compared to some booby of antiquity plucking a rod from the Roman Fascia, putting his foot across it, and triumphantly exclaiming, "See how weak Rome is!" The disingenuous critic before me, however, is still more absurd. He chips off particles from each rod, and crushing them in his rude grasp, announces the utter annihilation of the Fascia! Seriously, his production is a tissue of ingenious misrepresentation. Mr. Fitzpatrick's motives, words, meaning, and aim, are misrepresented. But the public will form their own opinions, and not permit themselves to be led by the nose, blindfolded, by any man. Tallyrand once startled a learned society by declaring that he knew a body possessed of more wisdom than all the critics of Paris and London put together. When asked to explain himself he replied, "Public Opinion."

In several parts of the precious lucubration before me, Mr. Fitzpatrick is attacked for words he never uttered, and sentiments he never expressed. Relative to the sneer against him at page 507, when adverting to Bob Roy McGregor, the critic might as well assail a judge for personally uttering the evidence delivered before him in a Court of Inquiry, as to attempt to fasten on Mr. Fitzpatrick an opinion embodied in the two pages of evidence avowedly coming from Colonel Kelsall, and which Mr. Fitzpatrick, honestly and unreservedly printed, precisely as told to him by the Colonel. And yet we find the critic garbling a portion of Colonel Kelsall's evidence and shabbily pretending that it was an incidentally expressed opinion of Mr. Fitzpatrick's.

After much delay and difficulty, Mr. Fitzpatrick obtained access, personal and epistolary, to those surviving brother officers of Thomas Scott, who shared the confidence and friendship of that talented man. He elicited their recollections of what they *positively saw and heard going on* when daily visitors to the apartments of Mr. and Mrs. T. Scott in Canada. Mr. Fitzpatrick, unlike his flippant critic, has not thrust

his own opinions on the public, but honestly submitted such evidence as would enable them to form an opinion for themselves. To stifle the circulation of this authentic, and honestly expressed evidence, and interrupt, by tricky obstacles, the legitimate course of public opinion upon it, has been the undisguised object of the critic throughout his 26 columns of garble and bluster.

Here Dr. Grattan quotes as a specimen of the evidence, the long and interesting letter from Thomas Scott's old friend, Colonel M'Donell, which, as it has been given by us (*ante* p. 488) it is now unnecessary to reproduce. The Doctor continues:—

The critic alludes to this and other important letters in about three words. And what line of argument does he resort to in order to upset it? Simply that "Honest Tom Scott (as we find his brother officers called him) a man described by them as of the highest honor and veracity, told a—falsehood!! The critic must have odd notions of the practices prevailing among honourable men.

Dr. Grattan proceeds to complain of the critic's want of candour in avoiding to refer to the remarkable circumstances of which Colonel White was "an eye and ear witness," namely, the constant preparation of voluminous masses of MS., and certain unguarded remarks of the Scotts themselves.

The critic, in like manner, avoids all allusion to a certain huge "*mass of closely written manuscript of Waverley sketches*" which Major Sweeney, at the request of his friend Thomas Scott, conveyed from Canada to Abbotsford in 1818. The critic also suppresses Colonel Kelsall's evidence which recorded, amongst other revelations, that in 1816 and 1817, "Mr. and Mrs. Scott had been much closeted together, manuscripts were preparing, and that Mrs. Scott had even been to England to look after their publication." He has the coolness to assert that Captain Scott also lied to his American friend who deposes to having been informed by Scott of the existence of the very literary cooperation which is now so violently denied. The concluding portion of this evidence is suppressed, viz., "I have seen several of the MSS. in Mr. Scott's possession, especially the rough draft of the Antiquary."

Here the pecuniary difficulties of Thomas Scott, and the important point based upon that fact (p. 481, *ante*) is discussed.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has shewn, I think, very convincingly that Sir Walter gradually reduced the Scottish liabilities of his brother, by employing a large portion of the profit in satisfying the claims of the most destitute and importunate of the creditors. "It became absolutely necessary, on Constable's failure," observes Mr. French, of the Royal Society, "that Sir Walter Scott's property in the Novels should be publicly avowed. It was equally expedient that no acknowledgment of Thomas Scott's interest, or that of his family and creditors in them, should transpire." In those days the Law of Partnership played very extravagant freaks; and "limited liability"

was a thing unheard of. Sir Walter had, as Mr. Fitzpatrick shews, the imprudence to mix up Thomas Scott's pecuniary affairs, so inextricably with his own, that the unforeseen disaster of 1825 would doubtless have involved him in the unjust liability of discharging a ruinous amount of outstanding debts which Thomas Scott, through headlong improvidence, had contracted in the ardour and folly of youth.

By means of garbling, the critic makes great fun of a generous sentiment, and pleasing metaphor which Mr. Fitzpatrick introduces in his preface, viz., "Few entertain a higher respect for Scott's genius, or more fully appreciate the Shakspearean benefit which society has derived from its exercise, than myself. I do not aspire, with rough, unsparring hand, to tear down the laurels which shadow the grave of Scott. My purpose is mainly to collect some offshoots (which can well be spared), and having searched the churchyard for two uninscribed and forgotten graves, to set amidst their grass a simple wreath to indicate that genius sleeps below. Whilst there are cynics who may stigmatize this conduct as an unwarrantable intrusion, there are, no doubt, many friends to literature and justice who will regard it as a generous and a sacred task."

The critic omits Mr. Fitzpatrick's respectful allusions to Sir Walter, and denounces him as seeking to plate "a gibbet" on the great man's grave. We shall see whether Mr. Fitzpatrick's tone is friendly or malevolent towards Sir Walter Scott. "Sir Walter," he writes, "had the satisfaction of witnessing debts vanishing before him with every stroke of his magic pen. In 1828 he projected, and begun, the magnum opus, an illustrated reprint of the tales—which he calculated would sweep all remaining debts, like a whirlwind, before him. Writing to his son in the autumn of 1829, he says: 'The sale of the Novels is pro-di-gious. If it last but a few years, it will clear my feet of old incumbrances.' Similar remarks may abundantly be found. Assuming that Sir Walter was not the unassisted author of the Waverley Novels, who, so far from blaming him, can hesitate to applaud the course he pursued? Would Sir Walter's creditors have fared one half as well as they did, had indiscreet disclosures checked the public sale of the *Magnum Opus*."

"Those who live in glasshouses should not throw stones" is an old and trite saying. The critic, however, appears to be insensible to its truth. He vilifies Mr. Fitzpatrick for omitting, or as he says, "*suppressing*" passages in Scott's Life and Letters which would tend to support his (the critic's) side of the controversy. Of course Mr. Fitzpatrick's effort throughout was to condense as far as possible; and he merely quoted sufficient to illustrate his statements. Scott's voluminous life and letters are before the world circulating more widely than, perhaps, any other book of modern date. Mr. Fitzpatrick tells us that to bring his hitherto unpublished materials within a reasonable compass, required much economical management. Is it not most unfair to expect that *his* little pamphlet should include those passages, and letters, which the champions on the other side chiefly rely on to sap the strength of Mr. Fitzpatrick's position? Many letters, he tells us, calculated to

support his own views, he kept back unwilling to swell his *brochure*. But hear what Mr. Fitzpatrick himself has to say in reply to this charge. In his second letter to me, the following occurs: "Some of those passages and letters which Mr. ——— so harshly charges me with suppressing, I can sincerely aver, *I never saw!* For instance he roughly seizes on an incidental remark of mine, which declared that I could not remember any passage in Scott's writings which admitted having received from Thomas Scott even materials for the novels. Mr. ——— asserts, what I had not been aware of, that Sir Walter in the last introduction to '*Peveril*,' absolutely admits that his brother participated in its construction. Had I been acquainted with this important admission, I should not have failed to embody it. It is a remarkable circumstance, and an agreeable reflection, that one of the novels, in which, on internal circumstantial evidence, I traced Mr. and Mrs. Scott was this identical tale of *Peveril of the Peak*. This sophister is either the most short-sighted, or the most inconsistent person in existence. The very act of which he accuses Mr. Fitzpatrick, in a minor and most excusable degree, he performs himself in the most aggravated manner, and with the most unblushing coolness.!

Dr. Grattan dwells at some length on the reviewer's want of candour, and proceeds to cite the following among other examples of critical cunning, and unfairness.

At page 508 of the *University* this passage occurs:—"Sir W. Scott, says Mr. Fitzpatrick, loved his accomplished sister-in-law warmly: a true friendship existed between them. They regularly corresponded. What proof has Mr. Fitzpatrick given of the existence of this *regular correspondence*? *Absolutely none!*" I have referred to Mr. Fitzpatrick's work. The statements quoted above as *his*, are *not* his, but occur in the evidence furnished by the doctor of the regiment. On looking a little closer what do I find? Shame hide your diminished head."! It absolutely appears, in the very identical page of evidence from which the critic picked the above passage, that the doctor was himself "*an eye witness*" of the uninterrupted correspondence existing between the Scott's. Moreover we find that "he has even seen large packages interchanging which may have contained manuscript, and that the novels almost damp from the press regularly arrived."

The ill natured scribe proceeds, with an hypocritical affectation of forbearance, as follows:—"But the most disagreeable portion of our task remains to be discharged." He then vilifies Mr. Fitzpatrick *de novo*, for not giving proof of the existence of a correspondence between Sir Walter and his sister-in-law before complaining, in common with the lady's relatives, that it should have been omitted by Mr. Lockhart. Mr. Fitzpatrick remarked that in none of Sir Walter's published letters to his brother in Canada, does there appear the slightest allusion to any of those splendid works, which at that period formed the theme of universal praise and wonder. This is hardly natural. Mr. Fitzpatrick remarked that the letters to Thomas, as published by Lockhart, did not seem to be given in their fullness or entirety; and that several contain stars, or asterisks. The so-

phist declares that only one solitary letter contains asterisks, and with affected indignation appeals to the "feelings of every gentleman and man of honour"!!! Shame hide your diminished head again. I have turned to my edition of Lockhart in one volume. At page 161 there is a letter to Thomas Scott, in which paragraphs are avowedly omitted by Mr. Lockhart. At page 189 there is a plentiful sprinkling of asterisks in a letter to Thomas: and at page 190 another similarly sprinkled. At page 247, Mr. Lockhart merely gives what he calls "a scrap" of a letter to Thomas. At page 302 is the celebrated letter, telling Thomas to send him a MS. novel with Canadian sketchwork in it. It concludes abruptly, and has no date or signature. At page 331 we find another letter perforated with stars. There is no letter to Thomas after 1820. By the by what has become of Sir Walter's correspondence with Thomas about "Peveril of the Peak"?

Dr. Grattan once more returns to his charge of suppression against Mr. Fitzpatrick's critic. It appears that this writer, at the beginning of his analysis, professed to quote Sir Walter's letter to his brother in 1814; and by means of overlooking an important context, endeavoured to make it tell against Mr. Fitzpatrick's argument. Of this we have no personal knowledge; but it would appear that the ample details in which the request is couched to send a MS. novel for "cobbling" (see page, *ante* 485) are omitted, as also the honorable proposal to Thomas Scot to diminish his debts by mental exertion. The ambiguous conclusion of the letter is given; but the last significant line — "my compliments to the hero who is afraid of Jeffrey's scalping knife," is suppressed. Dr. Grattan follows up his advantage.

"We must require Mr. Fitzpatrick to admit," proceeds our sophister, "that *Thomas Scott was overwhelmed with the drudgery of a paymastership of a regiment.*" Short sighted critic! It appears both from Colonel Kelsall's and Lieut. Mahon's evidence that while the earlier Waverley Novels were in course of publication, a deputy discharged the duties of that office.

But the critic's inferences are as correct, as his facts are solid. Waverley, it seems, is of too masculine a tone and scope for even a lady to have participated in it. The little Dublin critic will be surprised to hear that the great Edinburgh reviewer, Sydney Smith (as appears from "letter 109" to Jeffrey), was inclined to attribute "Waverley" *altogether* to a female pen.

Comment would ruin the following! "If Mr. Fitzpatrick had selected Lord Kennedder, if he had selected William Laidlaw, or John Ballantyne, or the Ettrick Shepherd, there might have been some plausibility, some *prima facie* evidence in support of his views. In the case of Mr. and Mrs. T. Scott *there is absolutely none!*"

The sophist's drift, throughout his 26 columns of hostility, is to endeavour by means of garbling and distortion, to convey the im-

pression that a more insignificant and contemptible attempt at an argument could not exist than Mr. Fitzpatrick's. But if so, why has he toiled with such unrelenting animus and perseverance to deaden its strength?

After denouncing Mr. Fitzpatrick's inquiry in most unmeasured, and unjustifiable terms as tending to disparage Sir Walter Scott's intellectual power, the reader is surprised to find this jealous, and self constituted protector of the great man's fame, suddenly conclude his assault on Mr. Fitzpatrick, with some flippant and wholly irrelevant criticisms on Sir Walter Scott. The cynic Coleridge's depreciating remark, that the Waverley novels always failed to give him a new idea, is quoted with approbation. It is proverbial that Sir Walter was never so much at home, both in prose and poetry, as when Demonology or supernatural agencies formed his theme. From the goblin shapes of the "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*," to the elfin dwarf of "*Alice Brand*," from the ghostly horrors of the "*Monastery*," to the "terrors of Woodstock,"—in all depictions based on the supernatural, Sir Walter stands alone and unrivalled for their startling yet fascinating effect. The reading world are therefore surprised and indignant to hear, what is quite new to them, that "*Sir Walter failed miserably when he aimed to depict the ideal world*"—that "*his goblin page is a mere abortion, his White Lady of Avenel, the shadow of a shade.*" And again, "compare these with the Puck, the Ariel, and the Oberon of Shakespeare, and the inferiority of Scott is at once apparent!" But there is another sneer reserved for Sir Walter. "*Of the creative imagination of Shakespeare and Milton he had little—of the idealizing imagination of Shelley or Wordsworth, still less*"! Here again, I have occasion to remark how pitifully short-sighted is this sapient (?) critic not to observe, that in admitting Sir Walter wanted "creative imagination," he turns the sneer aimed at Scott against his own laboured attempt to disprove Mr. Fitzpatrick's case, namely, that materials of plot and design, and outlines of character were furnished to Sir Walter, by persons, in every way qualified for the purpose, and that beneath his magic touch, and Shakespearean breadth of judgment, they expanded into strength, and exquisite beauty of colouring. Had Mr. Fitzpatrick's *brochure* been disfigured with any of this critic's flippant strictures on the intellectual power of a man, "the latchet of whose shoe he is unworthy to loose," it would indeed have deserved a castigation, but as Mr. Fitzpatrick's tone has been uniformly respectful and kindly whenever Sir Walter, or his works are adverted to, he far from merits the harsh epithets or reproaches in which his critic indulges. In fact, Mr. Fitzpatrick has occasionally gone out of his way, to strew panegyrics on Scott's tomb, and bestow a generous interpretation upon acts hitherto misconstrued.

At the close of one of the most hostile, and prolix reviews in the annals of criticism, the writer once more turns the laugh against himself by admitting Sir Walter probably *did* receive materials from the very parties whom Mr. Fitzpatrick points to. The critic's elaborate yarn has been therefore worse than a waste of words morally. Whether it has been a waste of words in a pecuniary

sense is another question. An advertisement has recently appeared from the proprietors of the *University Magazine*, announcing their design to treat fluent contributors with liberality. Indeed some such inducement would seem to have led our critic to spin out his lucubration to the utmost limit. Matters utterly irrelevant are freely introduced. Two memoirs for instance, of Bacon and Cicero containing old facts, but not badly written, are embodied in the text. Their personal adventures, and achievements, and the progressive, political, and literary careers of both are sketched with a fluent pen. After such irrelevancies as these, and in the face of the sundry glaring tricks and dodges, which we have exposed, the following concluding hit on the part of the critic sounds amusing. "If we were to expose," he writes, "all the misstatements and gratuitous suppositions into which Mr. Fitzpatrick has been betrayed, we should swell this article beyond all reasonable bounds"!

This extraordinary lucubration has not even the merit of originality. The very first three lines of his criticism may be found word for word in *Notes and Queries* of April, 1856. Not only the sense, but the language of other points may be seen in the *Athenaeum* of January 5th, 1856; and *Blackwood* and the *Leader* have likewise been laid under contribution.

Having given both Mr. Fitzpatrick and Dr. Grattan a full and a fair hearing, in justice to the sincerity of the former's labour, and as a courteous recognition of the good-natured task of the latter, we may be permitted to observe in conclusion, that the violent hostility referred to, might well have been left unnoticed, inasmuch as the best attestation to the importance of a theory is when abuse, and laboured attempts to controvert its points, are lavished upon it. Sportsmen never waste powder and shot, except when the game is more than worth the ammunition.

Since writing the foregoing, we have observed a manifesto in the *Times* bearing on this question; and a reply from Mr. Fitzpatrick. As the controversy possesses a good deal of interest for literary persons, we print it in an Appendix.

ART. VIII.—RECENT AFRICAN EXPLORATIONS.

1. *First Footsteps in East Africa, or an Exploration of Harar.* By R. F. Burton, Captain, Bombay Army, London: Longman and Co., 1857.
2. *Lake Ngami, or Explorations and Discoveries in South Western Africa.* By C. J. Anderson. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1857.

Various are the motives which induce men to leave their firesides and the comforts of civilized life, and to wander forth among the barbarous tribes of unexplored regions. In some the interests of religion are paramount, in others a love of adventure and search after novelty are the sources of action; a third class is impelled by a desire to extend the investigations of science, geographical, geological, botanical, or zoological; and a fourth, to open up new paths for commerce, and establish marts for the produce of skilled labour. The first and the last categories of travellers may be said to be the most useful, as tending most to model the rough elements of savage life, and to spread the blessings of civilization over the surface of the globe; but the second and the third possess, undoubtedly, the greatest charms; whether for the actual undertakers of the expedition, or for those who afterwards read an account of their toils and dangers. No pleasure in this life can be obtained without a comparative amount of labour, and very often the delight of success is in direct proportion with the amount of difficulty overcome. Thus, persons accustomed to excursions among the most perilous passes of the Alps, estimate the enjoyment received from their rambles, by the hazardous nature of the path, or precipice, or glacier, which they have been obliged to traverse, and the thrill of joy, on surmounting the peak of some ice-clad summit, is rendered more intense by the awful apprehension of a sudden descent down the face of the steep, which has just been scaled. The pursuit of pleasure, under such circumstances, possesses a peculiar fascination, which lures on the fool-hardy wanderer, often to his own destruction; by degrees he begins to despise the dangers which, at first, appalled him, and he finally falls a victim to want of caution and to temerity.

It is very strange, however, that to the explorers of unknown regions of the earth, the greatest difficulties to be overcome, and the most imminent perils to be avoided, do not arise either from the climate, or from the physical nature of the country to be traversed, or the wild beasts lurking in its forests; but are principally due to the hostile character of the inhabitants—their fellow men. The predatory habits of many tribes, such as the Bedoucen and Arabs proper, in North and East Africa, and part of Arabia, and the Turcomen and Kourds, in Central Asia, throw almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of persons seeking to penetrate into the interior of these continents, or necessitate such a scale of expense in the expeditions undertaken, as to put them beyond the reach of ordinary travellers. On the other hand, fanaticism, precluding access to particular shrines or sacred places, or beyond certain lines of country, to men of a religion different from that of the in-dwellers, opposes often a still more obstinate barrier to the communication between different races of people, or to any search into the peculiarities of the tracts they inhabit. The exclusive bigotry of the Tartars and Thibetians will, for a long time, prevent Europeans from gaining any accurate acquaintance with the centre of Asia, while the truculent intolerance of Mahommedanism shut them out from a large tract on the coasts of the Red Sea and the east of Africa. A third cause, founded very much on sound reason and deductions from experience, operates to a great extent in denying them free entry into China, Japan, Madagascar, and some of the western portions of Africa; this is the well-known rapacity of conquest of the Europeans, and the tenacity with which they possess themselves of the soil, on which they have once set their feet, or planted their flag. No wonder that the eastern nations should be jealous of the intrusion of the English, when they see province after province, and kingdom after kingdom, swallowed up within the boundaries of the ever extending Indian Empire. It is very much to be wondered at, how the Turkish government could be so foolish and regardless of consequences, as to give possession of Aden to the British power, and allow it to gain a footing, from which, at no distant period, it will extend its rapacious arms. We blame the Chinese for not allowing free intercourse with their

people and through their country, and hindering the extension of commerce to the internal parts of their empire. With the example of the English settlement of Bengal before their eyes, it appears to us that they are only following a very salutary and necessary rule for preserving their dominions intact. The present war is but a pretext to open up that country to the British trader, and hereafter, most probably, to the British soldier; if the interests of other European or American nations do not interpose to protect the Celestials from profanation.

Attempts have been made to penetrate the secrets of the African continent from six or seven principal points upon its coasts. Denham and Clapperton and their followers made their way through Tunis or Algiers, and by the caravans over the Sahara desert. The Nile has been a highroad ever since the time of Maillet and Poncet, the servants of Louis the Fourteenth of France. Bruce, Buckhardt, and Salt entered by Masouah and the coasts of the Red Sea; and Harris, more recently, by Zayla, near its mouth. The Western districts have been explored by Park and his successors along the Sengal and Gambia and the coast of Guinea, up the Quorra, by Lander, and a host of others. The expeditions from the Cape of Good Hope and its neighbouring seaboard have been very frequent, but not attended with any great success, on account of the extremely barbarous nature of the aborigines and the difficulty of travel. Two districts especially have remained up to this time almost wholly unknown and untrudged by Europeans—the first extending south of Abyssinia down to Zanguebar; and the other stretching across from the Loando river on the West, to the mouth of the Zambese, on the East. The former is peculiarly inaccessible, from two of the impediments above alluded to—the lawless, plundering character of the people, and their truculent bigotry towards Christians; while the difficulties presented in the second district are very nearly reduced to the physical obstacles of climate and distance to be travelled.

The chief feature of the first of these portions of the African continent is the existence, at the distance of about two hundred miles from the sea coast, of a large capital city, about whose wealth and size fabulous accounts had been hitherto spread over the greater part of the East. The many travellers who visited Abyssinia brought back from thence

strange stories of a Moslem town, sacred and unapproachable as those of Medina and Meccah, whose rulers had been the scourge of the country around them for a series of ages. Their incursions into the province of Gondar had often nearly extirpated all signs of the Christian religion from the face of the land. The ruins of Axum attested the ruthless barbarity and savage bigotry of the invader, and his determined hatred of civilization. The superstitious dread with which the surrounding tribes regarded the power of the Emir of Harrar prevented any intercourse with other people except through the medium of slave Kafilas, driven to the coast, to be exchanged for the produce of Arabia, or a precarious commerce in gums, peltries, and cotton. Of late years, however, it had become well known that the ancient power and lawless character of this robber's stronghold had dwindled down to a shadow—the mere name of what it formerly had been, and various attempts were made by officers in the East India service to penetrate its mystery. All these were frustrated, either by a want of tact in the parties employed, or the hostility of native tribes to the presence of Europeans.

Captain Burton was not on that account easily discouraged, but, on the contrary, incited to make a further trial at exploration. He had laid bare the Adyta of the forbidden shrines in the sacred cities of Yemen, thanks to his successful adoption of the Eastern dress, manners, language, and, it would appear, religion. He had braved the Moslem in his "high places," where the slightest suspicion of his being a Frank would have aroused the rage of the entire population, and caused him to be torn limb from limb, and earned for himself deservedly the title of Hadji—that is, one who has accomplished the pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet. His determination, coolness, research, and endurance of numberless toils and dangers, cannot be too highly praised, were it not for one lamentable circumstance, that he seems to have abandoned altogether his native religion, and adopted the Mahommedan. Not only did he repeat dozens of times in the day the Moslem-making formula, "There is no God but Allah, and Mahomet is his prophet," in itself a renunciation of his own creed, but he performed, at the different stated times and places, the various ablutions, prayers, and prostrations prescribed by the Muftis, and constituting the complete practice of Islamism. Such

a dereliction cannot be too highly condemned, no matter for what purpose it was submitted to. Napoleon Bonaparte was justly censured for a similar act during his occupation of Egypt.

The experience thus gained by Captain Burton fitted him admirably for the undertaking of an excursion to Harrar, and he determined to make the attempt. He took up his abode for some time at Aden, near the mouth of the Red Sea, where he could make all his preparations, and gain information preparatory to starting. On account of his thorough knowledge of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, he was enabled to assume the garb of a Turkish merchant, under which character he hoped to elude the jealousy of the natives. Three servants were also engaged—El Hammal, a robust youth, who had once served as porter in coaling the Eastern steamships; Abdy Abokr (alias the End of Time), a cunning old Arab, somewhat acquainted with the manners of the African tribes; and the third called Guled, a supernumerary. With these and a large cargo of necessaries for the land journey, consisting of provisions, firearms, ammunition, and presents for chiefs, our traveller set sail from Aden on the 29th day of October, 1854.

They shaped their course for Zayla, a small walled town, immediately on the sea coast, at the end of a bay bearing the same name, somewhat to the south of the entrance to the Red Sea. This is the port from which the later expeditions to Abyssinia have been made by Harris and others. It is of very little importance as a harbour for merchant vessels, which cannot approach within a mile of the shore, on account of the shallowness of the water, and is not to be compared in point of utility to Berberah, another town, some sixty miles to the south, which Captain Burton visited on his return. Zayla is subject to the Sherif of Mocha, and was ruled by the Hajj Sharmarkey, rather of good character for a Mahommedan chief, who had been rewarded at Mocha for saving the lives of some English seamen, and was, therefore, a friend to the race. He was comparatively rich, from the imposts placed upon merchandise coming through the town; sixty years old; six feet two inches in height; famed for his sword-cut in battle, and wielding four spears; one-eyed, and wearing a silver-hilted sabre. He meditated the conquest even of Harar and Berberah. This man, owing his elevation to English influence

from Bombay, shewed considerable attention to Lieutenant Burton, and had him decently lodged in the town.

During a stay of twenty-six days, our traveller was engaged negotiating and endeavouring to gain information respecting the route to Harrar. His time was spent very much in the reception of visitors, who came and went as they liked, and when they liked, in and out of his quarters. The Hajj's son, Mahomet, a tall youth, already possessing ten wives, and reckoned a learned man, having been instructed at Mocha, was the principal of these. The day was passed thus: breakfast at six a.m., on sour grain cakes and roast mutton; then coffee, and the pipe, and a sleep. Next came visitors until the hour when the water was brought from the wells (about eleven o'clock), and the Haji sent dinner, consisting of greasy mutton, rice, and curds. Then visitors again until sundown, when the population all swarmed out to enjoy the evening air, and play at Shantarah draughts at a wattle-work mosque near the sea.

The Somauli, who are the chief race inhabiting the town, are something between the Arab and Hottentot, placing most reliance on strength of body, and using the spear or assegai, dagger, and club on every occasion. They carry also a gashan or shield, the lower class a bow and poisoned arrows, and look upon firearms as dishonourable weapons, by which advantage may be taken of the bravest. They have several games, dances, and play at ball; are exceedingly irreverent and blasphemous in their speech, and believe in the power of metamorphosis, or changing into some of the lower animals. A Bedouin was pointed out, who was said to have assumed the shape of a hyena, in order to have an opportunity of tasting human blood. They are half-castes, deriving their name from an original chief, Somal, who had thrust out (samala) his brother's eye, and thus obtained the superiority in his tribe. The Bedouins of the neighbouring deserts are scarcely allowed within the gates, but form encampments outside, and lie in wait for any unwary passenger who may fall into their hands. Murders are frequent at Zayla. The death-feud and price of blood are laws there, as among all other Arab races.

The history of Zayla is interesting in connection with the vicissitudes of nations in the East. The Turks took pos-

session of it in 1500, and established a custom-house there. The Portuguese seized and burned it in 1516. Then it passed under the yoke of the Sherifs of Mocha, and was farmed out by them to successive chiefs, who paid over a certain sum for revenue, and pocketed the balance. The public edifices of the town are six mosques, including the Jami, or cathedral; and the rest of the buildings, with the exception of some dozen stone-built white-washed houses, are about two hundred thatched huts, all containing a population of some three or four thousand souls. The exports are considerable, consisting of slaves, rice, honey, holcus, wheat, peltries, gums, ghee, &c. Some coffee is brought from Harrar and the highlands of Abyssinia, nearly equal to the Mocha in flavour, and would constitute, with cotton and gums, the objects of trade most worthy of the attention of Europeans.

Captain Burton having made the necessary preparations for his journey inland, having purchased mules, and laid in a stock of provisions, demanded a safe conduct or guard from the Hajj Sharinarkey through the adjacent country. The latter did everything he could to oppose the traveller's departure, exaggerated the dangers of the way, and, finally, extracted considerable value in dues and presents. Intelligence was also received, that two galla tribes on the direct road to Harrar, had contracted a blood feud, and were scouring the country, massacreing and burning all the villages and kraals, so much so that a long detour by the sea-coast, and across an unfrequented road, was resolved on. Additional attendants with camels, and two Eessa women to tend the beasts, were engaged. The labours and endurance of these last, in comparison with the idle laziness of the men, is very well described. They not only led and tended the beasts, walking on foot during the entire day, but when the camping-place was reached, they pitched the tents, took off the loads, made fires, cooked victuals, and were the last to lay themselves under their skins to sleep. These ladies had a strange method of relieving themselves from the fatigues of the day. One lay on the ground on her face, while the other walked over her, and treaded all her limbs with the feet, a practice producing somewhat similar effects to those of shampooing. As it is the fashion in the east to have a soubriquet, or nickname for every one, the women were at

once named Sheherazade and Denerazade, from the "Arabian Nights," and were a constant source of entertainment on the journey. The whole expense of the equipment amounted to about £149, not a very considerable sum, considering that everything required during three or four months should be carried along.

The road along the sea coast for three or four days, and afterwards inland during four or five more, lay through plains, inhabited by the Eesa Gala, generally a quiet people, unless when engaged in a blood feud, or threatened with a raid from their neighbours. They live in kraals, after the fashion of the Hottentots, are rich in herds, grow the holcus-wheat and cotton, gather gums, and trade in hides and peltries. Some of their manners are very peculiar, such as their purgations, the accused being obliged to drag a red-hot anvil out of the fire; the prices at which their maidens are bought and sold in marriage, and their superstitions similar to those of the Somauli before mentioned. An Eesa girl will bargain for her own price with her future lord, as one did with Burton, who simulated a love suit. She demanded twice the usual number of tobes, a quantity of tobacco and coffee, necklaces for herself, and a money present for her father, and seemed somewhat disconcerted when the affair was broken off. Kissing is unknown among this tribe, and when a couple are married, the first thing the husband treats his wife to, is a sound beating with a whip, to render her obedient, and then they are shut up together in a hut for a great number of days, it being considered a degradation to visit or see them. This people will not eat either fish, or fowl, or vegetables; they live wholly on meat, rice, and holcus grain. They have only a small idea of the effect of firearms, which they at first derided, but Lieutenant Burton gained complete renown, which preceded him to Harrar, by bringing down a bird flying, with a fowling-piece.

Crossing the Gaban plain on his journey inland, our traveller came upon many fumaras, or watercourses, hollowed out in the soil by the course of the streams. The borders of these were the most fertile portions of the land, and frequently by the Eesa shepherds and husbandmen presented a paradisaical appearance, compared to the other parts of the arid tract. Traces were, however, apparent of the incursions of a savage tribe, the Habr Awal, who lived more to

the south, and a trail of two hundred horsemen, no doubt on a raid, was seen to have crossed the road only the day before the little caravan passed. The Ghauts, or range of mountains running parallel to the sea coast, being now reached, the party began to ascend their ravines, and soon found themselves in a different climate, and among a less savage people, the Gudabirsi. These, protected by the mountainous nature of their country, are able to live in greater tranquillity among themselves, and with less fear of their neighbours. The consequence is, that their kraals are more comfortable, and the cultivation of the soil more attended to amongst them. The jujube and cactus flourish here, and the kat tree forms a very valuable article of commerce. It is somewhat of the nature of tea, ranks above coffee with the natives, by whom it is chewed as a great luxury, and might be imported to Europe with great benefit. The celebrated waba poison tree is also found here; the white ant builds here his extraordinary edifices of clay, and the fat jay is an object of reverence.

The people of these countries have a great desire for learning news, and enquire for it eagerly from the traveller. They propagate it very fast from mouth to mouth, as an instance of which, Captain Burton states his having heard at Harrar of a storm which occurred at Bombay, and destroyed a large number of shipping, only three weeks after it occurred. The incidents of the Russian war were freely discussed, and well understood by every one, as he passed along his route.

The highest point of the road over these Ghauts was marked by the Malimahlah, or holy tree, at a height of about 3,350 feet, as indicated by the thermometer. From this the new chiefs of the tribes ride forth to assume their dominion, and often dictate justice under its branches. Not far off are the ruins of a fort, formerly erected by a galla queen, Kola, who had attempted a settlement there, but the jealous ruler of Harrar destroyed the enceinte and its defenders. From this spot our traveller gained a splendid view of the country he was about to traverse, a long valley, called the Harawwah, stretching far among the hills, and on the horizon, the Marar prairie, the immediate forerunner of the environs of the forbidden city. Already he felt himself within its precincts. Captain Burton's own words here will give a good idea of his style.

Late in the morning of Saturday the 9th December, I set out, accompanied by Rirash and the End of Time, to visit some ruins a little way distant from the direct road. After an hour's ride we turned up the Abasso Fiumara, and entered a basin in the hills about sixteen miles distant from the Holy tree. This is the site of Darbiyah Kola—Kola's Fort—so called from its Galla queen. It is said that this city and its neighbour Aububah fought like certain cats in Kilkenny, till both were "eaten up;" the Gubabirsi fix the event at the period when their forefathers still inhabited Bulhar on the coast—about 300 years ago. If the date be correct, the substantial ruins have fought a stern fight with time. Remnants of houses cumber the soil, and the carefully built wells are filled with rubbish: the Palace was pointed out to me, with its walls of stone and clay intersected with layers of wood work. The mosque is a large roofless building containing twelve square pillars of rude masonry, and the migrab, or prayer niche, is denoted by a circular arch of tolerable construction. But the voice of the muezzin is hushed for ever and creepers now twine around the ruined fane. The scene was still and dreary as the grave, for a mile and a half all was ruins—ruins—ruins.

Leaving this dead city, we rode towards the South West between two rugged hills of which the loftiest summit is called Wanauli. As usual they are rich in thorns; the tall "Wadi" affords a gum useful to cloth dyers, and the leaves of the lofty wumba are considered, after the Daum palm, the best material for mats. On the ground appeared the blue flowers of the "man" or "Himbah" a shrub resembling a potatoe; it bears a gay yellow apple full of brown seeds, which is not eaten by the Somal. My companions made me taste some of the Karir berries, which in colour and flavour resemble red currants: the leaves are used as a dressing to ulcers. Topping the ridge we stood for a few minutes to observe the view before us. Beneath our feet lay a long grassy plain—the sight must have gladdened the hearts of our starving mules!—and for the first time in Africa horses appeared grazing free among the bushes. A little farther off lay the Aylonda valley studded with graves, and dark with verdure. Beyond it stretched the Wady Harawwah, a long gloomy hollow in the general level. The background was a bold sweep of blue hill, the second gradient of the Harar line, and on its summit closing the western horizon, lay a golden streak—the Marar prairie. Already I felt at the end of my journey.

Descending now from the higher ground, the party began to enter the Harawwah valley. The kraals here were well defended from lions, who did not happen, however, to be very numerous or daring, by high thickets and hedges of thorns, which protected the beasts and their masters. The ruins of Audubah were also visited, somewhat similar to these of Kola, and denoting a former somewhat greater civilization among the tribes. Captain Burton, who had become very debilitated from bad food, hard exercise, and the climate, here suffered himself to be cauterized over the stomach with a charred piece of wood by the "End of Time." He does not say what was the effect, but the operator justified it by reciting the tradition, "the end of

physic is fire." The horse and traces of the elephant now appeared, though all attempts to meet the latter animal failed.

After passing through the country of the Gudabirsi, the Marar prairie was entered, where the Eesa, Berteri, and Habr Awal tribes meet to rob and plunder unwary travellers. It is about twenty-seven miles wide, covered with black earth, and in some places tall waving sunburnt grass. Here a lion appeared, and was repelled by the rifle, to the great astonishment and satisfaction of the natives. This country is within the jurisdiction of the Gerad (Counsellor) Adan, a dependant of Harrar, whose son, Sherwa, showed every attention to Captain Burton. Some parts of the land was reduced by the inhabitants to a very high state of cultivation; the fields laid out in terraces, and protected by hedges, appeared to equal in richness some of the most fertile portions of England. The daisy, thistle, sweetbriar, and other plants, which recalled his island home, struck forcibly on the feeling of the travellers. The harvest was being gathered in, and the people enjoyed themselves fully as much as the peasant of England does on that occasion. The huts of the natives assume here the shape of a bell, similar to those of the Hottentots in more southern Africa. A rude sort of hospitality was shown at the Gerad Adan's village of Wilensi, by the Geradha herself in person. Captain Burton determined on leaving his heavy baggage, camels, etc., and using only his mules for the remaining portion of the journey. A short distance further on he was met by the Gerad Adan himself, and a portion of his tribe, the Girhi, who endeavoured to exaggerate the dangers of the way, but could not dissuade him from advancing. At a pass in the Kondura mountain, a crowd of Galla spearmen endeavoured to intercept his passage, and to levy toll from his baggage, but he succeeded in getting through them unscathed, and reached at length the environs of Harrar. Here is a large plain, studded with villages of the Midgan tribe; gardens of limes, plaintains, and pomegranites line the ways; women appear on the roadside selling ghee, cotton, and other wares, and the brown terraced walls and houses of the town, with its scanty minarets, are seen at length in the distance. A stream, the Jalah, or coffee-water, intercepts the road, which, cut deep in the side of the hill, winds up towards a rude gate, and crenelated wall.

Entering the gate, and ascending a narrow lane-street, he is brought inside the gate, composed of holens' stalks, belonging to the palace, and is placed with his suit, ignominiously in the corner of a court-yard, in company with a number of Somal. Resenting this he demands an audience; is led to a doorway, made to take off his slippers, and is ushered into a narrow room, in the presence of the Amir, the following description of whom may be interesting:—

The Amir, or as he styles himself, the Sultan Ahmad bin Sultan Abibaker, sat in a dark room with whitewashed walls, to which hung—significant decorations—rusty matchlocks and polished fetters. His appearance was that of a little Indian Rajah, an etiolated youth twenty-four or twenty-five years old, plain and thin bearded, with a yellow complexion, wrinkled brows and protruding eyes. His dress was a flowing robe of crimson cloth, edged with snowy fur, and a narrow white turban tightly twisted round a tall conical cap of red velvet, like the old Turkish headgear of our painters. His throne was a common Indian Kursi or raised cot about five feet long, with back and sides supported by a dwarf railing: being an invalid he rested his elbow upon a pillow, under which appeared the hilt of a cutch Sabre. Ranged in double line, perpendicular to the Amir, stood the "court," his cousins and nearest relations, with right arms bared after fashion of Abyssinia.

I entered the room with a loud "Peace be upon ye!" to which his H. H. replying graciously, and extending a hand bony and yellow as a kite's claw, snapped his thumb and middle finger. Two chamberlains stepping forward held my forearms, and assisted me to bend low over the fingers, which, however, I did not kiss, being naturally averse to performing that operation upon any but a woman's hand. My two servants then took their turn; in this case, after the back was saluted the palm was presented for a repetition. These preliminaries concluded, we were led to and seated upon a mat in front of the Amir, who directed towards me a frowning brow and an inquisitive eye.

Captain Burton presented a letter, written by himself, and purporting to come from the British representative at Aden, and explained its import. The Amir smiled, and the audience was over. He was next referred to the Wasir Gerad Mohammed, an old man, who complained of chronic bronchitis, and who was won over, after a few interviews, by a promise of medicine to be sent from Berberah, on the sea-coast. The traveller had two or three more audiences with the Amir during his stay of ten days at Harrar, when the court and grandees chiefly occupied themselves chewing kat, or, as it is there named, jat. He gives a good account of the former history of this Moslem city, which exercised for many centuries a most pernicious influence on the fortunes of Christian Abyssinia. In the commencement of the sixteenth century it was under the rule of a savage Emir, Mahommed

Gragne (the left-handed), who overran the Ethiopian empire, and slew a force of 400 Portuguese, led by two sons of the famous Vasco de Gama, Don Stephen and Don Christopher. Claudius, the Christian emperor, was sacrificed to the savage cruelty of the wife of the Amir. The story is one of turbulence, and the present weakness of the ruler a strong contrast to the former violence of his forefathers. The following is a description of Harrar town :—

The ancient capital of Hadiyah, called by the citizens "Harar Gay" by the Somal "Adari," by the Gallas "Adaray," and by the Arabs and ourselves "Harrar," lies, according to my dead reckoning, 220 degrees South West of, and 175 statute miles from, Zayla—257 degrees West of, and 219 miles distant from, Berberah. This would place it in 9 degrees 20 minutes North Latitude and 42 degrees 17 minutes East Longitude. The thermometer shewed an altitude of about 5,500 feet above the level of the sea. Its site is the slope of an hill which falls gently from West to East. On the Eastern side are cultivated fields; Westwards a terraced ridge is laid out in orchards; Northwards is a detached eminence covered with tombs; and to the south, the city declines into a low valley bisected by a mountain burn. This irregular position is well sheltered from high winds, especially on the northern side, by the range of which Kondura is the lofty apex; hence, as the Persian poet sings of the heaven favoured city :—

"Its heat is not hot, nor its cold, cold."

During my short residence the air reminded me of Tuscany. On the afternoon of the 11th January there was thunder accompanied by rain frequent showers fell on the 12th, and the morning of the 13th, was clear; but as we crossed the mountains, black clouds obscured the heavens. The monsoon is heavy during one summer month; before it begins the crops are planted, and they are reaped in December and January. At other seasons the air is dry, mild and equable.

The present city of Harrar is about one mile long by half that breadth. An irregular wall, lately repaired, but ignorant of cannon, is pierced with five large gates, and supported by oval towers of artless construction. The materials of the houses and defences are rough stones, the granites and sandstones of the hills, cemented like the ancient Galla cities with clay. The only large building is the Jami or Cathedral, a long barn of poverty-stricken appearance, with broken-down gates, and two white-washed minarets of truncated conoid shape. They were built by Turkish architects from Mocha and Hodaydah; one of them lately fell, and has been replaced by an inferior effort of Harrari art. There are a few trees in the city, but it contains none of those gardens, which give to Eastern settlements that pleasant view of town and country combined. The streets are narrow lanes up hill and down dale, strewn with gigantic rubbish heaps, upon which repose packs of mangy or one-eyed dogs, and even the best are encumbered with rocks and stones.

This town is considered among the African races an Alma Mater, or place of learning, where some of the most recondite doctrines of the Mahommedan religion are taught. Its

population, some 8,000 in number, with a fluctuating crowd of visitors, are distinct in language and race from all the tribes about them. They are a bad, cruel, bigoted set, lax in morals, and only to be kept in check by the severe rule maintained among them by the Amir. His force of armed men is very small, compared to the fame of his predecessors, consisting of only some two hundred, forty or fifty of whom are matchlock men, and the rest carry the ordinary spear, shield, and dagger. He strikes off a very small brass coin, the mehallat, which is the only one allowed circulation within the walls. He raises his revenues from imposts and duties on trade, the exports being principally slaves, ivory, coffee, tobacco, &c., and the imports sheeting, cottons, shawls, silks, brass, &c. Three caravans leave yearly for Berberah, where large fairs are held on their arrival. The food of the inhabitants consist of beef, fowls, holcus, honey, &c., from which last article a kind of wine, called the tej, similar to that used in Abyssinia, is produced by fermentation.

After several audiences with the Amir and his Wazir, Captain Burton at length obtained leave to depart from Harar. News, which had suddenly arrived, that two Englishmen, Lieutenants Herne and Speke, were landed at Berberah, and making inquiries concerning their companion, considerably hastened this event, otherwise it is the African custom to detain a visitor or guest, and usually to make a regular prisoner of him. The Amir also returned a revolver, which had been presented to him, either not being able to understand its use, or being dissatisfied. The traveller, therefore, thought it best to take his departure as quickly as possible, and left the town early on the morning of the 13th January. His stay had been only one of ten days, during which he collected a great deal of information concerning the produce, manners, and population of the town and neighbourhood. Retracing his steps to the village of Wilensi, where he had left his heavy baggage, under the care of his friend, the Gerad Adan, he was received there as one risen from the dead, it not being credited that he could return from Harar alive. He had some difficulty, also, in leaving this place, from the over-carefulness of his friends, but succeeded at length in sending on his caravan to Zayla, while he himself determined to adopt a new course, and ride across the

country of the Habr Awal Bedouin to the port of Berberah. He, his companions, and their mules suffered very much during this journey, from want of water or proper pasturage, being also obliged to travel as secretly as possible, on account of the truculent character of the natives. They reached, however, the Ghaut range again in safety, and were delighted by finding a Ga' angal, or fairies' well, in one of the ravines. Treading, then, the romantic "Kadar" Pass, and a huge mountain cleft called the Wady Duntu, they descended into the maritime plain and among the hostile tribes of the Ayyal Shirdon and Ayyal Ahmed. An unexpected meeting took place with a kraal of the former, who received them hostilely, refused to sell milk, and were very near coming to blows. The traveller, however, succeeded in avoiding a rencontre, and eluded the tribes by keeping along the sea coast, finally entering the quarters of the Ayyal Gedid, their protectors, in Berberah, without any injury. Here he found his comrades of the East Indian service, with whom he made several excursions in the neighbourhood.

The harbour of Berberah is much superior to that of Zayla, and ought completely to supersede the former for all purposes of traffic with the natives. A good description of it, and of some points of interest near it, is given in Captain Burton's book; but space will not allow us to go into any detail. There is one curious custom existing at the port, and to which all vessels arriving are subject—namely, the Abbanship. When a craft is seen to approach the shore, a crowd of men immediately swim off to her. The first who reaches her climbs up the side to the deck, touches the captain, and declares himself the Abban, or protector of the vessel. From thenceforth he and his tribe are responsible for the safety of the crew and cargo, and through him all trade is carried on. A certain duty on sales and purchases is paid to him for this accommodation, amounting, in many instances, to a very heavy tax.

Captain Burton left Berberah in a small East India schooner, the "Reed," to return to Aden, but, in the subsequent year, paid another visit, during the time of a large fair and arrival of caravans, in company with his friends, Lieutenants Herne, Speke, and Stroyan. It happened, however, that some of the inland tribes took a sudden offence

at their presence, and made an attack on their tents, as they lay encamped outside the town. In the melee Lieutenant Stroyan was killed, and two of the other companions severely wounded, and obliged to return to their ship. Since that occurrence a frigate has been despatched to avenge the outrage, and blockade the coast until ample reparation is given for the murder. The Somaui have, it appears, offered compensation to the extent of 15,000 dollars, and state that the murderers have been already punished by their tribes. This letter asseveration is, however, not to be at all trusted, being the usual subterfuge by which these wild men endeavour to circumvent the whites, and to shield their friends from the consequences of their crimes. A good opportunity now offers for opening up the trade of that part of the African continent, and establishing more satisfactory relations at the seaports.

From this short sketch of Captain Burton's book, it may be easily perceived that it contains a large amount of very useful information, not only to the traveller, but also to the commercial community. It is plain that it would be of considerable benefit to England—the emporium, manufacturer, and carrier of nations—to establish a mercantile intercourse with a people who are so capable of giving reciprocal advantage as the Somaui and Harrari. The exports of Harrar and its ports, Zayla and Berberah, are of first-class importance, consisting of coffee, cotton, gums, peltries, &c., and numerous other small articles of great value in the European market. The inhabitants, Somaui, Eesa, Guda-birsi, or Harrari, are evidently of a mixed Arabic and Ethiopic descent, retaining some of the erratic manners of the former, and tending towards the arts of civilised life, like the latter. They are, therefore, more peculiarly fit than almost any of the inhabitants of that continent to meet in commerce with Europeans. The Caffres and Hottentots of the south are too savage, the Negroes of the west too besotted, the Moors and Bedouins of the north too wild and untractable, to profit much by such an intercourse. Here, therefore, is the ground for English enterprise. The missionary cannot hope to extend his labours in this direction, on account of the peculiar bigotry of the Mahommedan creed, which denies absolutely an entrance to the propagators of any foreign dogma. It would be the surest method

of preventing any intercourse with Europeans, to begin by an endeavour to change the religion of the country. That would only rouse antagonism, and defeat any further attempts to open up the resources of the people.

We do not wish to say much as to the style in which the Hadji Burton's volume is written. It is generally easy and untrammelled ; sometimes rising into the eastern hyperbolic manner, which, no doubt, he has caught from his acquaintance, with the languages of that clime. Now and then, however, he shows a good deal of erudition, knowledge of Arabic manners, and quaint learning, very entertaining to such readers as can appreciate its elegance.

Let us now turn our attention to a totally different district of the African continent, namely, that visited by Mr. Andersson. He is a Swede by birth, but as he says himself, more than half English by parentage, so that his foreign extraction does not allow itself to be perceived upon his pages. He commences the narrative of his travels at a very early period, even at the first longings in his youth for the sight of foreign lands. Being introduced in England by Sir Hyde Parker to a Mr. Francis Galton, he agreed to accompany this gentleman on an expedition to explore the countries lying north of the districts of Cape Colony, and to penetrate, if possible, as far as Lake Ngami. They made their preparations, and laid in stores in England, and sailed for the Cape in the *Dalhousie*, an unlucky vessel, which on a subsequent voyage foundered within sight of the coast. His adventures began at the Cape by an evening walk to the top of the Table Mountain, on which he lost his way, and was in imminent danger of falling over the precipices. They set sail for Walvisch Bay, a good natural harbour on the west coast, about the 23rd deg. of south latitude ; here they made their final preparations for exploring the interior.

The mode of travelling in the neighbourhood of the Cape is very different from that pursued in the north, or in any other part of Africa. It is necessary, or usual, to provide large bullock-waggons, constructed to carry several tons of provisions, merchandize, ammunition, etc., and serve as tents to the wayfarer. A large team of bullocks is driven along at a slow rate ; if any of them fail, they may be replaced by barter from the herds of the aborigines, who are ever ready to exchange their cattle for the commodities of civilized life.

Messrs. Andersson and Gelton brought with them, in the first instance, a number of mules, who dragged the waggon to a point where an exchange could be made for oxen. This was Scheppmansdorf, a missionary station on the banks of the river Kuisip, a periodical stream, enclosed by ridges of sand, and running only in those years, when nature vouchsafes a plentiful supply of water. This place is maintained by a Mr. Barn and his wife, who toil through their vocation of christianising the heathen with enormous fortitude.

After breaking in their oxen for the journey, the travellers started through a country made tedious by wait-a-bit thorns, and destructive to animal life by a tropical sun and the total absence of pasture or water. Their road lay not far from the banks of the Swakop river, where the gnou and the gemsbok, species of half deer, half antelope, which scud over these wide African plains, afforded them ample sport and food. The lion had already appeared at Scheppmansdorf, where he swallowed a poor dog, and being killed, was found to contain the unfortunate animal, bitten into six pieces. At Richterfeldt, another missionary station, they came among a peculiar tribe, the Demaras, a fine race of men, something between the Caffres and Negroes, but extremely dirty in their persons. Mr. Andersson very narrowly escaped suffering from a sun stroke, which either produces sudden death, or a permanent disease of the brain for life. He, however, was only temporarily annoyed, and ultimately recovered completely. The manner in which the Hill-Damaras smoke tobacco, or the "dacka," or hemp-plant, is worthy the attention of the reader :

The manner in which the Hill-Damaras smoke, is widely different from Hindu, Mussulman, or Christian. Instead of simply inhaling the smoke, and then immediately letting it escape, either by the mouth or nostril, they *swallow it deliberately*. The process is too singular to be passed over without notice. A small quantity of water is put into a large horn—usually of a Koodoo—three or four feet long. A short clay pipe, filled either with tobacco or "dacka" is then introduced, and fixed vertically, into the side near the extremity of the narrow end, communicating with the interior by means of a small aperture. This being done, the party present place themselves in a circle, observing silence ; and with open mouths and eyes glistening with delight they anxiously abide their turn. The chief man has usually the honour of enjoying the first pull of the pipe. From the moment that the orifice of the horn is applied to his lips, he seems to lose all consciousness of every thing around him, and becomes entirely absorbed in the enjoyment. As little or no smoke escapes from his mouth, the effect is soon sufficiently apparent. His

features become contorted, his eyes glassy and vacant, his mouth covered with froth, his whole body convulsed, and in a few seconds he is prostrate on the ground. A little water is then thrown over the body, proceeding not unfrequently from the mouth of a friend: his hair is violently pulled, or his head uncereemoniously thumped with the hand. These somewhat disagreeable applications usually have the effect of restoring him to himself in a few minutes. Cases, however, have been known, where people have died on the spot, from overcharging their stomachs with the poisonous fumes.

The Damaras use spears or assegais, and arrows tipped with the milk-white gummy juice of the poisonous cactus, known under the scientific name of *euphorbia candelabrum*. The rhinoceros is common enough in the pools of the Swakop, or its tributaries; and the giraffe now and then met on the neighbouring plains.

Barmen, a third missionary station of the German-Rhenish Society, on the banks of the Swakop, was under the care of a Mr. Hahn, who endeavoured to provide himself in that lonely situation with many of the comforts of civilised life. A deep well in his garden supplied them with a great rarity, good drinking water; and a warm spring near, of a heat equal to 157 deg. Fahrenheit, was used as a most refreshing bath. Mr. Andersson here met with an adventure in lion-hunting, which it may be useful to give in his own words:—

As the day, however, was now fast drawing to a close, I determined to make one other effort to destroy the lion, and should that prove unsuccessful to give up the chase. Accordingly, accompanied by only a single native, I again entered the brake in question, which I examined for some time without seeing anything; but on arriving at that part of the cover we had first searched, and when in a spot comparatively free from bushes, up suddenly sprung the beast within a few paces of me. It was a blackmaned lion, and one of the largest I ever remember to have encountered in Africa. But his movements were so rapid, so silent and smooth withal, that it was not until he had partially entered the thick cover, (at which time he might have been about thirty paces distant), that I could fire. On receiving the ball, he wheeled short about, and with a terrific roar bounded towards me. When within a few paces, he couched as if about to spring, having his head embedded, so to say, between his forepaws.

Drawing a large hunting knife and slipping it over the wrist of my right hand, I dropped on one knee, and thus prepared, awaited his onset. It was an awful moment of suspense, and my situation was critical in the extreme. Still my presence of mind never for a moment forsook me, indeed I felt that nothing but the most perfect coolness and absolute self-command, would be of any avail. I would now have become the assailant; but as—owing to the intervening bushes, and clouds of dust raised by the lion's lashing his tail against the ground—I was unable to see his head, while to aim at any other part would have been madness, I refrained from firing. Whilst intently watching his every motion, he

suddenly bounded towards me; but whether it was owing to his not perceiving me, partially concealed as I was in the long grass—or to my instinctively throwing my body on one side—or to his miscalculating the distance—in making his last spring he went clear over me, and alighted on the ground three or four paces beyond. Instantly and without rising, I wheeled round on my knee, and discharged my second barrel; and as his broadside was then towards me, lodged a ball in his shoulder, which it completely smashed. On receiving my second fire he made another and more determined rush at me; but owing to his disabled state I happily avoided him. It was only however by a hair's breadth, for he passed me within arm's length. He afterwards scrambled into the thick cover beyond, where, as night was then approaching, I did not deem it prudent to pursue him."

A third missionary station on the little Swakop river, named Schmelen's Hope, from its founder, is reached, near which a noted chief, the Yonker Africaner, as he is called by the Dutch Boers of the Cape, has his kraal. His tribe are a branch of Namaquas, the fiercest and most cruel of the native races, famed for their incursions among the Damaras. Hyenas and leopards are met on the journey; bustards, and the termite white ant, begin to appear. They travelled now over a table land some five or six thousand feet above the sea, from the middle of which rises the Omatako mountain, some two or three thousand feet. They got news of a large lake, called Omanbondé, and after several days' journeying, find only disappointment; it is a mere marsh, frequented by hippopotami. They set out for the land of the Ovambo, still further north; their waggon breaks down, and they are obliged to toil forward on ox-back. A caravan of the Ovambo meets them, and refuses to allow them to proceed, except in their own company. At length they arrive at Tjopopa's-werft, the last chief of the Damaras. The Ovambo bring the travellers to the fountain Otjikoto, a basin about half a mile in circumference, with huge rocks and cliffs around its margin. The fertile plains of Ondonga are at length reached, and they rest from their toils in the lap of plenty.

Here the Ovambo, apparently a race of people the nearest approaching to civilisation in the south-west of the African continent, have created a comparative Eden. Their villages are formed of comfortable thatched houses, protected by palisadings, and their fields abound with calabashes, water-melons, pumpkins, beans, peas, and tobacco. They are rich in herds and flocks; oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, and fowls, are in abundance; and the dog, the companion of civilised man, is

domesticated amongst them. They are an honest and hospitable people, and love their native country; their morals, however, are rather lax, the chief Nangoroe, an old fat man, nearly 70 years of age, allowing himself the luxury of a harem of 110 wives. The husbandry of this people is worthy of a more genial clime; they store their produce in large barns, and preserve the grain in huge baskets of matting. This is the spot for the missionary to commence his labours, and hope for a successful issue to his toils.

The travellers retraced their steps from this happy place to the head-quarters of Jonker Africander, and the country of the Damaras, from which Mr. Andersson made an attempt to reach Lake Gnamu, but was obliged to return from a spot called the Elephant's Fountain, nine or ten days' journey from the lake, on account of the want of water and pasturage. They repaired again to Walfisch Bay, where Mr. Galton left the party. Mr. Andersson, and his man Hans, a brave companion and hunter, joined their fortunes, and set out for the Cape, with a herd of cattle, on a trading expedition. He gives a very good account of the ostrich, its habits, breeding, and hunting; of the different species of serpents met on the route, and the devastating locusts, or *voet-guagers*, as they are called by the Dutch Boers. He had the misfortune to be nearly burned to death in his tent, and to lose the greater part of his effects, and all his papers. Then he was caught by the country fever, and laid up for six weeks in a miserable thatched hut, without medicine or proper food. At length they arrived at the Orange river, near which the men and animals live without water, and among the Namaquas, the largest tribe in the neighbourhood of the Boers, who were astonished at the appearance of Mr. Andersson among them. At the Cape, Hans, his faithful servant, separates from him, and he is obliged to hire two others, with whom he returns to Walfisch Bay again, and strikes into the country, to the Barmen Station, and the Jonker's-werft, Eikhany, where he meets with a caravan of Griqua elephant-hunters, who are meditating an expedition in the direction of Lake Gnamu, and to them he joins his adventurous fortunes.

Having hired an interpreter of the Bechuana language, a dialect ranging over a vast extent in the centre of this part of Africa, Mr. Andersson pursued the same route by which

he had been obliged to return before, through a very arid and pastureless track, now and then diversified by large pools, one of which is named the Elephant's Kloof, and another Tunobis. These reservoirs of water are very much frequented at night time by all kinds of wild animals, from the timid antelope to the gigantic elephant, and afford the best spots for sporting to the adventurous traveller, as any one who has read Captain Gordon Cumming's book may have long since discovered. Large troops of beasts may be seen wading their way in the grey twilight towards these basins, and can be easily trapped or shot by lying in wait. There is, however, sometimes a good deal of danger from a sudden rush of the wounded animal, as Mr. Andersson experienced on two occasions, being nearly trampled to death by an elephant, or transfixed by the horn of a huge black rhinoceros. The giraffe, too, is plenty in this district, and generally caught in pitfalls, into one of which the traveller's horse unfortunately tumbled, and was extricated from it with great difficulty. At length, after several weeks of laborious travel, he reached the object of his search, so much desired, that his feelings on the occasion, as he describes them himself, must have been overpowering:—

"The return of daylight found us again on the move. The morning being cool and pleasant, and our goal near, the whole party was in high spirits, and we proceeded cheerily on our road. I myself kept well ahead in hope of obtaining the first glimpse of Ngami. The country hereabout was finely undulated, and in every distant vale with a defined border I thought I saw a lake. At last a blue line of great extent appeared in the distance, and I made sure it was the long sought object; but I was still doomed to disappointment. It turned out to be merely a large hollow, in the rainy season filled with water, but now dry and filled with saline incrustations. Several valleys, separated from each other by ridges of sand, bearing a rank vegetation, were afterwards crossed. On reaching the top of one of these ridges, the natives who were in advance of our party, suddenly came to a halt, and pointing straight before them, exclaimed—"Ngami, Ngami!" In an instant I was with the men. There indeed at no very great distance, lay spread before me an immense sheet of water, only bounded by the horizon—the object of my ambition for years and for which I had abandoned home and friends, and risked my life.

The first sensation occasioned by this sight was very curious. Long as I had been prepared for the event, it now almost overpowered me. It was a mixture of pleasure and pain. My temples throbbed, and my heart beat so violently that I was obliged to dismount, and lean against a tree for support, until the excitement had subsided. The reader will no doubt think that this giving way to my feelings was very childish; but those who know, that the first glimpse of some great object, which we have read or dreamt of from earliest recollection, is ever a moment of

intensest enjoyment, will forgive the transport. I felt unfeignedly thankful for the unbounded goodness and gracious assistance which I had experienced from Providence, throughout the whole of this prolonged and perilous journey.

The Ngami Lake was visited in 1849 by Oswell, Livingstone, and Murray, and has ever since been regarded as an object of great interest in African discovery. At first it was thought, from native account, to be a very extensive inland sea, which might be made very useful for the internal navigation of the continent. It is now known, however, to be only sixty or seventy miles in circumference, and from six to nine miles in breadth—not more, perhaps, than two-thirds of the size of Lake Geneva. A considerable river, the Teoge, flows into and feeds it, while the Zonga, an equally important stream, carries off its superfluous waters. The banks of both rivers and lake are very marshy and full of reeds, frequented by hippopotami and crocodiles; and the savannahs near overrun by two new species of antelopes, the nakong and the leché. The Batoana, a tribe of the Bechuana, dwell upon the shores, under a chief named Lecholetebé, who at first shewed no hospitality to Mr. Andersson, but, on the contrary, continually begged food and clothing. This people—and, indeed, the Bechuana in general—are remarkable for their eloquence, which they exercise in their pichos, or parliaments, where every one is at liberty to abuse the government and ruler to his heart's content. They have no religion, are polygamists, and slaves to many superstitions, especially that of rain-making, the professors of which, on pretence of drawing water from the clouds, may obtain anything they desire. The men are addicted to snuff-taking, and the women to smoking the “dacka” or Indian hemp.

Hiring some of these people and their canoes, Mr. Andersson made an expedition across the lake and up the river Teoge, to a place called Libebé, the head quarters of a very interesting race, the Bayeye tribe. Their manner of harpooning the hippopotami, from large rafts made of reeds, is exceedingly entertaining, especially when compared with the sketches which have been found in Upper Egypt, of the same operation as performed by the subjects of the Pharaohs. These natives are very much in dread of the buffalo, and, instead of using it as food, fly at its approach, as others will from the lion. A novel species of antelope, the koodoo,

with curious spiral horns, is also met with among this people.

The traveller, having now attained the end and object of his excursion, turned his steps homewards. It was necessary, however, in order to convey his baggage and specimens, that he should procure waggon and oxen for the journey to the Cape. He set out, therefore, on a further toilsome travel into the land of the Nemaquas, to procure these things; and it was not until after a four months' search that he was able to bring them to his men, who awaited him on the banks of the Lake Ngami. During this time he suffered so much from fatigue, hardship, and the climate, that on one occasion he and his horse dropped in the midst of a sandy plain, from the effects of exhaustion and sun-heat, and remained lying there the greater part of a day, exposed to the burning rays. Fortunately, a merciful Providence watched over him, and he escaped without any injurious effects.

It must be abundantly evident to the reader, even from this short sketch, that the inhabitants of South-western Africa are a very different race of people from those met with by Captain Burton on his excursion to Harrar. The former are peculiar to their own country, with some manners and customs not to be found in any other region of the earth. Their plains are filled with strange animals—the giraffe, ostrich, gemsbock, oryx, elephant, and many species of antelopes; their rivers and lakes swarm with the hippopotami, rhinoceros, and crocodile. The character of the various tribes appears to be rather friendly to Europeans, as Mr. Andersson seems to have met everywhere with hospitality and respect. Some of them are, no doubt, given to marauding among their neighbours, such as the Nemaquas, under the Yonker Africaner, who is the scourge of his part of the country. Others live in peace, plenty, and, what might be called in savage life, luxury, as the Ovambo, some of the Damaras, and Bechuana. Here, therefore, is the quarter of the world where the labours of the missionary are most likely to be useful; and certainly, the efforts of the Rhenish Society in establishing stations at Scheppmansdorf, Schmelen's Hope, and Barmen cannot be too highly praised, as well as the endurance and self-denial of the men who have undertaken voluntarily to establish

themselves in these places of exile. It is very little matter, however, what denomination of Christianity, or form of our common religion, is propagated among these natives, because every form has a tendency to civilize and cultivate the barbarous mind. We regret very much that Dr. Livingstone's account of his labours and researches has not been brought out by the publishers in time this quarter to be subjected to a fitting review. That pleasure and satisfaction must be reserved for our next number, in which we hope to have much interesting matter, on the subject of African exploration, for our readers.

Before closing this paper, however, we wish to direct the attention of persons interested in discoveries in the interior of the continent to a large district, which seems to have been almost completely disregarded, and yet must be well worthy an effort to discover its secret. We allude to the immense tract lying North-west of Zanguebar, and somewhat South-west of Abyssinia, and stretching across the entire continent to the Bight of Benin and the Gold Coast. Here is a field almost entirely unknown, even by report, except that the inhabitants of the coast represent it as completely impenetrable. There is, nevertheless, an easy road for penetrating it—namely, the stream of the Zaire, the most magnificent river in the Eastern side of Africa; and the toil of the explorer would be amply repaid by solution of several problems in discovery—the existence of the fabled Mountains of the Moon, the source of the White Nile, and the fine climate and people, who have been reported by Abyssinian travellers to exist thereabouts. It is to be hoped that the next expedition to the African continent will be directed to this quarter.

ART. IX.—RECORDER HILL ON THE REPRESSION OF CRIME.

Suggestions for the Repression of Crime, contained in Charges Delivered to Grand Juries of Birmingham ; supported by additional Facts and Arguments. Together with Articles from Reviews and Newspapers, Controverting or Advocating the Conclusions of the Author. By Matthew Davenport Hill. London : Parker and Son, 1857.

"I inscribe," writes Mr. Hill, in the dedication of his work, "this book to Henry Lord Brougham and Vaux ; whose genius and energy, directed to the noblest objects, won the admiration of my youth ; whose friendship has been the pride of my manhood, and now solaces my declining years." It is a dedication worthy of the book, worthy of him to whom the book is inscribed, and worthy of the learned and ever earnest judge by whom it was written.

The history of eighteen years of a judicial life like Mr. Hill's could not fail to prove interesting and instructive even if it but recounted the incidents of which, during the period, he had been an observer ; this book before us is doubly interesting and instructive, as it not alone recounts the history of what the author has witnessed, but likewise of all bearing on those points, and of events in which Mr. Hill was an actor ; and thus, in the higher range, he shows how truly Johnson spoke when he declared, that if a man were simply to note down the facts connected with his daily existence, the record could not be useless, and might be valuable.

Mr. Hill does not appear to consider his book as a treatise on any subject, but as a guide to the student, (in this, however, we presume no one will agree with him), and he writes—"Judging, perhaps, too hastily from the public attention directed towards many of these Charges on their delivery, my friends have decided that they ought to be published, in a form likely to obtain a place for them among works consulted by the students of the various interesting branches of knowledge, which—using the term in a wide sense—may be classed under the head of Criminal Jurisprudence." From many sources he

gathers opinions for and against the views advocated or indicated in the Charges : and herein it is, in the patent evidence of this conflict of opinion, that we are enabled to discover the extraordinary unwillingness of the English people and of the British legislature to change any portion of the law, even though proved to be unjust in operation, cruel in result, or absurd in principle. From this book we learn that Bull has two phases of existence ; in one phase he is the jolly, jovial, jocund John, with the low-crowned hat, top boots, thick stick, and knee-smalls, whom every body likes and respects, for he is the genuine John ; but he is often transformed into the other phase, in which he becomes the wild and rampant genuine Bull-*Buffalo*, with head down, horns ready, and tail at full cock. In this state he rushes at any thing or every thing not exactly as he thinks it ought to be ; he gores it, he tosses it, he tramples it ; he will listen to no reasoning ; he is a stupid brute for the time, and appears to live for only two purposes, goring and roaring, roaring and goring.

Mr. Hill and his opinions have, during these past eighteen years, encountered a vast amount of the roaring and goring, but he and they have also had experience of the better nature of the beast, and therefore, Mr. Hill is right when he states, that he trusts his book will "not be without its use, in offering encouragement to those who feel it their duty to abide steadfastly by sound principles, however unpopular,—patiently awaiting the day when public opinion shall range itself on their side." And thus it does "range" at last ; thus it ranges now in favour of Reformatories for the young—the school master rather than the gaoler—and adopts the motto of the Newcastle and Gateshead Committee, holding that "a child, even when criminal, should be treated as a child and sent to a Reformatory School and not to a Prison ;" thus it and the legislature range on the side of those who declare that transportation to the colonies should be a Reward not a Punishment, and that the worst class of offenders permitted to live, should not be discharged free at home or in the colonies. But self-evident as these things appear, it took the labour of lives to drive them into the public mind, and then, by adoption, to clench them. All who assisted in this struggle are worthy the highest commendation ; those who from ability or position became leaders in it, deserve our deepest gratitude ; and to Mr. Hill who has done knight's service and yeoman's work in the cause, and who gives us the

results of the contests, of the defeats and of the successes we may apply Terrasson's eulogy on the labours of D'Aguesseau—
 "Quand la vertu sort victorieuse de tels combats, elle n'a besoin d'autres épreuves ; il ne lui faut que des couronnes. Celle qui est due à tant de travaux, ne s'est pas fait attendre long-temps."

The book contains twenty Charges, the first delivered in July, 1839, the last, March, 1857, and in addition, we have a very admirable speech, delivered in 1845, upon the laying the first stone of the Birmingham Gaol, inculcating the principle of endeavouring to render Prisons as much as possible Moral Hospitals. To each Charge, a "Sequel" is appended, containing the facts most useful and necessary in elucidating the subject matter of the charge ; and in the "Sequels," Mr. Hill shirks neither his supporters nor his opponents, letting the latter speak in their own words, and leaving the soundness of the conflicting opinions to the judgment of the reader. When requisite, an "Introduction" is prefixed to the Charge.

The well-arranged and most valuable mass of information contained in the "Sequels," is not only most important to the student of the philosophy of jurisprudence and of national opinion, but is likewise full of interest to the ordinary reader, who as he finds how laws are now ameliorated, and society improved, is forced gratefully to exclaim—

"The good of ancient times let others state,
 I think it lucky I was born so late."

That, however, the reader may fully comprehend the scope of the work, and the amount and variety of matter contained in the "Sequels" we insert the following table or syllabus, which is sufficiently full and accurate :—

Introduction to Charge of July, 1839. First Sessions. Dangerous Meetings. Police defeated. Sessions Court guarded by military force.

Charge of July, 1839. Painful circumstances of First Charge. Justice best administered on the spot. Necessity for permanently disposing of Convicts who make crime their calling. Use and abuse of Grand Juries.

Sequel to Charge of July, 1839. Riots, with incendiary fires. Distinction between political prisoners and ordinary criminals should not be obliterated. Effect on prisoners of degrading observances. Public ought to bear cost of witnesses for prisoners. History of Prisoners' Counsel Bill. Convictions and executions for forgery.

Observations arising out of Charge delivered in May, 1840. Uttering counterfeit coin. Circumstances incidental to this offence changed since 1840. Criminal class below the average in intellect. Phrenological treatment of prisoners.

Charge of April, 1841. Reformatory at Stretton-on-Dunsmore. Its results. Letter thereon from Sir J. E. Hardley Wilmot, Bart. Necessity for multiplying Reformatory Schools.

Charge of January, 1845. Strikes and intimidation. Receivers of stolen goods. Marine store dealers.

Sequel to Charge of January, 1845. Local Act in Liverpool for regulating the licenses of marine store dealers.

Charge of October, 1845. Embezzlement. Masters and Servants. Prevention of crime.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1845. Preventive checks to crime. Charity. Duties of employers towards employed. Belmont Candle Company. Recreation.

The Laying of the First Stone of Birmingham Gaol. Recorder's speech. The Gaol should be a Moral Hospital.

Charge of March, 1847. Sudden increase in crime. Evils of short imprisonments.

Sequel to the Charge of March, 1847. Causes affecting quantum of crime.

Charge of April, 1848. Chartist Demonstration. *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité.*

Charge of October, 1848. Juvenile Offenders. Stretton-on-Dunsmore. Mettray.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1848. Mettray. Letter from M. Blanchard on Results of Mettray. Extract from *Le Journal d'Indre et Loire.*

Charge of April, 1850. Petitions on behalf of Prisoners. Facility with which signatures are obtained. Evil Effects thereof.

Sequel to Charge of April, 1850. Instances illustrating the statements made in the Charge.

Introduction to Charge of October, 1850. Burglaries in Birmingham and elsewhere.

Charge of October, 1850. Crimes of Violence. Suggestions for restraining persons known to be living by crime.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1850. Law existing in India similar to that suggested in the Charge. Opinions of the Press on the suggestion.

Charge of October, 1851. Suggestion contained in preceding Charge more fully explained.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1851. Burglary at Mr. Holford's. Opinions of the Press on the Author's suggestion.

Introduction to Charge of October, 1853. Cruelties in Birmingham Gaol.

Charge of October, 1853. Birmingham Gaol. Captain Maconochie. Prison Discipline. Reformatory Treatment.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1853. Mark System. Testimonials to Captain Maconochie. Norfolk Island. Insufficiency of Deterrents. Letter from the Author to Mr. Adderley thereon. *Société de Patronage.* Lord Brougham on the Criminal Class.

Charge of March, 1854. Connexion between Disease and Crime. Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes. Common Lodging Houses' Act. Its Effect in Birmingham and other Provincial Towns. London.

Sequel to Charge of March, 1854. Conversation with Dr. Southwood Smith. Report by Medical Officer of Birmingham. Sanitary Condition of that Town. Overcrowding in London. Bristol Lodging Houses. Duties and Responsibilities of Houseowners.

Charge of September, 1854. Youthful Offenders' Act. Reformatory Schools. Parental Responsibility. Voluntary Principle.

Sequel to Charge of September, 1854. Birmingham Conferences. Bristol Meeting. Warwick Meeting. Returning Juvenile Offenders to Parents or Employers. Industrial, Ragged, and Reformatory Schools.

Introduction to Charge of January, 1855. Operation of the Maine Law.

Charge of January, 1855. Intemperance a fruitful source of crime. Restriction in sale of Intoxicating Drinks. Prohibition. Maine Law. Addendum.

Sequel to Charge of January, 1855. Objections to the Charge answered. Table showing the Progress of the Maine Law in the United States. Effect of good or bad times on amount of crime. Effect of Prohibition in the United States.

Charge of April, 1855. Grand Juries. Limited utility of Grand Juries.

Sequel to Charge of April, 1855. Birmingham Debtors' Gaol.

Charge of October, 1855. Ticket-of-leave system. Rapid mitigation of the Criminal Code. Stoppage of Transportation. Necessity for adopting reformatory system.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1855. Archbishop Whately on Time Sentences. Hulka. Transportation Committee, House of Commons, 1856. Opinions of the Press on the Charge.

Charge of October, 1856. Resolutions of the Transportation Committee, House of Commons, 1856. Hope, an essential element in reformatory treatment. Penal Servitude. Ticket-of-leave system not administered in its integrity.

Sequel to Charge of October, 1856. Prisons of Munich and Valencia. Smithfield Penitentiary, at Dublin. Re-commitments of Ticket-of-leave men. Photographic Portraits of Criminals. List of Ticket-of-leave men in Birmingham. Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society at Birmingham. Letter to the *Times* in defence thereof.

Introduction to Charge of December, 1856.

Charge of December, 1856. Crimes of Violence. Discharge from Gaol of Unreformed Criminals. Ticket-of-leave system, if faithfully administered, would mitigate present evils.

Sequel to Charge of December, 1856. Repression of Crime the end aimed at by Criminal Jurisprudence. Letter to the *Daily News* thereon. Opinions of the Press on the Charge.

Charge of March, 1857. Sir George Grey's Transportation Bill. Necessity for Reformatory Treatment. Tickets-of-leave. The Ashover Burglary.

Sequel to Charge of March, 1857. Crime in 1856. Prison Discipline in Ireland. Smithfield Penitentiary, Dublin. Thomas Wotton. Tickets-of-leave and penal servitude men.

As we read this table our opinions of Mr. Hill's spirit of industry are raised to a high pitch, but they are still more exalted as we read the book itself, and laying it aside we are reminded of Fuller's good advocate—"When his name is up his industry is not down, thinking to plead not by his study, but his credit. Commonly, physicians, like beer, are best when they are old; and lawyers, like bread, when they are young and new. But our advocate grows not lazier."

When Mr. Hill was appointed to the Recordship of Birmingham, the Chartists were exciting the working classes. A serious riot took place, the leaders were tried, convicted, and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment. These riots gave occasion to Mr. Hill to deliver a most important charge, and from its sequel we extract the following passages, on the treatment of Political prisoners and ordinary criminals; upon counsel for prisoners, and upon the payment of witnesses for prisoners by the Crown. Referring to the changes wrought in the minds of the ringleaders sentenced to imprisonment, Mr. Hill says:—

The opportunity thus afforded them for reading and reflection was not thrown away. One of them, Mr. Lovett, a man of ability, wrote a book while in prison for the use of Chartists, containing a plan of education well adapted to the requirements of working men, which I read on its publication with great pleasure. One passage, I remember, struck me very much. Lamenting the ignorance of the labouring classes, he candidly expresses his satisfaction that he and his coadjutors had hitherto failed in their aims at investing them with political power; for although he still looked forward to the time when they will possess it as not very distant, yet he was of opinion that if it had come before they were prepared by education to make a good use of it, the consequences would have been fatal to the public welfare.

That Mr. Lovett and his colleagues were sincere men, however mistaken or hot-headed, I entertain no doubt; and here I may say, that the prevalent opinion which stigmatizes the demagogue as a designing person, promoting selfish objects under pretence of advancing the public weal, lays down a rule which, to say the least, contains a great number of exceptions. The accidents of life have enabled me to see much of these agitators, and I have often found them persons only differing from their followers in the preponderance of the higher qualities.

What they believe to be true, their zeal, courage, and sense of duty impel them to act upon as true; whereas many who hold the

same tenets, and who love to expatiate upon them, shrink from any sacrifice in their support.

The prevalent opinion to which I have adverted is strengthened by circumstances which, if well understood, would not infrequently lead the candid mind to an opposite conclusion.

Sudden and somewhat violent changes of sentiment often occur among demagogues. These changes, which are not unnaturally attributed by those who are acquainted only with the bare fact, to want of principle, are often the result of a conscientious adherence to opinions, until they have been seen to lead, by a necessary consequence, to unexpected and injurious results.

The earnest sincerity which urges these men to reduce to practice what they profess gives them the teaching of experience, and engages them in reflection; whereas the lazy and the timid, who feed their minds upon mere speculation, have little motive and little opportunity for discovering their errors.

Leaders in every class, high or low, soon find—very often to their great surprise—that to succeed in governing others, something more is required than good qualities and right meaning on the part of governors; and their attention is necessarily drawn to defects in the body to be governed. Indeed they view the whole affair of government under a new aspect; and although for a time they may be hurried on by excitement and the power which associates have over each other, yet the truth will eventually force its way; and that period is often accelerated by some event, like imprisonment or a fit of sickness, which withdraws them for a time from the field of action.

From these considerations I have regretted that of late years the distinction between political prisoners and ordinary criminals has been well nigh obliterated. The general instinct of the civilized world in all ages has recognized the difference. Political offenders have been felt to be, if not exactly prisoners of war, yet bearing some resemblance to such captives. To keep their persons in safe custody, or even to take their lives on great occasions, gives no shock to public sentiment: but to subject them to degrading treatment, to crop their hair, clothe them in a prison dress, march them to and fro under the command of a turnkey, prevent them from supplying themselves with books and the comforts which habit has changed into necessities, and, above all, to lay harsh restrictions on the visits of their friends, is so revolting to the most ordinary sympathies, that magistrates and governors of prisons will not subject them to such indignities and hardships unless the legislature has made their infiction imperative.

The political prisoner, when his treatment is left to the ordinary feelings of mankind, is dealt with as a person in misfortune, who must undergo the sufferings attached to his position, but whose feelings are not to be wounded by contumely. I admit it would not be difficult to find instances in every age wherein the principle has been grossly violated, but such violations have been condemned by universal consent whenever the excited feelings by which they were caused, have subsided.

Political actions assume such different hues, as time rolls on, that society is often spared much regret—perhaps remorse—by having treated them in a forbearing spirit.

I am old enough to remember Sir Francis Burdett sent to the Tower for a letter, which, if published now, would, after the high-seasoned language in the use of which the press has for many years been permitted to indulge, be remarked, if noticed at all, for tameness. He subsequently passed a year in the King's Bench Prison, for writing a letter to Mr. Bickersteth, (afterwards Lord Langdale), censuring the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry, with regard to the conflict, popularly called the Manchester Massacre.

Still later, upon a supposed change of opinions, which he never admitted, he was taken into favour by the political party to which he had been obnoxious; and, although after this event, he did not stand as formerly with his old partisans, yet it would have been a subject of painful remembrance to the whole nation if this high-bred English gentleman had been made to undergo, in any part of his life, treatment which would have outraged his feelings of self-respect.

Mr. Bickersteth who published the letter in the newspapers, rose to be Master of the Rolls, and died a peer of the realm.

Mr. Leigh Hunt, who was imprisoned in the gaol of Horsemonger-lane, for a libel on the Prince Regent, had assigned to him spacious and airy apartments, which he was permitted to decorate and furnish at his pleasure; and he is now in the enjoyment of a pension granted by the niece of the sovereign who was the object of his attacks.

The poet, James Montgomery, lately deceased, who had undergone imprisonment more than once for political libels, had also a pension derived from the same source; and neither with regard to himself or Mr. Hunt, was a single voice raised to object against the bounty of the crown being so applied.

Poor Fergus O'Connor was not so fortunate. His treatment in York Castle, when convicted of sedition, was harsh and degrading; and necessarily so, as the law then stood, the visiting magistrates having had no power to alleviate his condition.

The remarks on the distinction which should be made between political and ordinary prisoners, are worthy of Mr. Hill, and are proof not alone of his humanity, but likewise of his sound judgment and knowledge of human nature.

Upon the amelioration of our jurisprudence, by which counsel for prisoners were permitted to address the jury, we have the following interesting history of the rise and progress of that valuable change in our law:—

The public apathy to which I have adverted, can hardly be more forcibly illustrated than by the fact, that it was not until the year 1824 that any attempt was made in parliament to remove the disability of prisoners to be defended by full counsel. It ought, however, in candour to be stated, that several excellent persons were adverse

to the change, in the sincere belief that the allowance of counsel to prisoners would not tend to elicit truth. Of these some objected to counsel being heard to address the jury on either side, timidly following in the steps of Bentham, who disapproved of advocacy in any form, in either civil or criminal cases.

The general proposition is intelligible, though, as I think, most erroneous. But how a distinction could be drawn between civil and criminal cases, I was never able to apprehend; and, if there be degrees of impossibility, was I less able to apprehend how the distinction should be made to restrict the privileges of a person accused of crime: for, supposing distinction could be established, one should naturally expect it to be favourable to him whose life was at stake rather to him whose property alone was in question.

In the year 1824, Mr. George Lamb, the brother of the late Lord Melbourne, brought the subject under the consideration of the House of Commons. He was supported by Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Denman, and opposed by Attorney-General. Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, and Solicitor-General Wetherall.

On the division, fifty voted for, and eighty against the motion.*

Ten years afterwards, conversing with Lord Lyndhurst, who was still opposed to the measure, he told me that his speech had converted Mr. Canning, who was previously favourable to the change.

In the year 1826, the pen of Sydney Smith was employed in the cause of the prisoner. He addressed the world through that powerful organ, *The Edinburgh Review*, and I cannot resist the temptation to insert a portion of his article:—

"It is a most affecting moment in a court of justice, when the evidence has all been heard, and the judge asks the prisoner what he has to say in his defence. The prisoner, who has (by great exertions, perhaps, of his friends), saved up money enough to procure counsel, says to the judge, 'that he leaves his defence to his counsel.' We have often blushed for English humanity to hear the reply—'Your counsel cannot speak for you, you must speak for yourself.' And this is the reply given to a poor girl of eighteen—to a foreigner—to a deaf man—to a stammerer—to the sick—to the feeble—to the old—to the most abject and ignorant of human beings! It is a reply, we must say, at which common sense and common feeling revolt; for it is full of brutal cruelty, and of base inattention of those who make laws to the happiness of those for whom laws were made. We wonder that any juryman can convict under such a shocking violation of all natural justice. The iron age of Clovis and Clotaire can produce no more atrocious violation of every good feeling and every good principle. Can a sick man find strength and nerves to speak before a large assembly? Can a low man find confidence? Can an ignorant man find words? Is he not afraid of becoming an object of ridicule? Can he believe that his expressions will be understood? How often have we seen a poor wretch, struggling against the agonies of his spirit, and the rudeness of his conceptions, and his

* *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xi.

awe of better dressed men and better taught men, and the shame which the accusation has brought upon his head, and the sight of his parents and children gazing at him in the court, for the last time, perhaps, and after a long absence. The mariner sinking in the wave does not want a helping hand more than does this poor wretch. But help is denied to all! Age cannot have it, nor ignorance, nor the modesty of women! One hard uncharitable rule silences the defenders of the wretched in the worst of human evils; and at the bitterest of human moments, mercy is blotted out from the ways of man!"*

In the same year Mr. George Lamb made a second attempt. He was supported by Mr. Horace Twiss, in an admirable speech; by Mr. John Williams, afterwards the judge; by Mr. Brougham, Mr. Denman, Mr. Scarlett, and Lord Althorpe; but was opposed by Attorney-General Copley; by Mr. Peel, afterwards Sir Robert Peel; Mr. Tyndall, Solicitor-General Wetherall, and Mr. Canning. On that occasion the ayes were 36, while the noes were 105,† so that instead of making progress, the question would seem to have lost ground. Nothing further was done in Parliament until 1834, when the Prisoners' Counsel Bill, introduced by Mr. Ewart, passed the House of Commons, but did not find its way through the House of Lords. The debate was taken on the motion of Mr. Ewart for the second reading of the bill, a motion which I had the honour to second. It was supported by Mr. Pollock, now Chief Baron, Lord Althorpe and Mr. O'Connell; and opposed by Sergeant Spankie; but it passed without a division.‡

In 1835, Mr. Ewart was again at his post, but having been immediately deprived of my seat, I lost the privilege of assisting him. On moving to commit the bill, he was supported by Attorney-General Campbell, Mr. Blackburne, Mr. Charles Buller, Mr. O'Connell, Dr. Lushington, and Mr. Sergeant Talfourd; and was opposed by Mr. Poulter and Mr. Sergeant Goulbourn.§

On the the third reading there was a second debate. Sir George Strickland and Mr. Charles Buller supporting the motion, and Sir Eardley Wilmot and Mr. Poulter opposing it; the ayes were 43, noes, 36.||

In the year 1836 Mr. Ewart again persevered. The second reading was supported by Mr. Ewart, Mr. O'Connell, Mr. Pollock, Dr. Lushington and Attorney-General Campbell, and was opposed by Sir Eardley Wilmot, the Chairman of the Warwickshire sessions, who stated that nine-tenths of the legal profession and of the judges were adverse to the measure. It was also opposed by Sergeant Goulbourn, now one of the commissioners in bankruptcy.

As I have mentioned the names of these two gentlemen, Sir Eardley Wilmot and Sergeant Goulbourn, let me pause a moment that I may bear witness to their kindness of heart. Sir Eardley Wilmot was one of the earliest advocates for the reformatory treatment of juvenile offenders, as his published works will prove. He

* *Edinburgh Review*, (1826), vol. xlv., p. 85.

† *Hansard*, New Series, vol. xv.

‡ *Ibid*, Third Series, vol. xxiv.

§ *Ibid*, Third Series, vol. xxviii.

|| *Ibid*, Third Series, vol. xxix.

was one of the founders of the Asylum at Stretton on Dunsmoor, and a steady and active supporter of the institution until his death. Sergeant Goulburn's friendship I have enjoyed for more than thirty years; and I look back with much pleasure on many acts of kindness to myself and others, which testify conclusively to his amiable disposition. For the second reading the ayes were 179, the noes 35. When the bill went up to the House of Lords, it was twice debated. On the first occasion Lord Lyndhurst gave a history of the bill, and of the change in his own opinion, which it will be interesting to read. "In the year 1834," he said, "a bill similar to this in principle, passed the House of Commons. It came up to your Lordships', it was read a first time, and no further proceedings took place upon it. In the last year the bill was again renewed. It passed the other House of Parliament without a division, came up to your Lordships', and was referred to a select committee. But these proceedings took place so late in the session it was impossible that that committee could make a satisfactory report. Nothing further therefore could be done beyond printing the evidence. At the commencement of this session of Parliament, the present bill, founded on the principle of the former, was again introduced into the other House of Parliament. It was in consequence, I presume, of the proceedings which I have detailed, that it was referred to a select committee which reported in favour of it, and it passed to your Lordships' House by a great majority. That bill is now upon your table for consideration and discussion. His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, directed the the commission which had been appointed to investigate the state of the Criminal Law of this country, to turn their attention to this subject. That commission have accordingly done so; they have investigated the subject fully, and they have examined witnesses the most qualified to throw light upon it. They have made a most elaborate and learned report upon this subject; and they unanimously recommend that the principle of this bill should be adopted. It is under these circumstances, and with this sanction, that the measure is now submitted to your Lordships' consideration; but the case does not rest here; the current of ancient authority sets still more strongly in my favour. I have to cite the opinions of Whitelock, who had been one of the commissioners of the Great Seal, and of Judge Jeffreys, as being in favour of the principle of this bill. I find that there stands opposed to me the name of the respected and venerable Sir Michael Foster; but he does not express himself very strongly upon the subject. He says: 'I am far from disputing the propriety of this rule (that of refusing counsel to address juries for the prisoner in cases of felony); in all these cases we must be guided by a balance of evils and inconveniences.'

"My Lords, I admit the authority, and even the doubts of that learned judge to be entitled to great attention; and it was in consequence partly of these doubts that, after examining what might in my mind, be the evils likely to arise from a change of system, I, on a former occasion opposed a measure of this description when introduced into the other House. But, my

Lords I have since had reason to observe the progress of public opinion on the subject; I made inquiries respecting it while at the bar. I have, when on the bench, watched its progress, and seen the working of the system, and the result has been to produce a conviction in my mind that the evils and inconveniences of allowing counsel to prisoners have been greatly exaggerated, and ought not to be put for a moment in competition with that which the obvious justice of the case so clearly demands.*

The measure in the House of Lords was twice debated this year, but on neither occasions did the House divide. It was supported by Lord Wynford (formerly Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), Lord Denham, Lord Abinger, and Lord Cottenham, then Lord Chancellor, Lord Plunkett, Lord Radnor, and the Duke of Richmond, and was opposed by the Lords Wharncliffe, a Chairman of Sessions, and Lord Devon. In that same year the bill received the royal assent, since which time I am not aware that a single voice has been raised against it. We may smile now at the exaggerated apprehensions which were entertained as to its practical consequences. It was thought the eloquence of counsel on the one side or on the other would so warp the verdicts of juries as to produce a failure of justice. Great fears were also expressed as to the effect of the measure in lengthening trials, and a total disarrangement was anticipated in the administration of criminal law. Experience, however, has shown that cross-examinations have been so much shortened by relieving the advocate from the necessity to which he was before driven of addressing the jury in a circuitous and indirect manner, through the medium of argumentative questions to the witnesses, that it is very doubtful if, on the whole, trials are longer than they were before the change.

The anticipations of practical mischief from the working of the measure entertained by men of large experience in criminal courts, as contrasted with its utter harmlessness with regard to inconvenience, and its great benefit in the aid which it affords in eliciting the truth, furnish a warning against our permitting our minds to be drawn away from the advancement of sound principles by alarms as to difficulties of detail.

Mr. Charles Phillips, a witness of deserved weight and authority, when examined before the Committee of the House of Lords of 1835, used this remarkable expression: "All theory is in favour of the change; all practice against it."

My experience through life has been, that if a sound theory be honestly reduced to practice, fewer difficulties will arise than the fear of innovation would lead us to expect; and that, when such difficulties do present themselves, surrounding circumstances will suggest the means for overcoming or avoiding them.

Such is the history of the Prisoners' Counsel Bill. The narrative by no means supports that belief in their superiority which Englishmen are wont to entertain, especially when it is remembered that long before 1836, every accused person tried in any other part of the world except in England, Wales, or Ireland, was placed under

**Mirror of Parliament*, Barrow, 1836. vol. III p. 2021.

no restriction as to advocacy. Even our own colonies, both those which remained to us and those which had won their independence had long remedied this monstrous defect of English law. Assuredly, neither as regards the rules of evidence, nor as to aiding the prisoner in his defence, is there anything to show that a spirit of mercy or of justice presided over our criminal courts. Yet, in the institution of juries, and the usage of open trial, it cannot be denied that we possessed advantages overbalancing even the enormous evils which have been laid before the reader.

The following passages, from the Charge of October, 1845, upon the Duties of Masters towards their Servants, are worthy of the deepest attention from all who repeat and feel the divine petition—Lead us not into Temptation :—

But, gentlemen, the longer I sit on this bench, the humbler grows my opinion of the efficiency of criminal jurisprudence, especially as regards its deterrent operation, either on the offender himself, who is visited with the penalties of the law, or on those exposed to temptation, but who have not yet found their way into the dock. Thus impressed, gentlemen, it will not surprise you that I am always looking round with a careful eye to find other means of diminishing the quantity of crime which prevails among us, which means may come in aid of our criminal judicature, and do something, I hope much, to advance the great end for which laws and courts are constituted—the protection of the honest and the peaceable against those of an opposite character. These means range themselves under two heads—the prevention of crime and the reformation of the criminal.

It is not my intention to enter at all on the latter division, and only partially on the former.

Gentlemen, it will be found that every species of crime requires its own set or class of preventives, in addition, however, let me say, to education and good training, which are common to all. Against some offences, a numerous, well ordered, and vigilant police, is an obvious and excellent preventive. As for instance, that of burglary, when the eye of the party to be injured is closed in sleep; but even here, the individual may do much for himself by locks and bars, and other similar expedients for keeping the robber at bay.

In the particular crime, however, which prompted this Charge, neither the policeman nor the locksmith can guard your property from the spoiler. By giving him your confidence, you show conclusively that he is not one of that class on whom it has a wholesome effect to turn the eyes of the police. Suspicion, until some act of the servant had raised it against him, would be impolitic as well as cruel, and might produce a state of mind, leading by slow but sure steps to the consequences which had been feared.

Then, with regard to security from locks, you yourselves put the key into your servant's hand, and you must do so, if your confidence is real and not feigned. In short, you must do so if you are to have the assistance which you propose to yourselves in creating the trust. But to indulge in gratuitous misgivings, would be to withhold the

confidence which you profess to repose in him, and thus to invite reprisals. Nevertheless, there are many expedients which may be used with honour and advantage, because their operation will be to prevent or weaken the temptation to crime, instead of being directed towards its discovery when committed. Where the servant is employed to receive monies for his master, let the periods of reckoning be at first very short, and what is even more important, let them be observed by the master or the agent with whom the receiver is to account with unfailing punctuality; and, as far as it is possible, let the identical notes and coins which the servant has received be those which he pays over in discharge of his accountability. I have here, gentlemen, to remark that my experience in this court has led me to believe that much blame rests on the employers for their supineness with regard to the observance of their own rules, and that in permitting money to remain in the hands of their servant, in breach of such rules, they have themselves created the temptation under which he has succumbed; and that being so, it has, I am sorry to say, not unfrequently happened that a rule which the master had suffered to fall into desuetude has been raised up against the servant upon his trial, for embezzlement, so that I can never be satisfied with being told what are the rules of any house. I am obliged very minutely to ascertain whether these regulations are living or dead—whether they are safeguards to both parties, or a snare to the unhappy prisoner.

When the servant has, by a sufficient length of probation, established his right to an extended confidence, let it be given; but let the concession not be tacitly assumed by the servant; it should be a distinct act of promotion by the employer. For instance, the servant of proved trustworthiness may now be permitted, out of the sums which he receives for his master, to make payments, and to draw his own salary, accounting only for the balance. But this ought to be felt as a great extension of the trust, and as necessarily exposing the servant to considerable temptation. That second stage, therefore, should not be arrived at until his character is of known stability.

By the observance, gentleman, of these and similar precautions, many a youth might have been saved from the abyss into which he has plunged—many a youth of hope and promise for ever blighted. It is distressing to inflict pains and penalties even upon the rude and the brutal, upon those who are inured to hardships, and for whom public shame has no terrors; but it is a bitter task indeed to administer the law against those whose habits, manners, and training make its visitations absolutely appalling, and whose sufferings are generally multiplied in the persons of relatives and friends, even more keenly sensitive than the prisoners themselves. I am sure you will agree with me, gentlemen, that an employer who is led by the course of evidence, or by his reflections, to be conscious that his own negligence may have had much to do with his servant's fall, must be thrown into a state of feeling very little to be envied. With your permission, I will pursue the subject of preventive checks a little further.

Mr. Stephens, the Superintendent of Police, keeps a register of all complaints which are brought to his knowledge of the loss of money or goods, by robbery or theft. I have inspected this document, and have been grieved to observe what a large amount of depredation is committed by prostitutes. With regard to offences of this description, no doubt the vigilance of the police is a preventive check, the absence of which would soon be felt in the multiplication of such robberies. But still we cannot but perceive that, for the due repression of these evils, we must have resort to very different expedients to those of police—a higher education for all classes is called for—religious and moral training must take a more prominent place among us than has been yet accorded to it, until the appetites are brought under subjection to the conscience.

Nor can we safely neglect minor expedients. We suffer in England for the want of harmless and elevating recreations. Whatever augments health of mind and of body enables us to make a stouter defence against the tempter. And, gentlemen, amusements, properly conducted, might materially subserve even the purposes of sound education.

From the register to which I have adverted, it would appear that in this town more property is stolen by persons who enter houses with false keys, than by any other mode of theft. This being an ascertained fact, I have made enquiry as to the state of the locks on the house doors of the working classes, who are the greatest sufferers by this kind of depredation, and I am told that they are of the rudest description, inasmuch, that a few skeleton keys are all that is required to command admission to these dwellings, exposed, as they too frequently are, by the absence of their occupants, who have no servants to leave in charge of their property. Here, then, a small expenditure on the part of the landlord would work as a most efficient preventive check, which, I think you will agree with me, ought not to be overlooked.

I have often in this court urged upon both juries and prosecutors the mischiefs which flow from the pernicious habit indulged in by the shopkeepers of this town, in common with those of other places, who persist in exposing their wares at their shop-doors. Many a child has been led into overpowering temptation by this practice. But when I have remonstrated with the shopkeeper, he has stated in justification or excuse, that, while his brethren in the trade adopt the same expedient for attracting customers, he is compelled to follow their example; and, gentlemen, whether compelled or not, I fear he will follow it until the legislature prohibit this blameworthy exposure of property, which, I think, might very appropriately be punished by confiscation of the articles thus exhibited, or, at all events, by a pecuniary fine, rapidly increasing on every repetition of the offence.

Such, gentlemen, are the means of prevention which it occurs to me to lay before you at the present moment. That I have not exhausted the subject will be obvious on the slightest reflection.

SEQUEL.

A VOLUME might be written, and usefully written, on the preven-

tive checks to crime which individuals and private associations might exercise without the aid of law, by acquiring a salutary influence over the minds of the classes standing below them in the scale of rank.

It is impossible to overrate the efficacy of individual action, if society were sufficiently imbued with the sense of what each of its members is capable of doing, and ought to do. There is not one among us, however humble in degree, who has not some power of this kind. Indeed, in many respects, the nearer in social position are those who influence to those who are to be influenced, the greater and more persistent that influence will be. Benevolent attentions on the part of the rich lead to the hope of benefactions. Indeed, it would be difficult to persuade the poor that sympathies which stop short of gifts are genuine; and it is perhaps more difficult for him who is moved by real sympathy to withhold his bounty, or even to restrain it within its due limits. And yet, how manifold the evils which accrue from charity, unless its administration be governed by sound judgment, and by a reserve which wears the appearance of grudging parsimony! Thus danger lies on either side the path. The open hand encourages the pauper spirit—reliance on the aid of others; it weakens every motive to industry and thrift, eventually fastens upon the object of its benevolence a curse more terrible than the direst poverty, and, what is more to our immediate purpose, it is fatal to the existence of all wholesome ascendancy over his mind. On the other hand, an equal soundness of judgment, great command of temper, and unvarying gentleness of manner, are required to prevent him whose wants are very sparingly supplied out of stores which he knows are ample, from indulging in feelings which make the intercourse between the parties anything but conducive to a frame of mind likely to elevate his aspirations, and give firmness of tone to his resolves.

After all the experiences Bull has had of the cost and failure of Transportation; after all the facts and figures which have been placed before him by men of ability, of honor, and incited by the purest, the most disinterested feelings, it seems strange that he should still continue obtuse, a perfect bucolic Bull, wedded to the old pastures, and incapable of raising his nose above the old familiar ground. PREVENTION is a principle he *will* never adopt. He imported the Great Plague from Turkey in rags and wearing apparel; he "took in" the Cholera from Hamburg at any time these twenty-four years, and never tried to prevent the importation of the rags and bones in which it is supplied to him. In come the rags and bones, out flares the Cholera, down go Doctor Southwood Smith, and a cohort of young physicians, with an impedimenta of laudanum, brandy, and chalk mixtures, but every thing is done *after* the mischief has begun. Just as Bull acts in the case of physical, so does

he act in the case of moral, disease—he will do any thing to punish crime, he will do nothing to prevent it.

Let us take, for example, the cases stated before the last Transportation Committee of the House of Commons. We have it recorded, that although Ticket-of-Leave men could be shown to have broken every condition of the endorsement on the Ticket, although they could be proved to devote their felon energies to the training of young thieves, yet Bull's police, the "active" force, would not check the Ticket-of-Leave man in his course of crime. Why should he do so? He knows the flash houses; he knows where the thieves can be found; he knows that if he visits, as he does visit nightly, the haunts where every man and woman of the quarter is a thief, and worse, that they will enquire, and make a confession in the interrogatory, "Do you want me?" and "the active and intelligent officer," acting under the red tape and sealing-wax Commissioner, says "No." Is this Prevention?—Is this right or just towards the public?

Then we have the receivers of stolen goods, called in England, Marine Store Dealers, and in Ireland, Gather-*em*-Ups, or Rag and Bone Sellers. It was proposed, and most strongly urged by Mr. Hill, in one of his Charges to the Grand Jury of Birmingham, that these trades should be strictly regulated, and as we think our friends may read his observations with advantage, we here introduce them:—

It has been often said, and with perfect truth, that if there were no receivers, there would be no thieves; because a thief cannot live upon the consumption of the articles which he may steal, many of them not being capable of being so used; he lives then by taking the articles to the capitalist—the criminal capitalist—who buys them at a reduced rate, and who thereby supplies the thief with money for the purposes of his maintenance. It has always, therefore, been thought of great importance that such offenders should be severely punished, but the difficulties of conviction are very great, insomuch that since I have sat here, now a period of seventeen years, I have had before me very few indeed of these capital receivers. Now and then some casual receivers have been brought before me, but their cases were not of a nature to render their detection very useful to the community. With regard to the individual cases to come before you I shall say nothing, knowing as I do, how competent you are to deal with them according to their deserts. At the same time, allow me to observe, that the difficulties which stand in the way of convicting the practised receiver of stolen goods who keeps a shop for taking in this kind of property, have turned the attention of many persons to consider whether a trade of this kind ought to be permitted to be an open

trade, and whether it should not be controlled and regulated by license. If there were licenses for such shops, they should only be granted on one condition. No person should receive a license unless he could show that he was a respectable person, by bringing the signatures in his favour of a given number of persons—householders of known honesty and integrity. Again, it has been proposed that all such houses should be so constructed as not to be out of the observation of the police, and that the occupiers of them should be required to keep a book containing an account of the articles purchased by them, and the names of those persons who bring them. All this has been done in the town of Liverpool, and perhaps elsewhere. Certainly we know that this course has been followed at Liverpool, under the powers of a local act; and I am informed that the results are very beneficial—that it has restrained and diminished the numbers of thefts, by throwing impediments in the way of the thieves disposing of stolen property, because they dare not take it to a really respectable man for fear of detection, and must take it to a person who either positively and absolutely knows that it has been stolen, or at all events shuts his eyes, and takes care *not* to know that the article is stolen. As to nice distinctions between one man and another in such cases, I will not attempt to draw them. The line, indeed, which separates is very fine, and I will not occupy your time in endeavouring to trace it.

We do not think it possible to discover anybody, excepting a thief or a receiver, who would object to the adoption of such a safeguard as is here urged. And further, it should never be forgotten that our thieves know the full value of speed, and that goods stolen in London can be easily transmitted to Liverpool, or to Birmingham, or to Dublin, if necessary, to the safe custody of "the agent," and can, so far from the place of plunder, be disposed of with a facility very like to impunity.

We have heard it stated that this principle would be open to abuse, but we do not perceive the danger, as it is quite plain to any mind that it would apply only to a well known, and easily recognized class of persons. Already, by the 14th and 15th Vic., c. 19, the "Act for the Better Prevention of Offences," persons found by night armed, or with house-breaking implements, or with their faces blacked, or in suspicious places, may be arrested, and the burthen of proof of innocent intention is cast upon the prisoner: so far some very small portion of the very thin end of the wedge has been got in.

We know that in suggesting these things, frequently as they have been suggested by some of the ablest and most astute men in these countries, we expose ourselves to the imputation of endeavouring to check the criminal by infringing the liberty of the honest, industrious, but poor man. Not a bit of it. We

know perfectly well that those who have devoted the labor of lives to the study of these principles of Prevention, and at the head of the cohort we may place Lord Brougham, consider all this talk and writing about infringing the liberty of the poor man, by our attempts to arrest the progress of the criminal, as simply and emphatically, as *Mr. Burchell* would call it, "Fudge," as we call it now, "Bosh." The man who should and would be most pleased to see the principles of prevention carried out fully, reasonably, and fairly, is the honest industrious poor man. *Now* he fears that in walking through the streets, going to or coming from their work, his children may meet with and become the associates of vicious companions, *well known to the police*. We know too how the honest poor dread the effects of this street association. We cannot forget that *Mr. Alfred Hill*, writing on Dunlop's Act, and the Aberdeen Industrial Schools, tells us, on the authority of our friend, *Mr. Thomson of Banchory*, that whilst the wealthy inhabitants contributed only £150 to the schools, THE WORKING MEN contributed £250, and why?—they stated, as *Mr. Thomson* writes:—"Before this school was opened, we were afraid to trust our children a moment out of doors alone; they were exposed to learn, and did learn, all manner of mischief; but now this school has cleared the streets of the little vagabonds who corrupted them. We are not now afraid to let them out, and therefore we support this school."

It is easy for a man sitting in his arm chair, with his daughters and sons singing, or drawing, or reading around him, to talk of infringing the liberty of the subject if such a system of prevention as above stated were adopted. It would be very hard indeed if *he* were carried off to the station; but if he were a poor honest man, with sons and daughters, and if he knew that *The Nobbler*, a good-looking house-breaker, lived next door, and was well known to the police, would he not wish that the police could be induced to take possession of the interesting and dangerous *Nobbler*. We believe that he would be quite satisfied to be arrested himself, as living in a suspicious neighbourhood, but knowing he *could prove his character*, provided he were sure of *The Nobbler's* removal, and feeling that with that removal there would vanish all danger that his daughter might become the house-breaker's trull, or his son the accomplice of thieves and burglars.

Much as the adoption of those measures of Prevention would

tend towards checking the spread of crime, it would be incomplete without that which has been so often and long sought, yet so frequently refused—the appointment of a Public Prosecutor. “I am ashamed,” wrote Lord Brougham, in his paper read at the Bristol Meeting of the National Reformatory Union, “that I have still to speak of prosecutors, voluntary, gratuitous prosecutors, as required to execute the law against criminals. There is no country but England in so rude a condition as to be without a public prosecutor; no country but England in which it is possible, for a trifling sum, to buy off a prosecution; and in which the first duty of the State is committed to, its highest office cast upon, private individuals—generally upon the very last persons on whom it should fall, the *parties injured by the offence*. When I quitted office in 1834, I had nearly accomplished the important object of obtaining the great advantage of a public prosecutor. The persevering efforts of Mr. Philimore have succeeded in making this important subject fully understood by the country, and in obtaining from the Government a pledge to bring forward a measure for at least removing part of the evil complained of.”

We do not think the case could be put stronger than this. After a man has been plundered and robbed by another, he is expected, having no hope of being reimbursed the money lost, to, as it is well said, “throw good money after bad” in prosecuting the offender. It must also be remembered, that very frequently the friends of the culprit come around the injured person, and all kinds of motives are urged upon him, inducing him to forego proceedings, which he eventually may do, because he thinks that to proceed will look like a desire for revenge, and this appearance will be the more strongly impressed upon the case, when it is known that nothing whatever can be gained in the way of cash by a prosecution, the whole cost of which must be borne by the prosecutor.

Thus it is that the private prosecutor is situated; urged to punish by a sense of outrage or injury done to himself; entreated by the friends of the offender to forgive him: harassed on all sides within and without, he knows not what to do, and he begins to understand how troublesome a dame that lady with the bandaged eyes can become.

A public prosecutor would save us from all these “fixes.” Friends could no more entreat him than they could entreat a judge; all the weepings of women and the implorings of men

would be useless, for the prosecutor would represent not an injured man, but an outraged law.

We are writing of private prosecutions; but when we come to consider the grave cases in which the whole polity of the State is concerned, the necessity for a public prosecutor is still more evident. We do not go back to Wainright's case, a case occurring over thirty years ago, and fully stated in the late Mr. Justice Talfourd's *Final Memorials of Charles Lamb*; we do not here produce other cases which we have heard from lawyers of great standing, proving clearly that a public prosecutor was necessary always, but *never more than now*, when Knowledge makes the murderer or the forger safe, as he fancies, in the commission of his crime, and Science steps in to aid his escape from the dock.

We do not take Palmer's case as an instance—it was *too* glaring—but we do take the escape of James Sadleir, and the hitch about arresting the murderer of Little, both Irish cases, as instances.

It was well known that James Sadleir was suspected, long before it was *proved*, that he was guilty. It was nobody's duty to sift the case in the early stage, but, day by day, the case developed *itself*. Then came the judgment of the Master of the Rolls—then came the speech of the Attorney-General for Ireland—we had Brutus in the Four Courts and Cassius in the House of Commons—and the whole question was stated in two lines of a ballad:—

“How James Sadleir bouted I'd like, faith, to know,
Was the Masther too quick or th' Attorney too slow?”

We all know, that from the time an Attorney-General is appointed, he has only two aspirations—one, that Providence will raise some Judge to a higher sphere—the other, that the Minister will raise *him* to the vacant bench. Add to this, that the Attorney-General is always pitch-forked in for some borough, and must attend to his Parliamentary duties. All these involvements have happened in England and in Ireland, over and over again, and therefore it is that very many criminals have escaped, because the man who should have looked closely into their cases had too much to do, and besides, *it was not his peculiar office* to look into the case, until brought before him by others.

In Little's case most of the examinations were taken before

Mr. Joseph William O'Donnell, a divisional justice. Harrington was brought before him ; Mr. O'Donnell gave every attention to the case ; there were strong grounds of suspicion that Harrington had murdered Little ; the case was remanded—but neither at the first nor second examination does it seem that anybody appeared for the crown, as prosecutor. It may have been said that Mr. Little had friends who entered their names as subscribers for large amounts, to form a fund for rewarding the informer who should disclose the perpetrator of the deed, and that they would in all likelihood, send counsel to the police office ; they do not appear to have done so ; Harrington is freely discharged, but there was no prosecution of those who formed the case against him, and perjury goes free.

From the first hour in which it was said that John Sadleir had poisoned himself, from the first hour in which it was stated that Little had been murdered, there should have been a public prosecutor to track every step of every man who could have been at all connected with either of these unfortunates. There is no need of Attorney-Generals, no need of Magistrates, no need of any officer, but a man who had *no* duty save *one*—that of inquiring into the facts, from the earliest to the latest, of every case of any moment brought before the police authorities, and of every case of a suspicious nature coming before the civil tribunals. We hope most earnestly that we shall never know the day when a magistrate will be considered as a prosecutor, sinking the honourable office which he now fills in the odious character of a persecutor ; yet one point is clear, that until a public prosecutor is appointed, the magistrate must exceed the strict scope of his duty, or the accused must be, as he now frequently is, discharged, though guilty, for want of legal evidence of his offence.

We regret that our space will not enable us to enter more at length into the other important topics contained in this most important book ; but the analysis of the contents, already given, will enable the reader to judge for himself of the valuable matter comprised in its wide range of subjects. With all the charges of 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, and with that of March, 1857, our readers are acquainted, through the papers of this REVIEW, or through the Record, but to every reader we recommend the charge of October, 1845, with its sequel. The charge of April, 1848, on the Chartist Demonstration, is a beautiful specimen of judicial eloquence,

clothing the thoughts of a man proud of a land where *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*, mean what they express in all that a wise man can hope for in a Nation; and the sound sense of the Charge of January, 1855, on that intemperance of temperance, the Maine Liquor Law, is worthy of Sydney Smith.

We are happy to find that this book has been received with general approval by the Press of the kingdom; this must be somewhat of a triumph to Mr. Hill, as many of his opinions were met by dissent or disapprobation when first enunciated: but strong in the soundness of his views he went on, and time and "God's daughter, Truth," always back the right, and so we find, *Tant vaut l'homme, tant vaut sa terre.*

ART. X.—ALISON'S LAST.

History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon, in 1815, to the accession of Louis Napoleon, in 1853. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., D.C.L. Vol. VI. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1857.

The volume now before us, the sixth of the continuation series, embraces a period of some interest to Irishmen. The great revolution which, in 1832, had destroyed the disgraceful borough system, and opened the representation to those who had a right to claim it, altered, in no unimportant degree, the constitution of the Lower House. Previous to that period, its members had been chiefly the nominees of the wealthy landed proprietors, who freely bartered their interest for pecuniary remuneration, but now that corrupt influence was, to some extent, counterbalanced by the admission of the great manufacturing towns to a voice in the election of candidates, by the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs, which had brought ridicule upon the theory of a popular representation, and by the extension and adjustment of the rights of suffrage. And, though Ireland was, we think, unfairly dealt with, a due proportion of the representation upon any principle of allocation that could stand the test of argument having been in a jealous spirit denied her, at the same time, it must be admitted, that the changes in this respect were important improvements. The Melbourne Ministry having retired from office, Sir Robert Peel was summoned to take upon himself the formation of a cabinet. Having assumed the reins of government, he at once dissolved Parliament, and writs were issued for a new election. In England the agricultural interest secured for the Tories a small majority. In Scotland the liberals were successful; but it was the Irish elections which turned the scale against the minister. The judicious coalition of the Catholics, under O'Connell, with the liberals in the empire, secured a preponderance for the Reform party. On the assembling of the new Parliament, was anticipated, a trial of strength took place between the rival parties. Two candidates were proposed; Sir C. Manners Sutton was the government candidate, whilst Mr. Abercrombie was supported

by the opposition. The contest was close, the latter being elected by a majority of ten. It was, at first, supposed that Sir Robert Peel would resign after this defeat, but considering that his duty to his sovereign forbade such a step, he determined to hold office until an adverse vote upon some question involving a vital principle of ministerial policy should convince him of the inutility of endeavouring to carry on the government opposed by the majority of the popular representatives. Accordingly the Session was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the King, after lamenting the destruction of the two Houses by fire,* congratulated the country upon the commercial prosperity which was universal, but regretted the depression of the agricultural interest, and commended to the attention of the Houses the mitigation of the burdens on land-owners, and their distribution, more equally, over other descriptions of property. To the address, in reply, an amendment was proposed by the then Lord Morpeth, which was carried by a majority of seven, chiefly composed of the Irish Catholic votes. "Such," exclaims Alison, "was the gratitude which the Romish clergy and members evinced to the man who had endangered his own political character to open to them the doors of Parliament." This is simply clap-trap. No minister has any claim to demand gratitude for any concession that has been made to the Catholics of Ireland. Nothing has ever been accorded to us which had not been previously wrongfully wrested from us. Ministers may claim the applause of prudence for yielding what could no longer safely be withheld, but gratitude is another matter altogether, it may be felt, but cannot be claimed. For from the earliest period of Ireland's connexion with England, her character has been mistaken, her pride outraged, her hopes cruelly and foully betrayed. By the treaty of Limerick it was engaged that the Catholics should be re-admitted to their former privileges, should have their property restored, and should have liberty to

* The circumstance which led to this disastrous accident is worthy of remark. The receipts and computations of the exchequer office had hitherto been recorded by means of tallies and counters. This absurd system being about to be discontinued, it was resolved that those primitive instruments of calculation should be destroyed. Accordingly they were huddled into carts, removed to the cellars of the Houses of Parliament and placed in the flues to be consumed. On the 16th of October, 1834, the burning began, for there were several cart-loads of them; but the flues becoming over-heated, a terrific conflagration burst forth, which in a few hours destroyed the building.

keep arms for their defence. Limerick surrendered. No property was restored, but further confiscations were made in behalf of the conquerors. In 1703, by an Act of Parliament, sons were enabled, by conformity, to rob their fathers; the most distant relations to rob their kinsmen of all their paternal property, and oaths were imposed, against which the Catholics had been protected by the Ninth Article of the Treaty. For nearly a century the most abominable system of penal laws was enforced. Education was prohibited, religion was proscribed, and at the hazard of their liberty they solemnized its rites, worshipping their God at the peril of their lives. No effort was made to free the Catholics from the active persecution which they suffered until, in 1778, the first instalment of our rights was accorded, but only when the arms of England were most unsuccessful in America, when the cause of the United States was becoming fearfully popular in Ireland, and immediately after the news arrived of General Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga. In '83, another attempt was made, shortly after American independence was recognised, and when 60,000 men in arms had held their convention in Dungannon to petition for redress of grievances.

There was a third in '91, soon after the consummation of the French Revolution, by the establishment of the convention, and when corresponding societies were widely established. And the fourth in '93, immediately followed the French decree of fraternisation, and the bloody tragedy of the king's execution, which had taken place the previous January. In the years immediately preceding the Union, great hopes were held out to the Catholics that this measure would be the precursor of their emancipation from the remaining disabilities under which they laboured. But foully were they cheated of the one great benefit held out to them in return for that act which deprived this country of the last jewel of her ancient crown, robbed her of her parliament, and effaced her name from the catalogue of nations. It is true, that Catholic Emancipation was not *directly* promised as a condition of the Union. But the Irish were encouraged to deceive themselves into the belief that it was so, and by government itself, the Legislative Union and Catholic Emancipation were always spoken of to the Catholics of Ireland as parts of one great policy. Mr. Pitt, in his reasons for his resignation, states that he considered the measure necessary to complete the benefits likely to result from the Union. And he pro-

ceeds so say, "We felt this opinion so strongly, that when we met with circumstances which rendered it impossible for us to propose it as a measure of government, we felt it equally inconsistent with our duty and our honor, any longer to remain a part of that government. What may be the opinion of others I know not, but I beg to have it understood to be a measure which, if I had remained in government, I must have proposed." No one is ignorant of the memorable phrase in which the Duke of Wellington announced the absolute necessity of conceding Emancipation.

We respect the consistency of Pitt, who resigned office rather than violate what he considered a condition of the Union; but our gratitude is due to him alone, whose master mind organised that unanimous declaration of popular opinion, which demonstrated to the British Minister the impossibility of longer refusing to accede to the popular demand, and forced him to admit his inability to avert the evils of a popular outbreak, save by conciliating the popular will. To that great man who first aroused the dormant energies of our people to a consciousness of their power, and led them on to that bloodless victory, before which the ensanguined trophies of earth's greatest conqueror sink into insignificance—to O'Connell, the prophet of the people, who brought them forth from darkness and captivity to light and hope, our gratitude is due, not to the minister who granted Emancipation when the alternative was rebellion. Notwithstanding this second defeat, the Prime Minister still held on, alleging that no vital point involving the general policy of the government, had yet come on for discussion; but soon he was deprived of this miserable excuse. On the 30th of March, Lord John Russell moved: "That the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider the temporalities of the Church in Ireland, with the view of applying any surplus of the revenues not required for the spiritual care of its members, to the general education of all classes of the people, without distinction of religious persuasion." It would be presumptuous in us after the series of learned and powerful articles which have been published in this Review, to offer any commentary upon what has not inaptly been termed the "English Folly-Fort." Nevertheless we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without recording our own abhorrence of this disgraceful infliction upon the Catholic population of this our country. In no other country in the world was such a

system ever sought to be established ; yet England, with all her boasted toleration, overflowing with an obtrusive philanthropy, burning with an exaggerated zeal for the conversion of anonymous savages in unknown islands, permits the national character to be obnoxious, to the just censure of supporting by force of law and by force of arms, a church which swallows up the profits of our industrious poor, giving in return for the immense sums drained from our resources, nothing but insult and indignity.

It may be advantageous to maintain by large endowments a State Church, but then it should be the church of the majority, and not of the minority ; it should be an institution for the preservation and communication of religious knowledge, and not a great political engine for strengthening or diffusing government interest ; it should be composed of a set of religious teachers, and not of a body of political fanatics ; a set of men laboring for the spiritual welfare of their flocks, and receiving their hire from those for whom they labor. But it is bootless now to speak of these things, they have already many times been discussed with eloquence and learning ; they have at length been in some measure alleviated ; and let us hope that the day is not far distant when deprived altogether of state support, the Protestant Church of Ireland may be found to base its claims to the adhesion of the people, upon its own intrinsic worth, and then — what then ? The Ministry having opposed this motion, were again defeated, and it was expected that they would at once resign ; but on consultation it was resolved that they would make another effort to retain their position, and in the event of failure, resign. On a motion by Lord John Russell, arising out of the former one, the Ministers were beaten by a majority of 27, and in accordance with their resolution they tendered their resignation, which was accepted, and Lord Melbourne again assumed the reins of power. In his remarks upon this endeavour to free the Catholics from the intolerable burthen under which they labored, Alison displays an amount of ignorance in reference to the subject of which he pretends to treat, disgraceful to a man who has enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education, and which is calculated, by destroying our confidence in the extent of his information, to impede the success of his mission as a historian. In a former volume we had an inkling of his ideas upon this point, but we had no notion that it was so peculiarly his specialité as to be

the universal panacea which he would prescribe for all the evils with which Ireland may be afflicted. But we fear it is so. As in the farce, the Quack exclaims, "Don't talk of nature, or prejudice, or habit, sir; don't talk to me of your likings or aversions, I won't listen to a word of them. Whatever ails you—inflammation, heartache, plethora, disappointed hope, irritability or languor, over-diet or too little, I will engage to cure you with a single dose in four-and-twenty hours!" So Alison is prepared with his "single dose" to cure all the evils of Ireland, and that single dose is Emigration. "What Ireland required," he says, "was not the abstraction of £200,000 a-year from the church property, but the removal of two million emigrants from its shore. What was likely to heal its wounds was not a change which would stimulate the activity and augment the ambition of a foreign ecclesiastical power, but such a vigorous administration of justice as should stop the withering progress of agitation, and permit the entrance of domestic capital and enterprise, already overflowing in the neighbouring island." These opinions speak for themselves. It is the peculiar misery of a misgoverned country to be continually exposed to every sort of delusion which amateur legislators may devise, ever to be beset with recommendations of various and incongruous kinds, and in every case the promised remedy is to be complete and instantaneous. Against a free emigration to any part of the world no one can be fool enough to raise an objection. A facility of emigration would be of most important utility to every portion of the United Kingdom, but we object to the improvement of Ireland being based upon the principle that the small occupiers must be dispossessed as the preliminary step to our regeneration. No; give them leases—give them confidence—give them what is their right, and they will soon raise produce enough for all. In the nation's heart is a steady faith, that He who gave them this beautiful though desolated land for a dwelling, will yet redeem both it and them; for they remember the promise of the olden time: "Dwell in the land and verily ye shall be fed." Destroy party feeling; subvert that accursed ascendancy of religion over religion, and then will be established—in the personal independence of the people—the absence of subservience of one man, or one class to another, the habitual sense of social freedom pervading every part of the community—a lasting guarantee for national integrity, power, and prosperity.

The Whig ministry at once set themselves to the task of introducing a measure of the very greatest advantage, and one which had been loudly called for—we mean the Corporation Reform. A corporate reform had already been introduced into Scotland, based on the principle of parliamentary reform, and which settled the matter by the simple rule that the parliamentary electors of every borough were to be the municipal also. The old close system was effectually abolished, and more liberal and progressive principles were successfully established in its stead. In England many of the corporations had come to be the private property of a few individuals, and, like the rotten borough system, were utterly inconsistent with the principles of the Reform Bill. A commission had been issued by Earl Grey's ministry, and they presented a report which strongly condemned the existing system of corporate government; this report concluded thus—"We therefore feel it our duty to represent to your Majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence of your Majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must take place before they can become what we humbly submit to your Majesty they ought to be, useful and efficient instruments of local government." Founded on this report, the government brought forward its plan of corporate reform, of which the following are the leading incidents :—

It was very sweeping—more so in some respects than the Scotch Municipal Bill had been. The number of boroughs embraced in the bill was 178, London being excepted, for what reason does not very distinctly appear, unless it was that Ministers were afraid of endangering their small majority if they interfered with the numerous vested interests wound up with its incorporations. Of the 178 boroughs 93 were parliamentary, and their boundaries remained fixed as they had been by the Reform Bill—the boundaries of the remaining 85 stood as they had been before until Parliament should direct an alteration. Each borough was divided into wards, varying in number according to its size: Liverpool was divided into sixteen, others into ten or twelve. The government of boroughs was vested in a mayor and town-council; but they were to be elected by all persons rated to the support of the poor in them for the three preceding years, and residing within the boroughs, or within a circuit of seven miles around. The mayor was to be elected annually for one year only, he being, during his mayoralty, a justice of peace for the borough and adjoining county. The councillors were to be elected for three years, one-third going out annually to make way for others similarly elected.

All the old modes of acquiring the freedom of corporations, as by birth, apprenticeship, &c., were to be abolished, as also all exclusive rights of trade or carrying on handicrafts within their limits. The town-councils were to become, by the statute, trustees of all the corporate and charitable funds administered by the old corporations, with power to appoint committees for their management, and to choose persons, being burgesses, for their directors. The police was to be entirely under the direction of the town-councils, but not the licensing of public-houses, which was to be intrusted to the justices. With respect to the administration of justice, to 129 of the boroughs a commission of the peace was to be granted, and the town-councils in them were to be empowered to recommend the persons to be put into the commission of the peace. The remaining fifty-four might have a commission on applying for it from the Crown. In the larger towns applying for quarter sessions the chairman was to be a barrister of not less than five years' standing, appointed by the Crown.

Apart from the technical details essential to give a legal view of this most important bill, the leading features of it, in a political and general point of view, were these:—1. The choice of town-councils and magistrates was intrusted to a new electoral body, created for that special purpose, of all persons rated for the relief of the poor, which was equivalent to household suffrage; 2. The qualification was *uniform*, and there was no representation of classes, as guilds or incorporated trades; 3. The old freemen were disfranchised, and all acquisitions of the municipal suffrage or rights of freemen by any other means than being rated for the poor-rates, were for the future abolished, though the rights of existing freemen were saved; 4. Publicity was enjoined upon the administration of all trusts and corporate funds, which were entirely devolved with the general management of the boroughs; but—5. There was no money or other qualification for councillors; and—6. The administration of justice was still reserved to the Crown, which appointed the recorders and justices by whom it was to be carried on, the town-councils being only entitled to recommend persons for these offices.

The abuses which had existed in the old corporations were so well known to be real that Sir R. Peel did not contest the principle of the bill, but took his ground on some of its details,—that which excited most debate was the disfranchisement of the freemen. This we regard as one of the most vital principles of the bill, and we regret its abandonment as a desertion of those very principles upon which the corporate reform was recommended to the notice of the houses. For upon what principle of popular representation it can be maintained that a body of men who contribute nothing to the finances of the country should have a voice in the selection of those, who are to allocate them, we are really at a loss to determine. Besides it is opposed to the principles of

good government to permit an irresponsible body having little or no interest in the choice of those who are best calculated to carry out measures likely to tend to the development of the resources and the furtherance of the interests of a constituency whether those measures involve the existence and stability of a government, or the adjustment of some trifling interest connected only with some insignificant locality. It is a monstrous thing to see in some cities we could name the wishes and feelings of a large and respectable body of citizens ignored, and their desire as evidenced by their votes rendered unavailing by a power hostile to those enactments by which the interests of the majority might be consulted, and whose influence is freely bartered to that party which has the will and the power to value at their own estimate the weight of their potent suffrages.

To see men at the approach of elections suddenly dug up from the obscurity in which they are usually justly enveloped, dragged from the poor houses in which they are the constant recipients of eleemosynary relief, and invested with the terrible responsibility of choosing a man who will faithfully discharge the high duties of the responsible office, of whom until they come to the hustings they know absolutely nothing, save that a certain standard of remuneration for the trouble and annoyance of being disturbed in that retreat where it was hoped rumours of election contests would never reach them more, had been agreed upon by the magnates of the band, and readily adopted by the embryo repository of the collective wisdom of his supporters. Nevertheless this article of the bill was opposed by Sir R. Peel, who was, however, defeated; the bill passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords; here these illustrious hereditary legislators introduced the amendments which had been proposed with Sir R. Peel's sanction in the Commons and were successful, and the bill thus altered was sent back to the Commons, who had the weakness to yield, and accepting the amendments the bill passed on 7th September, and received the royal assent. The bill for the regulation of the Irish Church was again introduced, again passed the Commons, and was again thrown by the stupid bigotry of the Peers. In the debate on this question in the lower house, Sir R. Peel stated the revenues of the established church in Ireland over and above all deductions to amount to £364,863 sterling. Now supposing this statement to be correct, which we

do not for a moment mean to admit, but even supposing it to be correct, and we like to take our figures from our opponents, is it not a monstrous anomaly that six millions four hundred and twenty seven thousand seven hundred and forty-two people should be compelled by law to maintain at such a cost, a church which even on the shewing of its own champions did not then amount to more than 853,064 members, and certainly the numbers, notwithstanding the gigantic efforts which the proselytisers have made, notwithstanding the lies which they annually print and circulate to gull their wealthy and ignorant dupes in England, the number has not increased since then, whereas the Catholic population is daily becoming more numerous, and embracing the wealth, talent, and respectability of the learned professions and the mercantile classes of the community. Still this incubus broods upon the energies of the people, and by keeping up the old feeling of effete ascendancy, hinders all combined action for the common good.

In this session a motion was made by Mr. Finn for an enquiry into the Orange Lodges of Ireland, which was so far successful that all these societies were dissolved. Alison's description of these institutions is worthy of being noted. He denominates them "a system of mutual defence for the protection of Protestants often scattered in small numbers through multitudes of hostile ribbonmen and Catholics." An ordinary reader unacquainted with the real objects of these societies might be induced to consider them perfectly harmless, nay, useful bodies. But those who are aware of the working of these societies, the principles upon which they were founded, the manner in which they were conducted, and the frightful evils which sprung from them, will have little hesitation in proclaiming them as the most dangerous instruments of fanatic bigotry. Their meetings were always characterised by the utterance of the most intolerant doctrines, and their primary object was the extirpation of the Catholic population of these countries. Their bacchanalian orgies, which were not unfrequent, usually terminated by frightful scenes of massacre, in which peaceable and inoffensive Catholics were the victims of their frantic fury. Imagine a body of men excited by speeches of a most inflammatory nature against pope and popery, intoxicated by the numerous libations poured forth to the glorious, pious, and immortal memory, and the eternal damnation of the pope, the pretender, and the papists, reeling along the streets of a Catho-

lie village, indulging in the most violent party cries, and challenging in the spirit of drunken bravado, every bloody papist to come out and be shot, setting fire to some unfortunate peasant's hut, and if the inmates, suddenly roused from slumber, heedlessly rushed out to discover the authors of the conflagration, visiting upon them the frightful vengeance which they had proclaimed against the entire sect. Need we mention in illustration of these evils any other incident than one which occurred since the revival of these lodges in this country. A noble of the land, the chief of the party, invites a number of his followers to celebrate the anniversary of one of the festivals which they hold in particular veneration. They come with arms in their hands. They regale themselves, listen to edifying speeches on Protestant ascendancy, and on their return, in battle array, fall upon unarmed and unprotected Catholics and ruthlessly destroy them. And this is the mutual protection of which Alison speaks. Surely, historians seem to have entered into a league for the purpose of defaming the character of the Catholics of Ireland, in order that they may thus be rendered objects of scorn, contempt and abhorrence to those who have the power to alleviate their sufferings or increase their misery. That when the time may come—should it ever arrive—in which a ministry may consider it advisable to repress their aspirations and restrain their progress towards the full enjoyment of their birth-right, bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, there may be found none to mourn their fate, none to deplore their destruction. The manner in which we Irish are always spoken of by English historians reminds us of a story we once read. It is related in the quaint old style of such fables, but there is a truthfulness in the moral which invests it with a charm which the most eloquent narrators of pointless fiction can never hope to acquire. When men and lions were on terms of friendship the proprietor of a lordly mansion invited a lion who dwelt in a neighbouring forest to visit him. The lion consented, and on an appointed day arrived. The host received his guest with all the courtesies which the latter was entitled to expect and the former was well skilled in displaying. He led him through his vast halls, where art multiplied itself in various forms. But what most attracted the attention of the lion was, that in the pictures, the statuary, on the drinking cups, constantly recurred scenes in which men and lions were represented as engaged in deadly combat, and always with the same result, for

the men were invariably the victors, the lions the conquered. Having shewn his guest through his various saloons and galleries, the master enquired of him how he liked his pictures and statues. "Very much," replied the lion, "but in many of them I find similar scenes represented, in which my race and your's are the chief actors, and the superiority always rests with your's. Now, sir, let me tell you," continued the lion, "the result had been different were lions the artists." Thus we are misrepresented, treated as aliens in blood, in language, and in religion, and institutions which are established, avowedly established, for the annihilation of our liberties, the destruction of our lives, and the extirpation of our religion, are designated as societies "for the mutual protection of Protestants," and societies for the administration of soup and sanctification. The enquiry then instituted shewed that even the army was not free from the infection. But these latter were suppressed and not revived, whilst the Orange Lodges of Ireland are again in full vigour, and annually indulge in the superstitious mummeries of worshipping their patron Saint, Billy.

When parliament opened on the 14th February, 1836, the first measure which engaged the attention of the House of Commons was the reformation of the Irish Corporations. Already had measures of corporate reform been conceded to the demands of the Scotch and English representatives. The reports upon which these measures were founded displayed a deplorable departure from the original intention of such establishments. But in these demands there was nothing of a sectarian character. They were merely the result of that desire for free institutions and popular government which caused the passing of the Parliamentary Reform Bill, and which that measure strengthened and enlarged. In Ireland these bodies were established for the ostensible purpose of sustaining Protestantism, but really for the purpose of uprooting the Catholic population. They of course steadily refused to admit a Catholic into any of their bodies, and they even went so far as to exclude the great majority of Protestants of wealth, respectability, or intelligence, who were known to entertain any liberal views in favour of their Catholic brethren. The Commission which was issued spoke strongly against the existing system and in favour of a reform. The Report says "that the incorporation provided no means and contained no constituency by which the property, the wishes, and the interests of the whole local community

might secure a fair representation in the corporate body. Their members frequently consisted of the relations or adherents of particular families or individuals, and the principles of their association, and those which regulated admission and exclusion, had rarely any connection with the common benefit of the district or the wishes of its inhabitants. As at present constituted they are in many instances of no service to the community, in others injurious, in all insufficient and inadequate for the proper purposes and ends of such institutions." Proceeding on this Report Mr. O'Loughlen, the Irish Attorney General, introduced a bill for the better regulation of the Irish Corporations.

He stated, that though a great many corporations had perished since the Union, there were still sixty in full vigour, and eleven in a state of decay. These seventy-one corporations including within their territories 900,000 persons, while the number of corporators was only 13,000. Of these 13,000, no less than 8000 were to be found in four of the larger boroughs, leaving only 5000 corporators for the remaining sixty-seven corporations, containing above 500,000 inhabitants. The paucity of these corporators was not redeemed by their character. Since 1792, the corporations had been nominally open to Roman Catholics, but not more than 200 have been admitted. In Dublin they proceed on the avowed principle of excluding not only all Roman Catholics, but the great majority of Protestants, of wealth, respectability, or intelligence. The sheriffs of that city are chosen by the corporate body, and they always put persons connected with the incorporation first upon the list, and it was so managed that the Catholics were always in a minority. In a word, the management of corporations, and the administration of justice in their hands, is nothing but a tissue of injustice, partisanship, and corruption.

"The remedy proposed for these evils is to put corporations under effective popular control, as has already been done in England and Scotland. In seven of the larger boroughs, comprising Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny, Belfast, Galway, Waterford, it is proposed to make the municipal coextensive with the parliamentary occupants, and to include every £10 occupant. This rule, however, if applied to the smaller boroughs, would give much too small a constituency. In these boroughs it has already been provided, by an act passed in 1828, that all householders inhabiting £5 houses and upwards shall have a vote for paying and lighting commissioners; and it is proposed to apply in them the same principle to the municipal franchise. In the larger boroughs there will be a division into wards. The aldermen are to be elected, not by the councillors, but the inhabitants, and to consist of those who at the pole have the greatest number of votes; one half of the councillors and aldermen to go out of office every three years. A commission of the peace to be issued to the smaller boroughs, if the Lord Lieutenant saw cause; in the larger, the mayor for the time being to be the magistrate of the borough. In the seven larger boroughs, the council to elect sheriffs, subject to the approval of the

Lord Lieutenant; the management and control of the whole corporate funds and patronage to be vested in the town-council. There is only one way in which it is possible to pacify Ireland, and that is to promote a real union through an amelioration of her institutions, by treating her fairly, by giving her equal privileges and equal rights with England. Deny her that, and the Union is at an end."

The necessity for this measure is too clearly proved by the report of the Commissioners to require to be expatiated on. The privileges of self-government in our cities and town is of vital importance to the well-being of the nation. It is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, good government is affected. The municipal franchises are known to be as necessary for preserving liberty as they are useful in obtaining it. "The general term of the charters," say the Commissioners, "and the purposes of local utility, for which they appear to have been granted, import that *the inhabitants* of the corporate towns were the class to which they were addressed, as the objects of royal care and protection, and the proper administrators of the estates and functions conferred on the municipality." It is thus made manifest that the original purpose for which these institutions were framed has been wholly lost sight of, that the vital principle upon which they were founded has been set at nought, that the functions which at first were delegated to the freemen and householders of towns, have been audaciously usurped, while the maladministration of justice and the profligate misapplication of public funds to private purposes have served to aggravate the burning sense of wrong which has been excited in the breasts of our outlawed people. It would be tedious to enter upon a detailed statement of the evils which existed under this system. Such a recital would be but presenting extracts from the able report which the Commissioners presented to Parliament, and those who desire the information will readily have recourse to the report itself, and to those who need it not our remarks would be trite and uninteresting. For five long years were the people kept in suspense, five years during which England and Scotland were enjoying all the benefits of this priceless boon. And even when it was permitted to pass into a law, it had been so shorn of its fair proportions, so mutilated by the lords, that it must have been difficult for its authors to recognise their original production. With wonderful wisdom these heaven-born legislators, while granting what should have been a measure of relief, in their dwarfish magnanimity absolutely prohibited a Popish Lord Mayor to

wear his robes of office in the chapel. But nevertheless we rejoice at its passing, even in its present state. The Irish church bill again passed the Commons, and was rejected by the Lords, and the consequence was, that the people, seeing their claims contemned by the Upper House, conceived a natural hatred for these hereditary humbugs. But every other subject of complaint was swallowed up in the loud clamours of the people against the collection of the tithes. Nothing else was thought about, read about, or talked about. Frightful scenes of carnage took place at various towns in the country, but it will be sufficient to mention the massacre of Newtownbarry.

The parsons resolved to have tithes no matter at what cost, and the first result of this resolution was the unfortunate transaction which we are about to mention. The cattle of a farmer named Doyle, were, on the 23rd June, seized for tithe, and although the sum claimed did not amount to more than £2 6s. the cattle were advertised to be sold. The day selected for the sale being market day, a large crowd assembled to witness the sale. The cattle were "put up," and 190 yeomanry, provided with 50 rounds of ball-cartridge each, were drawn up in line adjacent. Some children, as is usual, began chaffing the "*Lobsters*," and some had the temerity to fling stones; the irascible soldiery fired, and when the smoke of the volley cleared away fourteen individuals were found stretched lifeless, and twenty-six wounded. The most horrible incident of this horrible transaction was that a woman in the family-way was killed, and the ball, tearing its way through her body, left the bleeding remains of herself and offspring exposed to view.

These scenes were often repeated. At Skibboreen thirty persons were killed in the street, the parson crying out, "my tithes or blood." But, notwithstanding these massacres, the people still refused to pay the tithes, and by their determination and unanimity, were finally successful. Mr. Secretary Stanley, in '34, stated, that in spite of the efforts that had been made to collect the tithes, by the aid of military and police, they were only able, out of arrears to the amount of £60,000, to get £12,000, and that at a cost to the county of £27,000. In the summer of '34 the Grey Ministry fell, that of Lord Melbourne succeeded it, which yielded to that of Sir Robert Peel, which split in its turn on the Irish difficulty, and when Lord Melbourne again was in power, and tried to adjust this grievance, he was opposed by the Tories. In the debate on this subject, Lord Lyndhurst had the bad taste to refer to the

Irish Catholics as "*Aliens*." This was, if not a crime, certainly a mistake which, in the estimation of some, is considered more material; but, Mr. Sheil, in a burst of impassioned eloquence, administered to him a well merited rebuke. We give an extract from the speech, which we consider well worthy the attentive perusal of those who are, alas, too apt to question our loyalty, despise our courage, sneer at our patriotism, and trample on our religion.

"The Duke of Wellington," said he, "is not a man of sudden emotions; but he should not, when he heard that word used, have forgotten Vimeira, and Badajoz, and Salamanca, and Toulouse, and the last glorious conflict which crowned all his former victories. On that day, when the destinies of mankind were trembling in the balance, when the batteries spread slaughter over the field, and the legions of France rushed again and again to the onset, did the '*aliens*' then flinch? On that day the blood of the men of England, of Ireland, and of Scotland, was poured forth together; they fought on the same field; they died the same death; they were stretched in the same pit; their dust was commingled; the same dew of heaven fell on the grass that covered them; the same grass sprung from the soil in which they reposed together; and is it to be endured that we are to be called aliens and strangers to that empire for whose salvation our best blood has been shed?"

The effort to arrange this most complicated subject was again defeated by the Lords.

The next question which occupied the attention of the Houses was, "The Poor Laws." In England, till the time of Henry VIII, the poor subsisted entirely upon private benevolence, and the charity of well-disposed Christians. By the Common law it was provided that the parish priests and rectors should sustain the poor in their respective districts, and it was enjoined on the clergy, by their bishops, "to set apart the first share of their dues for the repairs and ornaments of the church, to distribute the second to the poor and the stranger, with their own hands, in mercy and humility, and to reserve the third part for themselves." Thus the providing for the poor became one of the great duties and uses of the Church. Nor in any other hands could it be so fitly lodged. For the peculiar duties of the priesthood affords many opportunities of becoming acquainted with destitution concealed from the broad glare of day, and gives many facilities for relieving the wants of deserving poverty.

The monasteries, too, distributed daily large alms, as well to the way-farers as to those who dwelt in the neighbourhood. These monasteries had large estates. They treated their tenants well. Even Mr. Macaulay unwillingly admits the beneficial effects of their influence. Independently of these monasteries, there were founded asylums where age might find a refuge for its declining years. To one only of the many such establishments shall we refer. The hospital of Saint Cross, founded and endowed by a Bishop of Winchester, for the maintenance of forty-eight decayed gentlemen, with priests, nurses, and other servants, to attend on them; besides it made a provision for a dinner every day for the most indigent men in the city. These met daily in the hall, called "The hundred men's hall;" each had a loaf of bread, three quarts of small beer, and "two messes" for his dinner, and they were allowed to carry home what they did not consume on the spot. But when the monasteries were destroyed by Henry, and their revenues confiscated, the persons to whom they were allocated, either from abhorrence of the "nunneries of superstition," the belief in the inutility of good works, or the claims of a numerous family, discontinued the practice which the monks had always followed, and the consequence naturally was, that poverty overspread the land. To correct this evil many statutes were passed by Henry VIII., and Edward VI, but it was not until the enactment of 43 Eliz. c. 2 (which is generally considered the foundation of the modern poor law), that any regular system was established to supply the requirements of the poor, consequent upon the destruction of their former asylums. By this statute it is provided that the churchwardens of every parish shall be overseers of the poor, and that, besides these, there shall be appointed, as overseers, two, three, or four, but not more, of the inhabitants, such last-mentioned overseers to be substantial householders, and to be nominated yearly in Easter week, or within one month after, by two justices dwelling near the parish. The management of the poor was long left to the overseers of the respective parishes, but these officers, when from various causes their services became onerous they were rarely performed to the satisfaction of the public, and various measures were, from time to time, devised by the legislature for the improvement of the practical system.

By statute 22, Geo. III. c. 83, parishes were authorised, by the consent of two-third parts, in number and value, of the

owners or occupiers, with the approbation of two justices of the peace, to appoint guardians to act, in lieu of overseers, in all matters relative to the relief and management of the poor, and also to enter into voluntary unions with each other for the more convenient accommodation, maintenance, and employment of paupers. Then came "The Select Vestry Act," 59 Geo. III. c. 12. But these new methods, though founded to be beneficial, were, upon the whole, not attended by results sufficiently effective. Meantime evils arose from mismanagement. The negligent and injudicious administration of the parochial funds which prevailed in various parts of the kingdom, had the effect of withdrawing from the impotent poor part of the provision intended for them by law, and wasting it on those who were able but unwilling to work; and this led to the encouragement, among the lower classes, of idleness, improvidence, and vice. Besides, the duty of executing the poor-law being left in every instance to the parish itself which stood in no subordination, and owed no deference to any external authority, reforms suggested from without seldom met with much attention, and little benefit was derived from any example of superior management exhibited in other part of the kingdom. Under these circumstances Parliament recommended, in the year '33, the issuing of a royal commission for inquiring into the state and administration of the laws relating to the poor. The report of the commissioners exposed the evils of the existing system with great ability and effect, and the 4 and 5 Wm. IV. c. 76, commonly called "The Poor-law Amendment Act," was enacted. By this measure the administration of the parochial funds, and the management of the poor throughout the country, were placed for a period of five years under the superintendence and control of a central board, called "The Poor-law Commissioners," who had power to regulate the conduct of the parish authorities in all matters of that description. This central body was aided by a certain number of assistant Commissioners. This commission was subsequently extended to the year '47, and then superseded. The happy results of this series of legislation became so apparent that the paternal regard, which is so sweet and commendable, of English legislators for Irish prosperity induced them to admit her into a participation of those blessings they themselves had already experienced. Accordingly a Royal Commission was issued to enquire into and report upon the state of the poor in Ireland. At the head of this commission was one Mr. Nicholl,

who gave a dreadful account of the state of the country. Alison thus speaks of this active commissioner—"Fortunately for the cause of humanity, and the ultimate interests of prosperity in Ireland, the gentleman at the head of it the Commission was eminently qualified, by his knowledge and abilities as well as his ample experience of the poor-laws, under the new system, to discern *rapidly* the real state of the facts. His commission bore date the 22nd of August, 1836, and before Parliament rose he had collected such a body of information as was entirely decisive of the question, and threw more light on the subject than all the previous debates in Parliament had done." In reading that extract we were astonished to find that Alison had omitted to put *rapidly* in italics, for in accordance with the practice of those who adopt what Disraeli calls the "forceible feeble" style of composition, he very often in the course of his history puts whole sentences into italics; and, certainly, there never was an instance in which so good an opportunity occurred for the use of italics, for it is rarely our good fortune to find a royal commission, or commissioner, collecting his facts, making his enquiries, settling his report, clean-copying it, and presenting it, in the short space of nine weeks. "Rapid!"—we think he was. A Yankee's manner of "doing" a country or a city is child's play to this rapid investigation. "The faggot of French sticks" was certainly "got up" in a very short space of time, and contained a large amount of information, if one could rely upon its credibility. The author of this last-mentioned book tried his hand on Ireland, and with a facile fecundity produced, in a fortnight (of which time one week was occupied in copying his notes and correcting the press), some stunning information "de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis," never dreamt of in our philosophy. But that a report upon a point affecting the property of one class, and the existence of another—a report upon which was to be founded a measure intended as remedial—should have been concocted in so incredibly short a time shews, we think, how very little the welfare of this country was consulted, and the result proves this fact plainly—

"Ireland is now suffering under a circle of evils," says the commissioner, "producing and reproducing each other: want of capital produces want of employment; want of employment, turbulence and misery; turbulence and misery, insecurity; insecurity prevents the introduction and accumulation of capital, and so on. Until the circle is broken, the evils must continue, and probably augment. The first thing to be done, is to give security that will produce and invite capital, and capital will give employment.

But security of person and property cannot co-exist with general destitution; so that, in truth, the drainage, reclamation, and profitable cultivation of bogs and wastes, the establishment of fisheries and manufactories, improvements in agriculture, and in the general condition of the country, and, lastly, the elevation of the mass of the people in the social scale, seem to be more or less contingent upon establishing a legal relief for the destitute."* He further reported, that no less than 2,385,000 persons in Ireland are in distress, and require relief, at least thirty weeks in the year; that themselves, their wives, and children, are absolutely compelled, however reluctant, to beg; and that mendicancy is the sole resource of the aged and impotent classes of the poor generally, whereby encouragement is given to idleness, imposture, and crime. All this obtained in a country where the landed rental was £13,000,000 a-year, being 250 per cent. more than that of Scotland! Such was the state of a country, as brought out by their own commissioner, for which Government and its Liberal patriots had hitherto resisted all motions for a poor-rate, and for which they thought the appropriate remedies were, to divert £100,000 a-year from the Church to education purposes, and to give every starving householder paying £5 a municipal vote!

In a very able article in the last number of this Review, from which we beg leave to make an extract, the reports of Mr.

* "Capital has increased in Ireland, but population has increased still more: and therefore the great body of the people remain wretchedly poor notwithstanding the growth of public wealth. The extreme subdivision of land tends to the same result; the soil, fertile as it naturally is, becomes exhausted by incessant cropping. Except in the grazing districts, farms of a hundred acres are almost extinct. There being no legal provision for the destitute, and the sub-division of land into small holdings having destroyed the regular demand for labour, *the occupation of a piece of ground is to the peasant the only means of subsistence.* Land to them is a necessary of life. A man cannot obtain a livelihood as a day-labourer; he must get a plot of ground on which to raise potatoes, or starve. Mendicancy is almost universal, and has therefore ceased to be disgraceful. It is not disreputable to appear wretchedly clothed, or without the decencies of life. Drunkenness is much more common among the Irish than in England. Notwithstanding the evident poverty of the people, the use of whiskey and tobacco is excessive, and is said to be increasing. Much of the disorders and violence which prevail may be traced to this source. There is a depression of feeling, morally and personally, among the peasantry; they have no pride in, or desire to better their condition. Their desultory habits are very remarkable. They postpone any business, even the most necessary to the safety of their little crop, to a fair or a market. Their own work is soon done, or they think may be soon done; hence arises a total disregard of the value of time. At present, *the burden of the poor falls entirely upon the poor*; the higher classes generally, and the absentees entirely, *escape it altogether.* The poor at present are the sole providers for their own necessities each out of his little holding. Hence the agrarian outrages to prevent their being deprived of them: and hence the kind of famine which annually occurs in Ireland, between the going out of the old crop and the coming in of the new."—Mr. NICHOLL'S Report, Nov. 23, 1836; *Ann. Reg.* 1836, pp. 63, 66.

Nicholls, now Sir George Nicholls, are very severely dealt with, and justly, for with all the insolence of ignorant presumption, this K. C. B. had, in his Report of '36, the hardihood to indulge in assertions and prophecies calculated to mislead the framers of the measure; and they did, in fact, mislead, for subsequent events have proved that the assertions were groundless, and to the present day the prophecies remain unfulfilled. He says:—

It appears then, I think, that a poor-law is necessary as a *first step* towards bringing about improvement in the habits and social condition of the people. *IN TRUTH the reclamation of bogs and wastes—THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FISHERIES AND MANUFACTURES—Improvements in Agriculture and the general condition of the country,—and lastly, THE ELEVATION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE IN THE SOCIAL SCALE, appear ALL CONTINGENT UPON ESTABLISHING A POOR LAW!!!*—*Report of 1836.*

The reviewer thus comments upon these speculations and predictions:—

“The most superficial observer of the present state of Ireland—now twenty years after the foregoing predictions were given to the admiring public of these kingdoms—will be able to estimate their miserable want of value. The mendicancy that was to be suppressed or to disappear of itself, is as rife as ever, nay in the opinion of many, is *more* rife along our streets and our roads than ever. The burthen of relief of the poor which as this pompous and egotistical and emptiest of theorists, informed us, was to be lightened to the poorer classes, and more equally shared by the higher, is heavier upon the former than ever. Formerly they had to give, and they gave in obedience to the duty positively inculcated upon them by their religion. Now they have, *in addition*, to pay the legal assessment. We say deliberately, *in addition*;—for the latter payments by no means are held by them to remit the former. The poor-law collector's receipt is not considered by them a discharge from charitable obligations, and over and beyond what it has drawn from them by the force of a human law, the great second precept of the divine law, “the *mandatum novum*” of the New Testament, urges them to a more willing, but, of course, additional contribution.”

“Quite of a piece with such speculations and predictions, is that embodied in the paragraphs of our last extract, which talk of changing the system of small holdings for the “better practice of daily labor for wages.” The idea of throwing the

whole agricultural population of the country upon the, in this island, always uncertain, scanty and fluctuating resource of money wages for daily labor, as their means of support, is too preposterous to need comment. Why, even at this moment, when the gaps, the terrible gaps of the famine and pestilence years are yet unfilled, when the over-pressure, as it was called, of population cannot be said to be felt, when the high prices for agricultural produce and the abundant harvests have increased and vivified for the time the circulation of the country, there are periods and months of inaction and want of employment, and necessarily must be; and if that be the case now, how much worse will not the state of things prove, when the temporary incidents enumerated shall cease, as in the ordinary course of nature they must cease, and give way to less favourable circumstances? We may equally dismiss without discussion the concluding part of the extract where he sums up the laudation of his project by promising that it would cause our 'bogs and wastes to be reclaimed,' 'our fisheries to be worked and developed,' our 'manufactures,' that died away under the general impoverishment of the country, to be revived and made to flourish, our general condition to be wonderfully and permanently improved, and our people to be 'elevated in the social scale,' all by the agency of a legislation under every form and mode of which it has inevitably resulted that the poor, struggling, industrious man is made to pay for the support of the idle, the lazy, and the improvident, and further, for the maintenance of a numerous and costly staff, or *Bureaucracy*, to watch and rule the prison-like workhouses where the really deserving destitute are mixed up with the worthless and the vicious—the honest with the rogues—the chaste and orderly with the lewd, the unbridled and the shameless, and generations of boys and girls are growing up without family-ties or anything to bind them to society, but rather with evil feelings in their hearts at the restraints and harshnesses they are subjected to, and the grudging nature and manner of the support they receive."

Nevertheless, this report became the basis of a Bill, of which Alison thus writes:—

Lord John Russell introduced the subject on the 13th February; and his proposal, as is generally the case when the dreaded topic of an assessment is broached in a popular assembly, fell very far short indeed of the real necessities of the case. He proposed to establish

100 workhouses, each to contain 800 inmates, which would provide for 80,000 persons, and as their cost was only estimated at 1s. 6d. a-week each, the entire expense would be only £312,000 a-year! Mr. O'Connell, while he expressed, contrary to his former assertions, a qualified assent to the measure, justly exposed the utter fallacy of supposing that a measure which proposed only to afford the wretched pittance of 1s. 6d. a-week to 80,000 persons, could afford any real relief in a country where, according to Mr. Nicholl's report, there were, for more than half of every year, 585,000 heads of families and 2,300,000 persons dependent on them, in a state of utter destitution. Inadequate as the measure was, however, it was a mighty step in advance in Ireland, because it laid the foundations, at least, of a more extended system, and established a set of functionaries throughout the country in connexion with the Government, to whom the wants of its inhabitants would become known, and their necessities communicated to the proper quarter. Great alarm was expressed at the proposed assessment of £312,000 a-year, which only showed the happy ignorance of Ireland of direct taxation at that period: for the rental on which it was to be levied was £13,000,000, so that the rate on an average was only 2½ per cent. It was a striking proof how little the real state of Ireland was understood at this period, and how ignorant the statesmen of Great Britain were of the real extent of the social evils under which Ireland laboured, that in the course of this debate Lord Howick stated it as an extraordinary and alarming circumstance, that in the last year the emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland of Irish birth were 39,030;—fifteen years afterwards they reached 368,000 in one year.

The frightful famine which decimated the country, cannot be attributed to the operation of the poor-laws; but this much is certain, that it proved the inefficiency of the institution in meeting and alleviating the horrors of those awful years. The people of Ireland should never forget the debt of gratitude they owe to that incomparable Viceroy, the late lamented Earl of Besborough, whose noble magnanimity and generous disregard of any personal consequences, proved him one of nature's noblest beings, worthy to inherit, as we hope he does, the priceless crown of immortal glory; but nothing availed to stop the awful ravages of famine and disease. Routine, in this case, as well as in many others, tended to impede any good that might be effected; and while boards were discussing the claims of an applicant for relief, the unfortunates were dying of starvation on the road-sides. The expense of the administration of the laws for the relief of the poor in Ireland is of such a costly character, that whilst the officials are rich, the poor, for whom these laws were enacted, are almost starving for want of food and raiment.

The cost, we believe, of the management of the poor in

Ireland is nearly as great as that of England, and more than ten times that of Scotland.

During the discussions on these matters the old king died, and Queen Victoria ascended the throne. For us in Ireland these changes matter little, nor should we refer to them except for the purpose of mentioning the base conspiracy which was got up amongst the Orangemen of Ireland, to put Cumberland on the throne. Many persons went so far as to assert that they had resolved to assassinate Victoria. But however that matter may be, any attempt of that character was so certain of defeat, through the loyalty of the Irish Catholics under O'Connell, that the idea was abandoned, if it were ever entertained. What a glorious scene was that, when the great Liberator of the people asked them would they fight for the Queen, and from the throbbing hearts of 6,000,000 brave men came back the answer, "We will to the death!" The Orange faction heard that shout and trembled.

We are very tired of this book, and of its author. Sir A. Alison is a Baronet; we do not envy him the distinction, nor envy the order the honor they enjoy in possessing his name upon their rolls; he may be a very amiable man, but he is not a historian; he has no one quality of a historian; he displays neither eloquence, elegance, research, nor philosophy. We have somewhere read a remark that he writes down to the meanest comprehension. Now we think he has gone farther still. What we state is this, that while adopting a verbose style he is still obscure, and his grandiloquence is common-place; he is ambitious in words, mean in ideas, confused in arrangement, dogmatical without wisdom, and positive without knowledge. As for his politics, they are not the politics of a calm observer, nor of a rational partisan, they are, as they have been well denominated, "crazy idiosyncracies." There is that frequent indulgence in the use of italics for the purpose of enforcing what he says, which, as we have before remarked, Mr. Disraeli has characterised as the "forcible feeble." He talks of "the noble constancy displayed by Sir Robert Peel," of the gratitude the Romish priests and people owe to him for his generous conduct in their behalf, as though one should be grateful to the to the pick-pocket who drops one's purse when one has a hand upon his collar.

Naturally he is ignorant of everything about Ireland, and by consequence always unjust. O'Connell he considers coarse

abusive, slanderous, unscrupulous and corrupt, "he had remarkable talent, but no genius; he had neither honor nor honesty; he had all the duplicity and disregard of consistency, which distinguishes the Celtic character; destitute of self-respect which in general characterises the Saxon; he had all the insensibility to personal abasement which is so common among the humbler classes of his countrymen." His two great objects were the advancement of his church and his own personal aggrandisement. Popery is Alison's bugbear, he sees a Jesuit under every broad-brimmed hat, and the Pope's nose is thrust into every liberal or conciliatory measure. It may tend to console the poor dear Baronet to learn, as we have done with great astonishment, through the revelations made by the author of "Poisoners and Propagandists," who shows that the shining cuirass of a life-guardsman may conceal one of the fraternity, and a cabman's badge rest upon the collar of one of these members of the Pope's brigade. Fortunately, Sir Archibald Alison's books are not read—but they sell—yes, people buy them, place them on their shelves, and find them useful, very useful. It is not every library has a complete set of "Hansard," or the "Annual Register." But there is an index to Alison, and instead of writing to "Notes and Queries" to discover what became of Hunt after the Spa field riots, or how Ministers defended the Copenhagen business, people go to Alison, and if the information be not always full and accurate, the process is much less troublesome.

The value of Sir Archibald Alison's general information upon the topics which he so flippanantly discusses may be estimated from the learned plagiarism by which—with an extraordinary reliance upon the forgetfulness of his readers and the ignorance of his critics—he has in so ingenious a manner sought to foist upon the public the result of another's research with all the appliances of an original production. Production is a weak word, possibly not the correct term, but when we wrote it we were thinking of Byron who had a theory, upon which beyond all doubt he himself acted; that if the author of to day can use the thoughts of the author of yesterday, he is justly entitled to do so, provided always, however, that he improves upon them. But in the case of this latest literary pilferer, this gatherer up of "unconsidered trifles" (though in this instance not inconsiderable) the idea is not improved. It is mere vulgar picking and stealing *Charley Bates* or the *Artful Dodger* compared

with Barrington the pickpocket, or *Claude Duval*. In point of fact Sir Archibald Alison understands cribbing, though ignorant of annexation. The one bears the impress of police suppression, the other has about it the halo of a naturalized institution. But we sincerely hope that when literature in these kingdoms is becoming a power in the state, its nobility will never suffer their order to be desecrated by a species of spoliation such as that of which Sir Archibald Alison has given to the public so disgraceful (we are unwilling to write degrading) a specimen. Our charge is shortly, plainly, simply that this Scotch "historian" has in this present volume, the sixth of the new series, palpably copied with hardly a verbal change and without any acknowledgment, much of what composes his history of Indian affairs from Mr. Kaye's interesting and valuable record of the war in Afghanistan. From many evidences noted by us, we select the following parallels for the perusal of the reader: Referring to Lord Auckland, Alison thus writes at page 55 :—

Alison, p. 555.

"At the farewell banquet given him by the Company, he said that 'he looked with exultation to the new prospect opening before him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures, of promoting education and knowledge, of improving the administration of justice in India, of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to India.' Those were his genuine sentiments; all who heard the words felt that he was sincere. He had no taste for the din and confusion of a camp—no thirst for foreign conquest. Simple and unobtrusive in his manners, of a mild and unimpassioned temperament, of a gentle and retiring nature, he was as anxious to shun as others are to court notoriety."

Now hear Mr. Kaye's account of the same occurrence at pages 162 and 163 in volume 1 :—

Kaye, vol. i., pp. 162, 163.

"When he declared at the farewell banquet given him by the Directors of the East India Company, that 'he looked forward with exultation to the new prospect opening before him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures, of promoting education and knowledge, of improving the administration of justice in India, of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to India;' it was felt by all who knew him that the words were uttered with a grave sincerity, and expressed the genuine aspirations of the man. . . . He had no taste for the din and confusion of a camp—no appetite for foreign conquest. Quiet and unobtrusive in his manners, of a somewhat cold and impassive temperament, and altogether of a reserved and retiring nature, he was not one to court excitement or to desire notoriety."

Really this is too bad, There has been a convention entered into between France and England, by which Frenchmen are now prevented from pirating the editions of our books, and thus injuring the property of the publishers, and lessening the profits of the authors. But we consider that the legislature should interfere to protect our native writers from domestic pillage, and restrain the practice of such predatory licence. He who steals our purse is amenable to public justice, but he who filches from us the result of our literary labor escapes with impunity—impunity did we say? Ah! no—not with impunity, for there is a law more equitable than the enactments of parliamentary legislation, the law of public opinion, and before its bar Sir Archibald Alison stands arraigned, charged with a crime, a capital crime, the punishment of which no special pleading will enable him to evade. We shall give two other instances of this shameful appropriation of the thoughts and expressions of one whose laborious investigations entitle him to protection from such barefaced piracy:—*

Alison, p. 605.

"The native states on the borders were beginning to evince signs of feverish anxiety. From the hills of Nepal to the jungles of Burmah came threats, at first smothered, but ere long openly uttered, of invasion. Even in our own provinces, and those longest subjected to our rule, there was an uneasy, restless feeling among all classes—the well-known and often unaccountable precursor of external catastrophe or internal revolt. This feeling was peculiarly strong among the Mussulman inhabitants, forming above fifteen millions, in the upper provinces. It was akin to that which, eight-and-thirty years before, had alarmed Marquess Wellesley, when Zemaun Shah threatened a descent from the mountains, with the whole forces of Central Asia, to exterminate the haughty infidels who had so long oppressed the land. In their eyes the approaching contest assumed the air of a religious crusade. It was believed that * * * the followers of the Prophet would rise up in countless multitudes . . . pour down over the plains of the Punjaub and the Ganges, and wrest all the

* As a remarkable coincidence we here observe that that wonderful sentence of Macaulay's about the New Zealander is a piracy, from Horace Walpole, who in a letter to Mason, November 24th, 1774, thus writes:—

"The next Augustan age will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will perhaps be a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York, and in time, a Virgil at Mexico, and a Newton at Peru. *At last some curious traveller from Lima will visit England, and give a description of the ruins of St. Paul's*, like the editions of Balbec and Palmyra:—but am I not prophesying, contrary to my consummate prudence, and casting horoscopes of empires, like Rousseau?"

country from the infidel usurpers. So general were these feelings—so common the panic excited—that they formed the topic of conversation in the bazaars of Calcutta and Bombay, and occasioned a serious decline in the value of the public securities.”

Kaye, vol. i., p. 290.

“The native states on our own borders were beginning to evince signs of feverish unrest. From the hills of Nepal and the jungles of Burmah came mutterings of threatened invasion. . . . Even in our own provinces, these rumours of mighty movements in the countries of the North-west disquieted the native mind; there was an uneasy, restless feeling among all classes, scarcely amounting to disaffection, and perhaps best to be described as a state of ignorant expectancy. . . . Among our Mussulman subjects the feeling was somewhat akin to that which had unsettled their minds at the time when the rumoured advent of Zemaun Shah made them look for the speedy restoration of Mahomedan supremacy in Hindostan. In their eyes, indeed, the movement beyond the Afghan frontier took the shape of a Mahomedan invasion, and it was believed that countless thousands of true believers were about to pour themselves over the plains of the Punjab and Hindostan, and to wrest all the country from the hands of the infidel usurpers. The Mahomedan journals at this time teemed with the utterance of undisguised sedition. There was a decline in the value of public securities; and it went openly from mouth to mouth in the streets and the bazaars, that the Company's reign was nearly at an end.”

Alison, p. 597.

“So great was the throng, so violent the press, when these two great potentates met, that many of the attendant Sikhs believed there was a design to destroy their chief, ‘and began to blow their matches and grasp their weapons with a mingled air of distrust and ferocity.’ Soon, however, a passage was made, and the little decrepit old man was seen tottering into the tent, supported on one side by the Governor-General and on the other by Sir Henry Fane, whose fine figure strangely contrasted with the bent and worn-out form of the Eastern chieftan. Next day the Maharajah received Lord Auckland in his tent, who returned his visit. The magnificence of the scene then exceeded that of the preceding day, and the Sikhs fairly outdid the British in Oriental splendour. The brilliant costumes of the Sikh Sirdars, the gorgeous trappings of their horses, the glittering steel casques and corslets of chain armour, the scarlet and yellow dresses, the tents of crimson and gold, the long lines of elephants, and still longer squadrons of cavalry, formed an unrivalled spectacle of Eastern magnificence. But different emotions arose, and every British heart beat with emotion, when, in that distant land, the well-known notes of the National Anthem arose from a Sikh band, and the gun of the Kalsa thundered forth salutes to the representative of Queen Victoria.”

Kaye, vol. i., pp. 373-375.

“Such was the crush—such was the struggle—that many of the attendant Sikhs believed there was a design to destroy their old de-

crepit chief, and 'began to blow their matches and grasp their weapons with an air of mingled distrust and ferocity.' But in time a passage was made, and the imbecile little old man was to be seen tottering into the Durbar tent, supported on one side by the Governor-General, and on the other by Sir Henry Fane, whose fine, manly proportions, and length of limb, as he forced his way through the crowd, presented a strange contrast to the puny dimensions of the Sikh chieftain, as he leant upon his arm. . . . On the following day, Lord Auckland returned the visit of Runjit Singh. It was said by one present on this occasion that the Sikhs 'shone down the English.' . . . The splendid costumes of the Sikh Sirdars—the gorgeous trappings of their horses—the glittering steel casques and corselets of chain armour—the scarlet and yellow dresses—the tents of crimson and gold—made up a show of Eastern magnificence equally grand and picturesque. As the Maharajah saluted the Governor-General, the familiar notes of the National Anthem arose from the instruments of a Sikh band, and the guns of the Kalsa roared forth their expected welcome."

We have no patience really with such effrontery. It is true that in the second extract there is a marginal reference (1 Kaye 290) but it gives no indication of the vast extent of the obligation which has been contrasted. Whatever changes have been made by Alison have certainly not been improvements, and thus we commit him to the tender mercies of popular judgment, hoping they will remember "Der Bauer ist nit zu verderben : mau hau' ihm denn Hand und Fuss ab."

ART. XI.—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE IRISH VALUATION OFFICERS.

Petitions, Evidence, &c., &c., relative to the case of the several Employés of the Service above named, at present under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.
Dublin: Printed by Alexander Thom and Sons, 87, Abbey-street. 1857.

It is now more than a year since we placed before our readers a history of the basis, management, and ultimate aim of the *General Valuation of Ireland*.* In a subsequent number† we noticed the petitions of the officers engaged in that service to the Lord Lieutenant, praying that his Excellency would recommend the introduction of such legislative measure as would remove the very peculiar and pressing grievances of their uncertain and anomalous position, placing them on an equality with the other Civil servants of the Crown regarding permanency of employment, and consequent pension in declining years. With the prayer of the petition we cordially agreed, for many reasons, and not the least as we ever considered it hollow parsimony and bad policy to debar the hard-worked Civil servants of the country from the hope of compensation in life's decline—the best guarantee for fidelity and efficiency in the discharge of duty, while in the van of life's battle. It had been remarked, at the period when we first noticed the matter, by a spirited journalist, that “a more modest, guardedly-phrased, and eloquently-simple appeal to the Queen's representative, could not have been made; that the facts mentioned had been studiously understated;” and we were glad to perceive, at the same time, that Lord Carlisle so far appreciated the importance of the work performed by those gentlemen, and the arduous and lengthened duties upon which their claims were specially founded, as to order their appeal to be submitted to the consideration of the Lords of the Treasury.

In our second notice, too, we gave a brief but succinct state-

* IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 20, vol. 5.

† IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. 22, vol. 6.

ment of the crying evils under which this most important, useful, and, we may add, Imperial, branch of the Civil Service was and, we regret to say, is still labouring. We say Imperial advisedly; for is it not used for Imperial purposes? When we look back through a vista of thirty years, and mark the great value of the work these men have performed for the State, does not such a retrospective glance manifest plainly to our mental vision the amount of intellectual labour by which this department of the Civil Service has attained the position it now holds—being the standard by which the property qualification for the electoral franchise is regulated, the basis for levying succession and legacy duties, the property income tax, and all other public and local taxes in Ireland? Even the Incumbered Estates Court is materially assisted, if not guided, by it. When all these benefits force themselves on our mind, we cannot but deem this an Imperial branch of the public service, and are forced to decry the wisdom of that policy which could induce any government to act so unfairly to their tried and trusted servants, as thus to batten on the intellect of a portion of their most talented sons, and, in the scathing language of our native bard—

“First feed on their brains, and then leave them to die.”

We have been accused of using language in our June number of last year (when writing on this to us interesting subject) that savoured of suppliance; but, if deep earnestness of manner regarding the cause we espoused, and a sad seriousness of tone when speaking of these gentlemen's uncertain position, was suppliance, we plead guilty to the charge. Now, we entirely disavow any—the remotest—approach to a suppliant tone, when referring, for the *third time*, to this all-important subject. The admirably-arranged pamphlet now before us disdains suppliant language; it tells its own story; it stares us in the face like a *home truth*; the paramount idea seems to be “*Expendere vitam in vero*,” there are no overdrawn statements to excite sympathy; no claptrap rhapsody to elicit applause; it is merely a simple “*statement of facts*”—the gauntlet of truth thrown down to the Government and the country; and, if all sense of justice be not dead, it will be responded to in a frank and generous way by both. Upon the general subject of the Civil Service Superannuation, upon which the

Valuation question is engrafted, we have no space to dilate, but merely to remark that this pamphlet is not only a hand-book regarding this particular department, but a judicious arrangement of well-selected extracts from the evidence before the Civil Service Superannuation Committee of Sir C. E. Trevelyan and others, which bears on all departments of the Civil Service.

There is not in this or, perhaps, in any other country, a service in such a strange and paradoxical position as the *Irish Valuation Office*. By the Act 15 and 16 Vic., cap. 63, the *office* was made permanent but (*quis credat?*) the officers engaged to work out its details were not! They were to remain in the equivocal position of chance hirelings of the day; and when, after years of toil, during which they displayed zeal, science, and skill, if sickness, or the infirmity consequent on advancing years, should interfere with their ill-paid daily task, they were sent adrift, powerless and penniless, without compensation or gratuity of any sort to enable them to contend, even temporarily, with their peculiarly distressing position. These gentlemen, we may also observe, when entering the service, were never warned that their tenure of office was *temporary*. They naturally looked forward to recompense in the evening of life.

We can well imagine how many, for the last thirty years, have suffered the bitter pangs of disappointment. They enter the service in the morning of life or heyday of manhood. Year follows on year in silence—silent as the falling snow—they awake, and find themselves old, the snow on their foreheads, and sorrow and uncertainty in their hearts, for they spent the cream of their years in the Valuation Service. But it is time to have an end to this. Why, we ask, are gentlemen conferring such a benefit on the State to be thus treated? Why should great and long services meet with small rewards, and justice be any longer delayed to gentlemen whose duties are so onerous and arduous as to require the possession of no ordinary ability and mental culture, to enable them to fulfill them efficiently, and who are at this moment fulfilling them with credit to themselves and advantage to the State?

Anxious as we are, and have at all times been, to send forth our protests against any crying national wrong, we could not effect our purpose of awakening the public

mind to this too long existing evil better than by laying before our readers a resumé of this valuable pamphlet, and a further selection from the various opinions of the press on this exciting question.

We shall commence by giving the petition, in extenso, presented by George Macartney, Esq., M.P. for Antrim, and the evidence of Mr. Hutchings before the Civil Service Committee. The simple truthfulness of the petition speaks more eloquently than our pen could describe the grievances under which these gentlemen are labouring, and the redress required :—

The following petition was presented by George Macartney, Esq., Member for Antrim, and was referred by the House to the Civil Service Superannuation Committee, then sitting, and printed in their report, pages 463—4.

To the Right Honourable and Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

The humble petition of the several Valutors, Superintendents, Surveyors, Draftsmen, and Clerks, in the service of the General Valuation and Survey of Rateable Property in Ireland,

Most Humbly Sheweth,

That the general valuation of rateable property in Ireland, commonly known as the townland valuation, was commenced under the authority of an Act of Parliament (Act 7 Geo. 4, cap. 62) in the year 1828 ; and that your petitioners were appointed to carry out the provisions of that act, which had for its object the more equal apportionment and levy of grand jury assessments in the several counties of Ireland.

That subsequently, on the introduction of the poor law into this country, the legislature deemed it necessary to extend the operations of the valuation service, and to cause a uniform valuation to be made in tenements for the levy of all public, local, and government taxes whatsoever ; and for this purpose statutes (9 and 10 Vict., cap. 110, and 15 and 16 Vict., cap. 63) were enacted, known as the tenement valuation acts, which provide that in addition to a general valuation in tenements an annual revision of the valuation be made, and that a new valuation be commenced in each county at the end of every fourteen years.

That the tenement valuation of three provinces has already been completed, and comprises an unprecedented amount of information, which, by the labours of your petitioners, has been rendered of the utmost financial and statistical importance, embracing as it does a separate and distinct survey and valuation of every house, farm, railway, canal, mine, fishery, and other rateable hereditament, the result forming a basis for the equitable levy of all poor's rate and grand jury cess, and establishing a correct standard whereby the property qualification for the elective franchise is regulated ; it moreover affords facilities to the commissioners for the sale of incumbered es-

tates, commissioners of inland revenue, commissioners of income tax, and other public bodies, so that the magnitude and importance of the valuation of Ireland, and its adaptation to the circumstances of the country and the exigencies of the Imperial Government, are manifest.

That, while the operations of the valuation service have thus from a temporary form become permanent under the Act which provides for annual revision, and so extended as to demand an unforeseen amount of diligence, labour, and accuracy, no modification or proportionate extension of the section of the Act of 1828, providing for the remuneration of your petitioners, has been enacted, as might have been expected, from the principle of adequate remuneration for the present, and suitable provision for the future, which is recognised by the Government as sound policy and justice in all its other branches of the civil service.

That, though the expenses of the general valuation are in the first instance advanced by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, yet being ultimately defrayed by presentments levied off the several counties, and consequently watched with jealous care by the different presenting bodies, the commissioner of valuation has been obliged to maintain a standard of payments far below that of an adequate remuneration for so important a work, so that very few of your petitioners have reached the maximum prescribed by the Act, and many of them not even the rates of pay upon which junior clerks usually enter other departments of the civil service, as may be seen by the present average daily pay to which the several clerks, draftsmen, surveyors, &c., have attained by a progressive system of increase after a lapse of eight-and-twenty years; thus four valuers whose term of service averages 22½ years have reached the maximum prescribed by enactment, viz., £1 per day: the remaining valuers average 11s. 5d.; superintendents, 8s. 8d.; surveyors, 5s. 9d.; draftsmen, 4s. 10d.; clerks, 3s. 10½d.

That the general survey and valuation of Ireland is a systematic work which can only be carried on by the aid of persons possessing scientific knowledge, and in accordance with a uniform code of instruction.

That for gentlemen possessed of talents and education indispensable to the execution of such duties, the rates of pay above stated are quite inadequate to maintain them in the position which the respectability of the service demands, and at the same time afford the means of making provision for a state of incapacity or retirement.

That petitioners from the nature of their duties are peculiarly subject to disease, not only by reason of accidents and hardships in the field, but also from the insidious influence of unremitting application to office duties of a peculiarly laborious character.

That, owing to the fact of no provision having been made for the continuance of the salaries of your petitioners during illness, they are deprived of their only means of subsistence when afflicted with such visitations, at a time especially when their expenses are largely increased; and from this cause has ensued the result that several persons by endeavouring to discharge their duty while suffering from indisposition have rendered fatal an illness which in its early stages might have been arrested by a short period of relaxation.

That, since in accordance with the designs of the Legislature the general valuation and survey of Ireland has approached the form of annual revisions of the valuations already completed, the services of some of those who have devoted the prime of their lives to its duties must necessarily be dispensed with; and it will be seen that from the nature of the work which they have been instrumental in completing, superseding as it does the necessity for private surveys and valuations in this country, further prospects of professional employments are destroyed; they are precluded also from the resources of commerce or agriculture by their previous pursuits and want of means; and, being at an age beyond that contemplated by the present regulations for other civil employments, the consideration is respectfully submitted as to the fate awaiting your petitioners, for whom the law secures no provision, no retiring pension.

That your petitioners have already addressed the Commissioner of Valuation on the subject of this petition, from whom they have learned by letter that, owing to the present state of the law in regard to the valuation service, legislative interference is indispensable to improve their anomalous condition.

May it therefore please your Honourable House to take the foregoing circumstances into favourable consideration, with a view to amend the Act 15 and 16 Vict., c. 63, so as to introduce such legislative measures as may appear necessary to remove the peculiar and pressing grievances of their present position, and to place them on a similar footing with other departments of the Civil Service.

And your petitioners will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of petitioners,

John Boyan.

William Jones.

Robert M'Mieken.

Henry Hutchings, *Hony. Secy.*

31st March, 1856.

NOTE.—The above claims of the petitioners to Government consideration are based on service in the general valuation exclusively; but it is right to observe, that the Commissioner of Valuation (Mr. Griffith) being also Chief Boundary Surveyor, and that the Superintendent of Valuation (Mr. Greene) being also Assistant Boundary Surveyor, under whose directions not only the work of the valuation service, but that also of the Boundary Survey and the Towns Improvement are carried out, the claims of the valuation employes, rest consequently, not alone on the valuation service, but also on those other branches of the public service on which they are at present alternately employed, as occasion requires, and to which many of them, now advanced in years, have devoted the early and best part of their lives.

Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of Civil Service Superannuation, 8th April, 1856, the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the chair. Members present—the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Stanley, Mr. Roebuck, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Francis Baring, Sir Henry Willoughby, Mr. Ausman Ricardo, Mr. Rich, Mr. Macartney, Mr. Fitzgerald, Viscount Monck.

Mr. Henry Hutchings, called in; and examined.

2222.—Chairman.—Are you employed in the valuation office at Dublin?—I am.

2223. In what capacity are you employed?—Divisional Superintendent.

2224. Are you an officer in the office, or are you employed in making valuations?—I am employed in the office.

2225. How long have you been employed in the office?—Sixteen years.

2226. The operations which the office superintends are the valuation of the counties of Ireland, are they not, under the general valuation act?—Yes.

2227. How are the salaries of the clerks in the department paid?—They are paid by the month for daily work.

2228. From what fund are they paid?—In the first instance from the consolidated fund; eventually the amount is levied off the counties.

2229. Then they are not paid from the consolidated fund?—No.

2230. They are not considered as in the service of the crown?—No.

2231. Is the office permanent, or is it a temporary office?—The duties of the office are continuous.

2232. That is to say there is no interruption?—Yes; the duties of revision render the work incessant.

2233. The valuation is of itself necessarily a temporary operation, is it not?—Our tenure of service only is temporary.

2234. Is any arrangement made with respect to your superannuation when any of you retire?—None whatever.

2235. What is the practice when any clerk retires? Have any retirements taken place since the office has been in existence?—None whatever. The word retirement is scarcely applicable to us; many have been discontinued; many have died. There is no compensation.

2236. Have any resignations of clerks taken place since the office has been in existence; have any clerks given up their office?—Yes, many have left the service to work for private companies, such as railway, insurance, and banking companies.

2237. Have they in any cases received any gratuity or any pension from the Government?—None whatever.

2238. Or from the counties?—None, excepting lately; in some extreme cases the Commissioner allows a month's pay. That is an occurrence within a year or so.

2239. Is there any application which the members of your department wish to make with respect to the superannuation allowances?—Yes, they are exceedingly anxious to be brought under the superannuation allowance of the Crown.

2240. Do they know what the terms of the present Superannuation Act are?—I think they do, as published in the late Superannuation Bill.

2241. Do they know that their salaries will be liable to a deduction in order to entitle them to a pension?—They are aware of that.

2242. And nevertheless they wish to be brought under the Act?—They wish to be brought under the Act, owing to the insecurity which they at present feel; whatever is legislated for the civil servants generally is acceptable to them. If they are unwell for a day or two their salary is stopped. They are allowed no holidays like the other

civil servants ; all their grievances arise from their pay being daily ; that pay is exceedingly low, and not at all equivalent to the circumstances of a temporary service, so that in cases of sickness or death, subscriptions to relieve the families or widows are customary among them.

2243. In fact, they wish to be put upon the footing of a Government department ?—Precisely so.

2244. Mr. Fitzgerald.—You stated that the duties of your office were temporary ; is there not a provision that the valuation of Ireland should be revised from time to time ?—I did not say that the duties were temporary, but that the service of the individuals was temporary, or from day to day.

2245. You meant to say that the employment of each particular clerk might be temporary, but that the duties of the office are of a permanent character ?—Precisely so.

2246. Under the Valuation Act it is requisite, is it not, that the valuation of Ireland should be at stated periods ?—Yes, annually.

2247. Consequently it will be requisite, to have a permanent staff in the Valuation office, in order to continue that annual revision of the valuation of Ireland ?—Precisely so.

2248. Therefore, in that respect, it is distinctly a permanent office ?—Yes ; in that respect it is necessarily a permanent office.

2249. Are you aware also that although the counties pay for the valuation, yet, at the same time, the valuation of Ireland is made use of, not only for county, but for Government purposes ?—I am ; the Parliamentary franchises and income-tax are regulated by it.

2250. When did you enter the Valuation office ?—I entered 17 years ago. I count only 16 years, having been absent a short time.

2251.—You have been 17 years employed in this office, and it will be requisite permanently to continue this office, in order to have an annual revision of the valuation of Ireland ?—It will.

2252. Are there many other gentlemen in the office who are in your situation ?—There are four other divisional superintendents.

3253. What staff do you contemplate it will be requisite to keep in order to carry out this annual revision of the valuation of Ireland, as required by the Act of Parliament ?—From 90 to 100.

2254. That is including clerks, surveyors, valuers, and all the various officers of the service required ?—Yes.

2255. It would be requisite to have a permanent staff of from 90 to 100 people, with a view to the annual revision required by the Act of Parliament ?—It would.

2256. When was the first valuation of Ireland commenced ?—I think 28 years ago.

2257. Are you the gentlemen that has been the longest in the office ?—No ; I have not been the longest in the office.

2258.—Who has been the longest in the office ?—Mr. Haskett and Mr. Warwick have each been 26 years in the employment, and are the longest, I believe, in the service ; there are about a dozen who have served from 22 to 20 years ; the remainder vary from 19 to 10 to 8.

3259. There are two officers who have been already 26 years employed in this duty ; and if their health and life last they are just those gentlemen who would be continued on the permanent staff of the department ?—Yes.

2260. Sir S. Northcote.—Amongst those who you say have retired, have any retired after a long period of service?—I cannot at the moment say.

2261. Have any retired who have served 10 years?—Yes, many have left the service.

2262. Or 20 years?—I cannot say with regard to 20 years; but many have left after 11 years' service. Within a month or so, three have been discontinued after 11 years' service, and they have received no compensation.

2263. Mr. Fitzgerald.—The duties of your office are quite incompatible with anything like private practice, are they not?—Yes, they destroy all private practice.

2264. And the scale of remuneration which you now receive is below that which you would receive if you were in private practice?—Very much.

2265. Sir S. Northcote.—Can you mention any particular case of a person serving 10 or 11 years and retiring?—I can remember the particular case of a surveyor with a very large family; after 11 years' service he had only reached 6*s.* a day.

2266. Why did he leave the office?—He was discontinued on account of the reduction of the office which occurred last month. Within a very short time there will be a another reduction of about forty, or more.

2267. Have there been many cases of men retiring from old age, being worn out?—I cannot remember at the moment any who have been worn out from old age: I am sure that such cases have occurred, but I would repeat that the word "retirement" is scarcely applicable to our case.

2268. Mr. Fitzgerald.—Mr Griffith is at the head of your office, is he not?—Yes.

2269. His appointment is made by the Government, is it not?—Yes.

2270. Does he nominate or appoint the various persons in the department, or are any of the officers named by the Government?—Mr. Griffith appoints, the Lord Lieutenant may direct.

2271. Viscount Monck.—Are you quite sure whether Mr. Griffith was appointed by the Government or by Act of Parliament?—I think he was appointed under the act. He holds at will and pleasure, I think. The Lord Lieutenant can remove him at any time.

2272. Mr. Fitzgerald.—Are any of the officers in the department appointed by the Lord Lieutenant?—None at present.

2273. Viscount Monck.—Are there any officers, properly so called, in the department?—In the Valuation department none, except the Commissioner.

2274. Are they not all employed temporarily by Mr. Griffith?—Yes.

2275. And are they not, at the time of their employment, warned that they are not to expect any superannuation?—No, they are not. We have all looked forward to the establishment in the office of a recognized staff, as foreshown in the evidence given by R. Griffith, Esq., E. Senior, Esq., E. Gulson, Esq., Hon. C. S. Clements, and Hon Sir G. C. Lewis, before the Select Committee of Inquiry into

the Townland Valuation of Ireland, July, 1844, and contained in answer to Questions 262, 1034, 1036, 1604, 1629, 1741, 1743; and we conceive the present time most suited for the establishment of the office in the form which these gentlemen foresaw would be necessary.

2276. Mr. Macartney.—Do you know of any officers in Ireland who, when they are placed in office, were informed that they would not receive any remuneration by pension, but who have since been pensioned?—I believe the civil assistants in the Ordnance Survey have been pensioned.

2277. Has any other case occurred lately?—I do not remember any other case.

2278. You have not heard of the case of the supernumeraries who were put off the Poor Law?—Yes; I had forgotten that. They have been pensioned or compensated. The Ordnance Survey was made only a preparatory step to the General Valuation, and those employed on it have obtained pensions from the Government.

2279.—Mr. Fitzgerald.—Do you know whether the Ordnance Survey was made at the expense of the Government or at the expense of the counties?—I think at the expense of the counties. We are anxious to impress a consideration of the facts, that our duties have an extensive sphere, the whole of Ireland; that they are for the most part laborious, descending to the consideration of every tenement; that they are of growing importance, likely to serve as the basis of all taxation; a first consideration in time of war; a foremost requirement in the progress of civilization and peace; that a recognised Government organization of the staff of the General Valuation and Survey of Ireland would be highly economic, and would be found to redound to the wisdom of the Legislature.

The above evidence furnishes irrefragable proof, if proof were wanted, of the truth of our statement, and the supine and guilty negligence of the Legislature in ignoring the claims of the valuation service. Mr. Hutchings' examination affords us tangible and undeniable evidence of the existence of this body during the lengthened period of 29 years, acting independently of, and apart from, any other branch of the public service, see questions 2256 and 2257 to 2279, also note under 2279. It might be supposed from questions 2276 to 2278, that the employés in this department should necessarily point out a precedent on which to base their claims, but irrespective of any precedent, these gentlemen demand to be legislated for on the broad basis of their own merit, and the benefits their services have conferred upon the state; and they do not shrink from comparison with any portion of the Civil Service as regards efficiency, utility, or mental labor.

* It has been since ascertained, that the Ordnance Survey was made at the expense of the Government; and it may here be observed, that the title "Valuation and Survey of Ireland" should not associate the General Valuation with the Ordnance Department, which is a distinct service, with which the Valuation has never been connected.

The annual revision—as directed by Act 15 & 16 Vic., cap. 63, sec. 29, requires a permanency of office—and consequently a permanent staff of officers is requisite to carry out the designs of the legislature in a fair and useful spirit, (see questions 2231 to 2234). Who could be better qualified to watch the tide of conflict and change created by time and other causes, than the man at the age of 40 in the full maturity of his health and intellect who started on his tour of inquiry at 20, and treading the same beaten track every subsequent year, acquires a practical knowledge and experience, of which the mere tyro and “chance hireling” must be totally deficient.

The evidence here adduced, clearly shows the absolute necessity of our opinion being acted upon, and we appeal to the common sense of the public, and to that love of fair play which every Englishman claims as the characteristic of his country, whether a man devoting all his mental and physical energies to a government service, does not deserve a meet reward both in security of office and adequate remuneration.

Regarding the continuous service and permanence of the officers, we have ample testimony in the return moved for by Edward Grogan, Esq., M.P., for the City of Dublin for the last session of Parliament, furnished to the house by the Commissioner of Valuation, and which is given in the appendix to the pamphlet; but we regret our space does not allow us to insert it. The same is however proved by Mr. Hutchings’ evidence, questions 2250, 2257, and 2258.

This gentleman’s examination let us also into a secret; it is conclusive from the questions propounded by the select committee, that they were totally ignorant of the false position in which the valuation service is placed; and this surprises us not a little, when we reflect on the vast importance and utility of the work performed, its systematic and effective administration, not alone where the national finances are concerned—but also on account of the innumerable public and private interests dependant on it, and the long period of time requisite to render it thus invaluable. When all these matters are considered is it not, we must say, surprising, that the select Committee should have been ignorant that such an abuse should exist in this age of progression and enlightenment.

We cannot wonder at the hesitation or evasion with which the question relative to the officers is met; no man likes willingly to make a humiliating admission, to acknowledge that he is not a *recognized officer*, for it would appear that "there are no officers properly so called" engaged on the valuation.

This exhibits a singularity in the constitution of the service quite at variance with the arrangements in almost all other public departments. There is in fact scarcely another branch of the Civil Service of equal standing and usefulness, in which, if the question were asked (2273), are there any *officers* in your establishment? that it could not be answered in the affirmative.

The dismissal summarily of officers after a lengthened period of service, who had discharged their duties satisfactorily and who had committed no offence against established rules, is another startling fact brought to light by questions, 2261 and 2262. Retirement forsooth, it is *retirement* with a vengeance! This grievance demands redress more imperatively than any other, as it appeals to the head and heart of any man possessing either the power of mind or the feelings of our common nature; it is so glaring a wrong that we can scarcely treat it calmly; so grossly does it violate all principles of justice, that we would fain ignore that portion of the evidence were it possible to do so. This one fact alone would be sufficient to demand immediate governmental inquiry. Neither as may be seen by question 2275, did any of those gentlemen enter the service with a preconceived notion that the office was not permanent, or that their services were to have a fair and equitable reward.

When referring to the evidence of Mr. Griffith, E. Senior, Esq., (Assistant Poor Law Commissioner), E. Gulson, Esq., Hon. C. S. Clements and Sir George Cornwall Lewis, at so distant a period as 1844, we perceive that these gentlemen were so impressed with the requirements of the country for an office rendering such important advantages to the state, that they gave their evidence in a spirit that called for legislation; and this acknowledgment of public service led the employes naturally to hope that when rendering the office permanent their labors would not be overlooked, but on the contrary that security and superannuation would reward the toil and assiduity with which they worked; and

as "the labourer is worthy of his hire," they vainly expected to receive at least fair and equitable treatment from the masters they served so well. - But with a fatuity which was cruel as well as unjust, the act was passed rendering the office permanent while it made no provision whatever for those employed, whose low rates of pay as borne out by the testimony of the public press, also by Mr. Hutchings' evidence (questions 2242, 2263, 2264,) and by ourselves in a former number, are almost fabulous when contrasted with the sinecures enjoyed in the various "*circumlocution offices*" favored by governmental patronage.

Facts and figures are to our mind the most patent evidence of right and wrong, justice or injustice, being at all times the undeniable proof of matters at issue. We therefore insert the following table, which will prove to any unprejudiced mind, that the scale of pay according to the "*Civil Service Gazette*," "is in practice preposterous—not a jot above bearable."

"Comparative Statement of the average yearly salaries of officers under-named, in the Civil Service Departments in Ireland, and of the maximum yearly salaries of those in the Valuation Service :

Public Departments in	Amount of Yearly Salaries of										
	Junior Clerks.	2nd Class Clerks.	1st Class Clerks.	Drafts- men.	Account- ant's Assistant.	Chief Clerk.	Account- ant.	Surv- eyors.	Superin- tendent	Valu- ators.	General Superin- tendent
Civil Ser- vice in Ireland.	£ 91	£ 173	£ 249	£ 296	£ 350	£ 360	£ 492	£ 321	£ 390	£ 429	£ 775
Valuation Service.	47	63	94	94	94	156	260	113	141	261	313

There are no officers connected with the Civil Service in Ireland that can be classed under the headings of the last four columns of the above table; the salaries quoted are, however, for duties which may be considered analogous: thus, the average salary of the heads of offices in the Civil Service is compared with the salary of the General Superintendent of Valuation."

Were we not in possession of the above statement, the truth of which is unquestionable, we would be inclined to doubt the possibility of gentlemen, possessing the capabilities requisite to carry out this great national work in all its varied detail, toiling so patiently and enduringly for such

inadequate daily hire ; and we award a high meed of praise to men who, under such extreme pressure, have performed their duties well and diligently.

From the note appended to the following table, it is apparent that the sickness of heart consequent on these great privations, has had a sad and telling effect on the minds and health of the employés, whose deaths had been prematurely hastened by overtaxed mental exertion, without even the very slightest alleviation :—

"ABSTRACT of PARLIAMENTARY RETURN moved for by Edward Grogan, Esq., Member for Dublin, and furnished to the House by the Commissioner of Valuation, 31st April, 1866, printed in the Report of the Select Committee on Superannuation, (App. No. 4, pages 370 and 371.)—also of the ages of the employees of the Valuation Service, from a Return laid before the Civil Service Committee, by George Measuring, Esq., Member for Antrim, and supplied by the Valuation Petition Committee, 29th March, 1866—

SHOWING the number of officers employed in the several Departments of the Service of the General Valuation of Ireland, and the total amounts of their salaries by the year, classified in four different periods of service,—and also showing the number in each department, classified according to their ages, in four periods.

Departments of the Service in which the different officers are engaged.	Classification according to lengths of Service.										Total.		Classification according to Ages.				
	5 and under 10 Years Service.			10 & under 15 Years Service.			15 & under 20 Years Service.			20 Years Ser- vice & upwards							
	No. of Officers	Total Amount of Yearly Salaries.	No. of Officers	Total Amount of Yearly Salaries.	No. of Officers	Total Amount of Yearly Salaries.	No. of Officers	Total Amount of Yearly Salaries.	No. of Officers	Total Amount of Yearly Salaries.	No. of Persons	Amount of Yearly Salaries.	From 20 to 30 Years.	From 30 to 40 Years.	From 40 to 50 Years.	Above 50 Years.	
Accountant, . . .	—	£ —	—	£ —	—	£ —	—	£ —	1	£ 260	1	£ 260	—	—	—	1	
Revising Valuers,	1	313	2	626	1	313	2	626	2	626	6	1,878	—	1	5	8	
Valuers, . . .	9	1,395	4	527	5	996	5	996	5	996	23	3,914	1	7	—	—	
Chief Clerk, . . .	1	156	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	156	—	—	—	—	
Superintendents, . .	1	110	—	—	3	141	1	141	1	141	5	674	—	4	—	1	
Revising Surveyors,	1	156	1	156	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	312	1	1	—	—	
Surveyors, . . .	17	1,596	10	962	—	78	1	78	1	78	28	2,636	6	15	3	4	
Draftsmen, . . .	6	462	3	260	4	108	1	108	1	108	14	1,196	2	5	6	1	
Clerks, . . .	22	1,573	8	673	2	94	1	94	1	94	33	2,543	9	14	7	3	
Total, . . .	58	5,761	28	3,194	15	2,311	12	2,303	12	2,303	113	13,569	19	7	24	23	

"From the above abstract the position of the service is apparent, in relation to its claims to superannuation; and it is worthy of remark, with reference to the want of retiring pensions, that the injurious effects of the dread of poverty on the minds and health of employés, as testified by Sir C. E. Trevelyan and R. M. Bromley, Esq., are fully borne out in the Valuation Service by the facts that from time to time several persons have suffered from mental disease in the service; the list of mortality, too, during the last six years amounts to thirty one. Consequent on the deaths above mentioned, there were subscriptions in the office for some of the widows and families left destitute. The total sum contributed on these occasions amounted to about £300. Of these, fifteen persons have died of consumption, some having dragged out a miserable existence at their desks until the day before death. Five have died suddenly from disease of the heart. Fever, dysentery, and bronchitis have disposed of the rest, except one who was drowned. It is certain that many of these deaths were rendered prematurely fatal by the necessity which impelled the sufferers to attend their office, for the regulations of the service do not admit of the relaxation so indispensable to recovery without forfeiture of pay, at a time when there is an increased demand not only for the necessities of life, but also for proper medical treatment."

It will be observed from the above table that the total sum of the salaries of the valuation staff would be so low an item in the national expenditure as £13,569, which is scarcely one-fifth of the surplus revenue, added to the consolidated fund, within the last year, by the circumstance of the Government being able to avail themselves of this valuation for the levy of the property Income Tax, to the exclusion of the former Poor Law Valuation, which was nearly twenty per cent. lower.

If to this sum, £13,569, we add eighteen per cent.,* the result is £15,830; which would maintain, superannuate, and pension the entire staff of this establishment.

Why, therefore, let us ask, should not the debt which the state obviously owes to these gentlemen be paid without hesitation. Other collateral offices, and some of more recent construction and appointment are now recognised permanent services; and of the justice of the claims of the valuation officers, the foregoing evidence leaves no manner of doubt.

After enumerating the many advantages derived from this department of the Civil Service, which render it of such incalculable value to the state, and expatiating on the more than injustice with which the claims of its employés have been disregarded, we turn to another phase of Governmental

* Sir C. E. Trevelyan's before Select Committee, Query 356.

policy where no parsimony is observable, and we see that the Treasury opens its golden stores to defray the expenses of improving royal palaces, beautifying royal pleasure-grounds, and on the ephemeral objects of mere taste and luxury, only meant to gratify the senses; no less a sum than £311,365 has been expended for such objects; nearly as much as the whole Valuation has cost, during the many years of its useful existence.

Thus, in these halcyon days of intellectual progression, when mind has acquired a just superiority over matter, and the twin-sisters, literature and science, hand in hand, contest the palm of victory with the highest military prowess, and pluck the laurel from the victor's brow, to enwreath the moral hero of peace and progress—even in these days such contrasts present themselves.

Is this an age, we ask, when permanent services are to be thus overlooked, when men of high mental culture, practical ability and hard-working perseverance in the public service, are to be condemned to a life of toil, and an old age of penury, whilst the comparatively small sum of £2,300 a-year would secure them compensation. Again we are forced to demand the meaning of this? Why should this department, after all we have adduced, and can adduce in its favor, be so unfairly treated? Why is it not, *at least* on an equal footing with other branches of the Civil Service, enjoying government patronage, although they have not conferred greater benefits? This is a right which we imperatively claim for these gentlemen; and it is also a matter of expediency, as the following extracts will fully prove.

The following extracts from the evidence of Sir C. E. Trevelyan, K.C.B., R. M. Bromley, Esq., C.B., Right Hon. Sir James Robert George, Bart., Wm. Farr, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., F. J. Hamel, Esq., and Right Hon. Wm. Goodenough Hayter, M.P., before the Select Committee on Civil Service Superannuation, March, 1856, are adduced as illustrative of the following principles:—

First—That the Superannuation sought by the Employés of the Service of the General Survey and Valuation of Ireland, is
 A National and Public principle.
 Of Public and National benefit.
 Essential to Organization and the maintenance of a proper spirit in the Civil Service.
 Necessary to all Civil Establishments.

Length of Service, entitles to Superannuation.

Loss of Office entitles to Superannuation.

Secondly—That the rates of Pay of the Employés of the General Valuation Service are inadequate to maintain them, and at the same time afford the means of making provision for incapacity or retirement.

There is no distinction in principle between Salary and Pension. Where there is no Pension there should be an increased rate of pay.

In the Valuation Service the Pay is less than that in services in which the Pay has been reduced in lieu of provision for Superannuation.

The inadequacy of Pay in the Valuation Service—apparent from the fact of the Salaries being lower than in the Civil Service Establishments, in which latter they are even lower than in private Commercial Houses.

Thirdly—That though the General Valuation of Ireland is an independent and complete Service, of equal, if not superior importance to some of the Civil Service Departments, yet the Employés are in a position inferior to extra Clerks in non-professional Departments, from the circumstance that extra Clerks can be Superannuated by a Treasury Minute.

Fourthly—That the redundant system extended to some Departments, and recommended as beneficial to the Public Service, is not available to the General Valuation Service.

Fifthly—That the time is now come when the Valuation Service may be placed on a permanent footing.

No. I.

That the Superannuation sought by the Employés of the service of the General Survey and Valuation of Ireland is a National and Public Principle.

1030. I beg to call the attention of the Committee to the remarks of Mr. Charles Grant (now Lord Glenelg):—"The principle for which I contend is, that persons who have served the public well shall not be deserted by the public, in need, sickness, or old age. This principle, I say, has ever been recognised by this house, and a just, and wise, and generous principle it is. I confess I do not like to hear such language from so respectable a Committee, as that money spent in support of this principle is a loss to the public. No, it is no loss to the public. The diligent servants of the public pay a large and usurious interest for what they receive from the public in loss of health, in premature decay, and sometimes even death. We admit the principle in military services, and reward is cheerfully paid in such cases; but are not civil servants equally entitled to reward? Military services are open and attended with that fame and splendour which of themselves constitute reward, while civil services, not less valuable, are performed in obscurity; the effects of them are visible, but few know or investigate the cause. I say, therefore, that money laid out upon the support of diligent civil servants is no loss to the public."

Of Public and National Benefit.

532. I do not say that no distinction has been made, but that it is so inevitably necessary for the public weal that pensions should be granted to worn-out public servants, that hereafter, when the offices which now do not pay deductions, come to claim superannuation, when the seniors in those offices grow old, it will be absolutely necessary to give them pensions whether they have contributed to the fund or not; and in proof of that, I will read a remarkable passage in Dr. Gray's evidence in reference to the British Museum, which is one of the Establishments which are not under the Schedule of the Superannuation Act. Particular attention has been called to it in the Report of the Commissioners on the British Museum:—Question 8689. There being no retiring pensions, has not the dread of poverty in advanced years an injurious effect on the minds and health of the officers?—I believe it has a very injurious effect on the minds and health of the officers and assistants; that is to say, that they feel always subject to the danger of want. I need only to refer to the fact of the deplorable state of mental disease which has existed among several of the officers of this institution. During the time I have been connected with the institution, six of the officers have left or died under mental disease. Being a medical man myself, and paying a good deal of attention to mental diseases, I can state that this is a proportion which is unknown among literary or scientific men in general. It is a question of a very serious nature. There have been more who have died or left under such a malady than have died from other causes during the period of my service."

259. Men now go to their work harassed with cares for the future state of their families; they are not able to attend to their business in the way they ought to attend to it. There are numerous cases where individuals upon their death-bed have been in an unhappy state of mind, knowing that their families are left in the most abject distress, that there is nothing even to support them; and their friends have been obliged to go round to the public offices to raise sums of money to bury them.

467. Has your attention been called to the subject of age in connexion with superannuation?—It is not for the advantage of the public that the servant should be irretrievably tied to the service; that he should have no prospect of cessation from labour when his energies begin to fail. It acts as a great discouragement, especially during the latter years of his service. It is better for the public that when the activity and energy of a servant begin to fail, he should be allowed to go, and that a younger and more active man should succeed him. The first year of a person's service, even supposing him to have been appointed in mature age, are the least valuable. Even in the case of professional officers, a few years are requisite to enable them to familiarize themselves with the special requirements of the office.

2964. Leaving out of consideration the question of deductions, do you not think that it is a sound policy for the Government to promise superannuation pensions with a view of promoting the efficiency of the public service?—I have the strongest opinion that whether

there were any deduction made or not, and whether there were any specific contract made by the State or not, cases of such extraordinary hardship would present themselves on the part of faithful servants worn out in the public service, that the claim for pension upon retirement would be irresistible.

9965. Is it not advantageous to the public service that persons who are unfit for the performance of their duties should be enabled to retire upon adequate pensions, so as to make way for persons younger than themselves, who would receive an advance of salary and perform the active duties?—I think so strongly that that is the case, that I should very much regret if the Treasury were extremely rigorous in exacting the very utmost length of service that the bodily frame could endure, and I do not think that they do so administer the law. If the head of a department represents that a faithful servant is wearing out rapidly, though his length of service shall not be the full measure, or his age not very much advanced, yet if his conduct has been most meritorious, when that is represented to the Treasury, the case is dealt with as it ought to be, with kind consideration; the good of the public service is promoted by releasing that gentleman from a service for which he is no longer fit, and my impression is, that the operation of the Act is in that direction, that there is indulgent consideration for the civil servant on the one hand, and due consideration for the efficiency of the public service on the other hand. I am quite sure that such is the spirit in which the power ought to be exercised by the Treasury, and I really believe that with varying Boards of Treasury that has been the principle which has guided their conduct.

1572. But experience has shown that there are great advantages attending the present mode of remunerating public servants, partly by salaries, and partly by superannuation.

1573. What are those advantages?—They are such as have led almost all the nations in Europe to adopt the system of paying partly by superannuation allowances. In the first place, it is a guarantee of fidelity; in the second place, it encourages efficient service; in the third place, it retains good men in the service; in the fourth place, it induces men to retire when they become old or inefficient from any cause; and in the fifth place, it prevents old public servants from falling into a state of disgraceful dependence, or of distressing destitution, which would be a public scandal, and might deter young men from becoming candidates for Office. These advantages appear to me to be so great that I should very much regret to see the system of superannuation abolished.

Essential to organization, and the maintenance of a proper spirit in the Civil Service.

109. Then your view seems to be, that the Government acted according to the letter of law, but the equity of the case was against them.—I conceive that there has been no breach of faith in reference to the abatements, but that the arrangement is in its nature inequitable, and that it belongs to that class of bad laws which are contrary to the natural sense of justice of mankind. In criminal jurisprudence the effect of such laws is, that juries will not convict upon

them. In civil administration the effect is, that they obstruct and baffle all our endeavours for the improvement of the Civil Service. However much we may endeavour to improve first appointments, to establish the principle of promotion according to qualification and merit, to consolidate cognate establishments, to make a proper division of labour, or to fix responsibility, this question of abatements continually meets us by raising discontent. Organization is a very important thing, but the maintenance of a proper feeling and spirit on the part of the public servants is a still more important consideration. Rules and system are a poor security compared with that habitual sense of duty which induces a public servant, under all circumstances, to do the best he can for the public as a faithful steward of his time and opportunities; and that sense of duty cannot be practically arrived at without the sentiment and feeling that the servants are equitably and generously dealt with.

Necessary to all Civil Establishments.

341. I consider that it is indispensable that pensions must be granted; there can be no efficient state of a department and no good service without pensions; I consider that pensions must be granted for the interest of the State.

181. Have you had many applications to be placed upon the Superannuation Act?—We have had some applications, especially from offices which feel doubtful about their tenure, and which are considered officially to be of a temporary character; the getting upon the Superannuation Act is held to give them a permanency.

484. Much inconvenience has been caused by the limitation of the superannuation system to the offices on the schedule of the Act, and to those which may be placed by the Treasury upon it?—The grant of a suitable rate of pension on retirement is an indispensable condition of efficient service; and whatever plan may be resolved upon, it should be understood that all the Civil establishments will come under it which are not expressly provided for by some other Act of Parliament.

215. Do you mean to affirm more than that the same principle of superannuation, so far as it can be applied, should be applied to all the civil servants?—Where the same principles are applicable, they should be applied to all. I conceive that this general principle is as applicable to all, that a suitable remuneration is provided by the State for its servants; to some it is more and to some it is less; in some cases it is adjusted in one way and in some in another; for instance, it differs in the case of diplomatic officers; but this principle applies to all, that it is the due reward of their service.

370. What have these recommendations to do with superannuation?—I consider that in dealing with the general question of superannuation, it is essentially necessary that it should be dealt with as a whole, in all its parts.

244. In short, you would have a system of universal superannuation fund, or else no pensions?—I would have either a system of universal superannuation fund, or system of universal free pension, granted by the State; and of the two, I very much prefer the latter.

Length of Service entitles to Superannuation.

317. I understand you to say, that in revising the salaries in all these offices, you did not take into consideration whether deductions were paid or not; but is not it the fact, that where the deduction is paid, the public servant has a superannuation allowance, and where the deduction is not paid he has not a retired allowance?—Practically, it is found that whether the deduction is paid or not, it is necessary at last to give a superannuation when the servant becomes old, and the efficiency of the department requires that he should retire. It is absolutely necessary to give those pensions, and the public also cannot allow good and faithful servants, who have worn themselves out in their service, to starve; consequently pensions must, at any rate, be given.

318. Is that the Treasury practice?—Yes.

319. Under what authority?—When such cases have taken place, they have always been laid before Parliament.

320. There may be extreme cases where it is done, and in those cases the allowances are voted by Parliament?—Yes.

Loss of Office entitles to Superannuation.

90. You say that in case of the office being abolished, it seems just that the Government alone should pay; do not you think that the justice of the case would be met if the public were to pay to the individual rather a higher rate of retirement in consideration of the disappointment of his hope of further rising?—I think, whatever may be the fair compensation to an officer whose office is abolished, the Government should pay it entirely; because, when an office is abolished, the officer's plan of life and hopes of benefiting himself are destroyed, solely for the benefit of the public.

337.—Are you aware whether there has been any Minute of the Treasury granting retiring pensions to those gentlemen who have been so dismissed under the Acts, and who had not contributed in any way to the Superannuation Fund?—Several officers of the Poor Law Establishment in Ireland, both inspectors and clerks, have received compensation allowances on abolition of office.

338. Do you remember what number of officers were dismissed by virtue of that Act of Parliament?—A considerable number, including several inspectors, an assistant secretary, and a first-class clerk.

339. A Bill is now before the House for the purpose of abolishing the office of secretary to the Poor Law Board in Ireland? I understand there is such a Bill.

340. And of course, acting under the same rule, that officer will look for a retiring pension, and it will be granted under a Minute of the Treasury?—I have no doubt of it.

341. Do you remember the date of that Minute of the Treasury which fixed the retirements of those officers who retired under that Bill?—I do not remember the date. I consider that it is indispensable that pensions must be granted; there can be no efficient state of a department and no good service without pensions; I consider that pensions must be granted for the interest of the State.

342. The case to which you have just referred of the Poor Law officers in Ireland was upon the abolition of the officers?—It was upon the abolition of the officers; but pensions upon the abolition of offices are upon the same principle as ordinary retirements.

343. Why are they upon the same principle?—The servant prematurely comes to the term of his service; it is a hard case.

344. Is it a harder case; is not the man in that case dismissed in the full possession of his faculties?—In some respects it is a harder case than that of an ordinary voluntary retirement; he is dismissed suddenly, and it is a great disturbance of his plans in life; it is generally in mid career.

145. Being in mid career, is not he in a more favourable position to engage in something else?—In that respect it is more favourable; but, on the whole, it is worse to a man to have his service broken off in the midst, and to have to provide himself without having had the usual opportunities of forming business connections, than for his service to come to its natural termination.

717. There can be no doubt that as far as applications for appointments are concerned, there will always be applications of some kind or other; but will there be applications from the class of persons whom it is thought desirable to bring into the public service?—That is the point at issue, unless you hold out sufficient prizes for them to succeed to.

No. II.

That the rates of pay of the Employés of the General Valuation Service are inadequate to maintain them, and at the same time afford the means of making provisions for incapacity or retirement. No distinction in principle between Salary and Pension.

190. Therefore you see no objection, when the public service requires it, to making alterations in the bargain upon which they entered the service?—No; I know that the opinion is likely to be very unpopular, but my opinion is, that there is no distinction in principle between salary and pension; and as salaries are liable to be altered for the public good, so in my opinion are pensions liable to be altered, but always with a just regard to the general principles of equity, and an indulgent and generous consideration for the interests and feelings of public servants.

1572. But experience has shown that there are great advantages attending the present mode of remunerating public servants, partly by salaries, and partly by superannuation.

1573. What are those advantages?—They are such as have led almost all the nations in Europe to adopt the system of paying partly by superannuation allowances.

Where there is no pension there should be an increased rate of pay.

1571. Do you not think that the general system of granting superannuation allowances to the civil servants tends very much to the efficiency of the civil service?—Very much.

1572. If salaries alone were paid, the salaries may be raised 27 per cent.. without increasing the ultimate charge on the nation.

Under this arrangement a salary of £100 would be raised to £127, of £500 to £635, of £1,000 to £1,270; and this would evidently be exceedingly advantageous to the prudent men in the public service. It would, I believe, also be gratifying to some of the gentlemen who are about to enter the service.

In the Valuation Service the pay is less than that in Services in which the pay has been reduced in lieu of provision for Superannuation.

1916. Is it not a mere question of the inadequacy of the salary to the inferior officers?—Yes.

1917. Are you aware that there are large classes of the public servants, the extra clerks, who have petitioned to be placed upon the same footing as the civil servant?—I hold in my hand a memorial sent to me entitled, "The Petition of the several valuers, superintendents, surveyors, draftsmen, and clerks in the service of the General Valuation and Survey of Rateable Property in Ireland." It proceeds from a large body of them. It appears that they begin at £70* a-year, and the prayer of their memorial to the Lord Lieutenant is, "To place them on a similar footing with other departments of the Civil Service, thereby securing to them permanency of employment, and consequent pension in declining years, or for discontinued service." They pray, having only temporary employment, to be placed in the position that the permanent civil servants are complaining of.

The inadequacy of pay in the Valuation Service—apparent from the fact of the salaries being lower than in the Civil Service Establishments, in which latter they are even lower than in Private Commercial Houses.

655. Are you in a position to give the Committee any information as to the relative amount of the salaries now paid at the Bank of England, at the East India House, and at the great railway offices, and great commercial establishments, to the clerks, when they first enter the service?—Yes; I am able to show the Committee, that in many establishments there are what are called apprentices, boys entering at fourteen or fifteen years of age, and they enter at about £30 or £40 a-year, and remain until eighteen or twenty years of age, when they rise to £70, £80, or £90 a-year to commence with.

656. Can you specify the offices at which that takes place?—I can mention the London and North-Western Railway, and the Bank of England.

657. Do you know anything about the East India House?—Yes; the East India House is far more liberal. There they enter at sixteen or seventeen years of age; they commence at £90, and go up by

* This amount seems to have been deduced from the average rate of daily pay of clerks, given in Petition (page 11), calculating for every day in the year; but in the Valuation Service payment is not made for Sundays, and the rate alluded to, being an average after several years' service, does not serve for a data to ascertain the minimum on entrance.

periodical increments of salary to £700 and £800 a-year, with various other advantages, such as assistants, up to £1,000, £1,500, and £2,000 a-year. The examiner of Indian correspondence gets £2,000 a year, and he has an assistant examiner under him at £1,500, and he has his next assistant at £1,200, and the next at £1,000. These are the prizes which a man entering at £90 a-year has a prospect of getting,

658. Can you state also the hours of attendance?—I can state the hours of attendance in the Bank of England; they commence at nine and the business is over at half-past three; the doors are closed at that time, and the books are required to be balanced before the clerks leave; so that the committee may take from six to six hours and a-half as the daily attendance of the gentlemen at the Bank of England.

661. With regard to leave of absence, what is the rule in the Bank of England and other large establishments?—A periodical leave is given, somewhat equivalent to that in the Government service. There is what is commonly called a month's leave of absence, extending, with casual days, to be about five weeks in the year.

667. You say that a clerk gets £60, £80, or £90 at the Bank, at sixteen or seventeen; can you trace his rise?—The rise is very uncertain. "The clerks of the Bank of England are admitted into the service between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five, and the following is the scale of the salaries: at seventeen years of age they receive £50 per annum; eighteen years, £60; nineteen years, 70; twenty years, £80; twenty-one years, £100; those elected under twenty-one are advanced £10 annually till twenty years of age, when they are advanced £20, thus making their salaries at twenty-one years of age £100 per annum; after twenty-one all are advanced £5 each annually, for eight years, and subsequently £8 per annum, till they arrive at the maximum amount of £250 to the ordinary class of clerks, and to £300 as principals of offices."

669. Is it your belief that on comparing the position of the clerks in railway offices, and public commercial establishments of all kinds in London, with the position of the clerks in the service of the Government, it will be found that the former are in a better position than the latter?—Most decidedly. I do not think you can arrive at a comparison without some kind of average. I will take three offices, if you will allow me, to mention the average. But, in addition to that, it will be necessary to bear in mind the prizes that clerks in private houses have in comparison with the clerks in the public service. I will mention the Bank of England. Of 765 persons, the average salary is £244 a year. The average salary at their branches is £337 a-year. At Manchester, the agent for superintending seventy clerks gets £2,000 a-year, with house, coals, and candles. At Birmingham, with only thirteen clerks, he gets £1,700, with house, coals, and candles. At Liverpool, £2000 a-year, with only twenty-seven clerks, with house, coals, and candles; and many others I might mention in the same way.

717. There can be no doubt that, as far as application for appointments are concerned, there will always be applications of some kind or other; but will there be applications from the class of persons

whom it is thought desirable to bring into the public service?—That is the point at issue, unless you hold out sufficient prizes for them to succeed to.

No. III.

That though the General Valuation of Ireland is an independent and complete service, of equal, if not superior importance to some of the Civil Service Departments, yet the employés are in a position inferior to extra clerks in non-professional departments, from the circumstance that extra clerks can be superannuated by a Treasury minute.

534. Under what authority was that done?—An Act of the Treasury.

535. Under what Act of Parliament?—There is no express exclusion of extra clerks in any Superannuation Act; the pension granted to extra clerks by the minute of 1845 was confined to those extra clerks whose services were virtually of a permanent nature, and the proof of it is that the pension was to be granted only to those who had actually been worn out in the public service.

536. There is no exclusion in the present Superannuation Act of extra clerks; but it seems to have been held by the Treasury in 1822 that the extra clerks were a temporary class of public servants, and that it was desirable to dispense with their services, and that no more should be appointed; but as time went on, and our experience increased, it was found that it was impossible to do without them, and they have been gradually developed into a very valuable class of supplementary clerks, who represent a distinct division of labour. They receive a lower rate of salary, and are employed as copyists and registrars, keeping the papers, and making up accounts, and other things of that sort.

537. They are a very valuable class of clerks?—Very valuable.

578. Was not this Treasury minute made in order to meet a case that was not provided for by the Act of 1834?—The real origin of the minute was this: In 1824 the extra clerks were regarded as a mere temporary provisional margin to the different offices; and it was considered desirable to dispense with them as soon as possible, and to give no encouragement whatever to the appointment of additional extra clerks. But in course of time it came to be seen, that instead of being temporary, they were necessarily permanent, and they were a very useful body of officers.

581. Substantially, under certain exceptions, the extra clerks are a distinct class from the other clerks in the Treasury?—Yes; they represent a separate division of labour. They are a very respectable and useful class; in their sphere they are as useful as any at the Treasury.

582. Their sphere being more mechanical and less intellectual?—Yes; the distinction represents, speaking generally, the division between intellectual and mechanical labour. The system has answered so well that it has been extended to a number of other offices, and is growing into general use.

583. Being thus mechanical rather than intellectual, and liable to increase or decrease according to temporary exigencies, they were treated rather as temporary than as permanent clerks?—Yes, they

were at first ; but as our experience increased, we found that that kind of work was better done by persons selected and paid expressly with a view to that description of work, than by employing persons with a much higher salary ; and that we were not merely wasting the public money by giving unnecessarily high salaries for doing that kind of work, but that we were injuring the young men who were to succeed to higher situations in the Treasury by employing them for many years together in a manner unsuited to their education and prospects as clerks, which was not suited to them. That description of work does not afford a suitable training for the higher functions of work to which the gentlemen on the superior establishment are intended to rise.

584. Being therefore in 1834 considered to a certain extent temporary, they did not fall under the purview of the Superannuation Act of William IV ?—Yes, that is the true explanation ; they had been declared by the previous Minute of 1824 to be a temporary class, a class that was to be got rid of, and therefore the Act of 1834 was not applied to them ; but I consider that now they are on quite the same footing in respect to superannuation as any other civil servants, and that they ought to be dealt with in precisely the same manner as all the others.

No. IV.

That the Redundant System extended to other departments, and recommended as beneficial to the public, is not available to the General Valuation Service.

1031. The Customs and the Inland Revenue are the large departments under the Treasury in which these redundant numbers exist. The Inland Revenue is stated to have 206, and the Customs 45. The reason why in the Inland Revenue there happens to be so many redundant officers is obvious. For instance, the reduction of the soap duties at once threw a large class of officers upon the redundant list for a time, and they are from time to time, as vacancies arise, or deaths occur, absorbed.

390. Is there any other cause to which you think the extension of the Pension List is to be particularly ascribed ?—The next cause is the absence of any satisfactory arrangement for making the experience and ability of the members of the different civil establishments available where they are most required ; for instance, the most important functions performed in the executive departments at the Treasury, and for the proper performance of the business of the Treasury we require the most practical experience and the best ability, which all the departments which are acted upon by us, or superintended by us, can furnish ; but our choice (it is no disparagement to the gentlemen of the Treasury), is confined to a small knot of men who happen to have been appointed as youths in the Treasury establishment, and who have no other experience except what the Treasury affords, and some of them, of course, turn out in the usual proportion not first rate ; and I should especially mention the absence of any satisfactory arrangement for transferring the surplus of one establishment to supply the deficiency of others. There are constant fluctuations going

on throughout the great field of the public service calling for continual readjustments and revisions. For instance, just now, owing to the happy change which has taken place in Ireland, there has been a reduction of the Irish establishments, of the Poor Law and Board of Works, and so forth ; and the Imperial Customs establishments in the Colonies have been reduced of late years ; the Convict establishments in New South Wales are also in a rapid progress of reduction ; but there is, practically, no power existing of transferring those surplus officers to the active service of other departments ; the public has to pay both ways ; those who are no longer required are placed on the Retired List, and new or additional duties are provided for by the appointment of new persons on new salaries. This is one of the evil consequences of the purely departmental or fragmentary character of the Civil Service ; the consolidation of offices, and establishment of similar class in the War Department, and the proposed combination of all public establishments under the new Act, will lay a foundation, but only a foundation ; a central authority must be established sufficiently strong to have the whole public service constantly under revision, and to make all the necessary transfers and readjustments. The facility of transferring men to the pension list also occasions many questionable cases of reduction of office which are made under the pressure of personal applications, either from those who retire, or from those who wish to get their places, or both, but which are not followed by any real diminution of establishment ; as fast as one crop is reaped and gathered into the pension list, another takes its place ; a job too often lurks behind such arrangements, and so it will always be while the pension list is open to receive those who are temporarily unemployed, and no real power exists of transferring men from situations where they are not wanted to others where they are wanted ; there must always be reduction of offices, but there ought to be no reduction of men ; unnecessary offices should be abolished, but the holders should be at once re-employed where they will be most useful.

428. Whilst this gentleman who is turned out of office gets three-fourths?—Yes ; I believe that it is always usual to make a distinction between professional persons and ordinary civil servants ; it is considered that to a professional person his profession is his livelihood. It is only by following that continuously through his life, and improving his position, and increasing his connexions, that he succeeds in life ; and when he is altogether withdrawn from the exercise of his profession for many years, and is thrown upon the world, it is reasonable to give him a higher rate of compensation than is given to a person whose qualifications consist entirely of clerly attainments, and who can earn his livelihood with great facility elsewhere.

437. Does that in any way overcome the difficulty?—I think it does ; because, if the scales of salary were similar throughout the service, then, on the occasion of the Department of Inland Revenue, for instance, applying to us for an increase of their establishment in a particular class, instead of sending a new officer, the Treasury might send one of the redundant officers, who would be on the footing of a supernumerary, and would therefore not interfere with the promotion

of the existing officers. The truth is, that the business is continually growing. There is a constant demand made upon the Treasury for an increase of establishments. The officers who are reduced are of all grades, some at the top, some in the middle, some below. There are always some branches of the public service on which there is a pressure; the business outgrows the establishments; and these are the cases in which, if there were a sufficiently powerful superintendence, the surplus strength of one part of the public service might be applied to supply the deficient strength of another part.

No. V.

That the time is now come when the Valuation Service may be placed on a permanent footing.

332. I do not say that no distinction has been made, but that it is so inevitably necessary for the public weal that pensions should be granted to worn-out public servants, that hereafter, when the offices which now do not pay deductions, come to claim superannuation, when the seniors in those offices grow old, it will be absolutely necessary to give them pensions whether they have contributed to the fund or not.

321. In the poor law department are they entitled to superannuation allowances?—The poor law is a comparatively new office; but the time is approaching when it will be necessary to determine whether the superannuation act shall be applied to it.

322. Is it not under the superannuation act at present?—No.

323. Are they in the habit of superannuating their officers?—No; the case has not occurred yet, but it must soon occur. When clerks belonging to the poor law establishment become old and infirm, then the State must take its choice; it must either extend to that department the general benefit of pensions, or it must allow public officers to go on receiving full salaries, and doing their work in an inefficient manner, or else it must turn them off, and consign good and faithful servants to disgraceful poverty.

324. Are the Committee to understand you to say, that without reference to whether the officers in any particular department are under the superannuation act or not, the Treasury generally grants a retired allowance?—The case of the ordinary superannuations of clerks in such offices has not occurred yet. The offices which I am speaking of are new offices.

325. Then it has not been done yet?—It has not yet been done; but the time is fast approaching when some decision must be come to.

331. What is generally the reason that those other departments do not contribute to the superannuation?—They are new departments; when they were first established it was doubtful whether they would be permanent or only temporary; but now they have grown into permanency, and have developed into ordinary departments.

461. Have you had many applications to be placed upon the superannuation act?—We have had some applications, especially from offices which feel doubtful about their tenure, and which are considered officially to be of a temporary character; the getting upon the superannuation act is held to give them a permanence.

484. Much inconvenience has been caused by the limitation of the superannuation system to the offices on the schedule of the act, and to those which may be placed by the Treasury upon it. The grant of a suitable rate of pension on retirement is an indispensable condition of efficient service; and whatever plan may be resolved upon, it should be understood that all the civil establishments will come under it which are not expressly provided for by some other act of parliament.

From the above, the following facts are apparent:—That the principle of conferring pensions and superannuation allowance on tried and trusted public servants is a wise, economic, and judicious policy; that that principle has been gradually developed and acted upon—first, by granting pensions, &c., to the heads of certain offices; secondly, by extending the same to particular departments; and, thirdly, that the principle having been at length found correct in its general application—being “essential to the maintenance of a public spirit in the Civil Service,” and that “there can be no efficient service without pension”—it has been still further extended to the supernumerary and extra clerks in these departments; finally, that the time has arrived when such important and permanent public departments as the General Valuation of Ireland should be officially recognised, by placing them on an equal footing with other departments of the Civil Service.

We cannot, therefore, but hope that the officers of this service will soon have attained their just and well-merited position as Civil servants of the Crown, and that status in the country to which they are so well entitled. Then the hope of rest in life's decline would act as an impetus to strengthen the energies and brighten the intellect of the employé, who would work more diligently and vigorously whilst looking forward to that time when his toil will cease, and the labor of his manhood be requited by an old age of competency and peace.

The State would thus be served by men in the power of their intellect, who would bring to their daily labors all the energy, strength, and vigour of their prime, and devote to the service of that Government they might then regard as paternal, all the powers of their minds and the best feelings of their hearts; for did not the syren, Hope, irradiate their toil with a golden halo; senility with its concomi-

tant imbecility would no more be seen, and the State would be served by able and efficient men.

Would not this, we ask, be a wise and more economical policy than the present? We feel so deeply impressed with the truth and justice of our views on this matter, that we are instinctively impelled to go farther than we first intended, in thus giving expression to our sentiments, whilst we can bring forward more effective evidence from the pamphlet before us, in which the various benefits conferred on the State by the Valuation Service are pointed out. Amongst the many, we cannot refrain from drawing attention to the great facility it has given to Imperial and local taxation in Ireland, which are so equally distributed by means of the relative basis afforded by this valuation, that, instead of being considered, as formerly, as a burden, they are now regarded as fair and reasonable.

Now, after years of labor and expense, when the machine is in proper and efficient working order, attached as an indispensable arm to the Government, for the especial use and benefit of the State, we naturally inquire is it the intention of our rulers to continue to work this all but perfect machine, or fall back on the old exploded and corrupt plan of applotters and local revisors, by whom the relativeness of the valuation would soon be destroyed, and the franchise deranged? But, when we remember the Act 15 and 16 Vic., cap. 63, section 29, the permanency of the machine in its integrity must have been contemplated,—then why not its component parts of durable material?

The employes, while aware that their case is not at their own disposal, but entirely in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, do, so far as they may assume, and with all due deference, demand a fair investigation of their case, while in calm confidence of the justice of their claims, and the magnitude of their grievances, and deprecating delay above all else, are content to abide the result.

In this spirit they have forwarded the memorial, a copy of which we give underneath:—

“To the Right Honourable the Royal Commissioners, appointed to Inquire into the Claims of the Civil Service with respect to Superannuation. The Memorial of the several Valuers, Superintendents, Surveyors, Draftsmen, and Clerks, in the service of the General Survey and Valuation of Ireland, Most Humbly Sheweth—

That your memorialists are engaged under the provisions of Acts 15 and 16, Vict., cap. 63, and 17 Vict., cap. 8, for the uniform Valuation of Lands and Tenements in Ireland.

That many of your memorialist have devoted the best part of their lives, as well as their professional and scientific knowledge, to carrying out the intentions of the legislature, under the guidance of an uniform code of instructions laid down by the Commissioner of Valuation.

That the provision for retirement in declining years, or for discontinued service, recognised as a wise and judicious principle of political economy, and accorded to the officers of other Public Departments, has not yet been extended to your memorialists.

That on the 31st March, 1856, your memorialists addressed to the House of Commons a Petition setting forth their principal grievances, and praying for such legislative measures as would place them on an equal footing with other departments of the civil service.

That a return, called for last session of parliament by Mr. Grogan, of the name, date of appointment, rate of pay on entering the service, and rate of pay and length of service of each of your memorialists up to 1st March, 1856, was then supplied to the House of Commons by the Commissioner of Valuation.

That the petition and the return were ordered by the House to be laid before the select committee on superannuation then sitting, and were by them embodied, together with evidence on the subject, in their report, dated 7th July, 1856, to which your memorialists humbly and earnestly beg to refer you.

That the Acts under which your memorialists are employed are essentially permanent in their operations.—*Vide* the report, appendix, page 361; *ibid*, pages 244 and 245; questions 2231, 2232, 2233, 2245, and 2248.

That other departments of recent construction and appointment, and dependent for the basis of their operations on the results of the labours of your memorialists, already enjoy the advantages sought by memorialists.

That your memorialists, feeling deeply sensible of their insecure position, respectfully submit to your Honourable Commission, on the grounds of the permanence and public utility of their duties, their claim to a share in the paternal solicitude of the Government, in common with the other civil servants of the Crown.

Therefore your memorialists most humbly pray that your Honourable Commission will take the foregoing circumstances into consideration, and recommend such legislative measures as may appear necessary to remove the peculiar and pressing grievances of their present position by placing them on an equal footing with other departments of the civil service.

And your memorialists will ever pray.

(Here follow the Signatures of all the Assistants.)

Dated 27th November, 1856.

We are glad to perceive that this memorial has not only received the sanction of the Commissioner of Valuation, but has also obtained a prominent place in the Report of the

Royal Commissioners, just printed, where they recommend the principle of extending superannuation and pensions to all such services as have developed themselves into permanence.

We regret that our limited space precludes the possibility of our giving more than a few extracts from the opinions of the press, as we consider it almost invidious to omit even one of those valuable testimonials of the truthfulness of our argument.

The Press we have at all times regarded as the best exponent of public opinion, and we hail its advocacy in good faith. Whilst supported by *The Civil Service Gazette* (London), all the journals of our own metropolis—*The Post, Packet, Freeman, Mail, Nation, Daily Express, Saunders, Warder, Advocate*, as also some of the most influential provincial papers, we have no hesitation in saying, that with such advocacy the officers may demand, in a more imperative manner, a full and speedy adjustment of this question, now so long and prominently before the country.

The following are a few of the opinions of the Press. We select at random from the many before us :—

“The case of gentlemen employed in what is called temporary public service is specially deserving of consideration at this moment. It is an important fact that a Select Committee of the House of Commons has clearly and unequivocally pronounced ‘that the practice of providing superannuation pension for members of the permanent civil service is based on sound principles of policy,’ and surely that practice is sound which has the approval of the most enlightened Governments of Europe, which guarantees fidelity, encourages efficient service, retains good men, induces men to retire when they become inefficient from any cause, and prevents old public servants from falling into a state of distressing destitution which would be a public scandal. But what is this permanent civil service? It does not consist of those offices only which were specified in Schedule A of the Superannuation Bill, because this schedule was cancelled and omitted in the last amended bill, and rightly too—for it is manifest that national growth is productive of new and increased civil services; nor does it consist in the unwise and unjust distinction of appointments such as temporary or permanent, for we find the Treasury from time to time has nullified such a distinction, and not only pensions some temporary officers but contemplates a further exercise of this power. The real and proper test of permanent civil service is to be found in the scale of time which has been used as a basis for the regulation of pensions, and the limits of this we find to be from ten to thirty-five years. He, then, who has served the country con-

tinuously between or beyond these limits has given permanent service and deserves pension,—if it be sound policy to encourage efficient service and retain good men. This bears forcibly on the absurdity at present existing in the Irish Poor Law Service, in which some of the so-called temporary clerks are more efficient and of longer standing than the permanent officers. Are these men, who receive but from £80 to £100 per year, exempt from the common incidents of life? Will they alone be always efficient? Will they never grow old? Can they never become destitute? The Irish Valuation Service is a case of still more aggravated hardships. Thus the undisputed services of honorable and honest men are disposed of by some paltry quibble, and they are handed over to merciless neglect, at the very time, too, when the House of Commons is proclaiming the sound policy of superannuation, and the whole British Senate is resounding with sympathy and compassion for Negroes, Turks, Hindoos, and convicts, and thousands are voted away for model reformatories and magnificent receptacles for criminals and vagabonds. We trust that the forthcoming Bill of the Member for Antrim will go far to meet these anomalies, and place Government Civil Services on the clear and comprehensive footing of time served.”—*Civil Service Gazette*, February 14, 1857.

“The Civil Service Superannuation question will probably come before Parliament soon. The public interests require that men who, from age or infirmity, are not able to do their work efficiently, should not only be permitted to retire, but encouraged to do so, by securing to them a suitable superannuation allowance, after they have worn out their strength in the service. The justice and expediency of this are admitted, but the principle is not fully carried out. We are glad, therefore, to learn, from an answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the question is likely to receive early attention, and, we trust, a satisfactory solution. Whatever new arrangements may be made on this subject, we have a right to expect that the resulting benefits shall be extended to the general valuation service in Ireland.

“We need not say that such a valuation involves an immense amount of labour, or that it requires in those who perform it the utmost diligence, accuracy, and fidelity, combined with a high order of practical intelligence, as well as considerable scientific attainments. That the work has been exceedingly well done is universally admitted. That it is of the greatest value for fiscal, political, and industrial purposes, is also clear; and it may be safely asserted that no branch of the civil service is more deserving of the consideration of the Government. Yet, strange to say, none has met with such marked neglect.

“A remedy for these evils ought to be provided by the legislature. The public voice should be raised in favour of this deserving and ill-used body. The Irish grand juries especially are, we think, bound to interpose. It is their interest as well as their duty to do so. Now that the valuation is nearly completed, and needs only annual revision—seeing that it is so largely subservient to national and imperial purposes—should not the change be at once transferred from the counties to the consolidated fund? This would save the ratepayers the sum of £18,000 a-year. If this were done, the valuation would

be placed on the same footing with other branches of the civil service, the payments would be increased, and a provision would be made for superannuation pensions, which would not cost more than £4,500 a-year. The valuation has been finished in the following counties:—Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Waterford, Tipperary, Kilkenny, Queen's County, King's County, Meath, Westmeath, Longford, Louth, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Clare, Galway, Mayo, Leitrim, and Cavan; also, in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Kilkenny.

"The bulk of the work, therefore, is done, and the Government can have the less difficulty in transferring the burden to the imperial treasury. The grand juries would do well to petition parliament on the subject, and we trust some of its influential members will be found willing to plead the cause of the meritorious body of public servants to whose case we now earnestly invite their attention.

"We are advocates for economy, but it is a miserable economy to require men of talent and education, obliged to occupy a respectable position in society, to do the kind of work which this valuation imposes for rates of pay that must keep them in a constant struggle for existence, in constant and harassing anxiety about their families, and in most painful and depressing uncertainty as to the future, for which there is no provision in case of sickness, old age, or death. This is the only department in which no allowance is made for length of service, and the rate of pay is so low that no provision can be made for the future; so that when any of its members is disabled or removed by death, his family are reduced to destitution, and there is no refuge for them but the workhouse. Surely this ought not to be the condition of any body of public servants, educated as these gentlemen are, and performing duties so onerous and responsible."—*The Advocate*, February 25; *The Armagh Guardian* and *The Tipperary Free Press*, February 27; *The Carlow Sentinel*, *The Roscommon Journal*, and *The Waterford Chronicle*, February 28; and *The King's County Chronicle*, March 4, &c., &c., inserted the above article, which is from *The Daily Express*, Feb. 21, 1857.

"THE IRISH VALUATION SERVICE.—When the question of civil service superannuation came under notice last session, reference was repeatedly and urgently made in these columns to the peculiar grievance affecting the officers of the General Valuation in Ireland. To the labours of these zealous public servants is due the basis on which many imperial interests are rested. They have completed a minute and faithful valuation of all rateable and other property in twenty-two counties and five of our cities. It is their standard which regulates the levy of our poor-rate and grand jury cess, and determines the qualification for the elective franchise. In various other important departments of the general government of the country the result of their exertions is valuable—for example, in the Court of Incumbered Estates and the office of the Income Tax Commissioner.

"But it is superfluous to insist upon the value of this service. That is not the object of our observations. We wish to reiterate our remonstrance against the exceptional manner in which the valuation officers are treated. For them there is no superannuation allowance; and the want of it is rendered more grievous in conse-

quence of the salaries they receive, from which it is utterly impossible to put by a trifle for a rainy day. The valuation office is conducted with the strictest economy—it should rather be said with remorseless parsimony—since, although the money for its maintenance is, in the first instance, given by the Treasury, it must be paid back by presentments levied on the counties. Under these arrangements the salaries are necessarily curtailed, for the ratepayers find it hard to bear all that is imposed upon them, and require that the work shall be done in the cheapest manner possible.

“The public voice must be earnestly raised on behalf of these men. It is particularly timeous to discuss their complaints when the whole question of civil service superannuation is coming once more under debate. What we suggest is—and we have done so long ago—that the cost of the valuation, now nearly finished, should be placed on the consolidated fund, and that the officers of this service should be treated exactly as all other civil servants shall be dealt with when the present system of superannuations shall have been remodelled. We are jealous of placing new charges on the consolidated fund; but this is a case where simple justice demands that the ratepayers should be relieved from a payment made for the maintenance of a valuation now used mainly for imperial purposes.

“We trust, therefore, that the grand juries will move in the matter by petitioning parliament for the removal of the charge from the counties. Should this step be taken, we guarantee that Irish members will be found, when presenting these petitions, ready to plead the cause of the hardworked, ill treated, and neglected valuation officers, who have for years discharged their duties ably, spending their strength in the service of the country, with no better prospect than pennilessness in the decline of life.”—*The Dublin Evening Packet*, February 26, 1857.

General Valuation Service.

We print an article on this subject from the *Daily Express*, every sentiment of which accords with the views so often expressed in this journal. The commonest knowledge of human nature might even teach stupid Government officials, that if you require any piece of work well done, you must employ competent workmen, and to attract such, a fair remuneration is necessary. The General Valuation Service of Ireland do not appear to have been dealt with fairly. Although they have done their work well, their masters have forgotten their duty in return, and in many cases the impolicy, injustice, or whatever else it may be called has recoiled on the heads of families deprived of their natural support, men driven to destitution by sickness or infirmity arising out of the service. This should not be. A great country, like England, can afford to remunerate her servants (she too often lavishes kindness on her enemies), and she could remunerate them, either by a sufficient pay in the present, or a superannuation allowance for the future. Grand Juries would do well to petition that the whole thing be left to the Treasury, as it is unquestionably an Imperial measure, and thereby relieve the county cess, and deal with the General Valuation of Ireland as with all other portions of the Civil Service.—*The Armagh Guardian*, February 27, 1857.

Grand Jury Taxation.

The redress of the numberless grievances of which Ireland has to complain is denied on various pleas, and amongst the rest, on the ground that we are less heavily taxed than England; but the question is, has the burden nevertheless not been too heavy for the camel's back? Are we as well conditioned,—have we as many sources of profit, emolument, or of easy subsistence, in any shape, as England? The question is an idle one. All the world knows that two-thirds at least of our population are barely able to live from hand to mouth, and that the rest revel in luxury on the labour of that numerous class which can scarcely devise means of subsistence at all. This being our position, who will blame us for doing all in our power to throw off as much as we can of the burden which our paternal Government, in its kind solicitude for our well-being, has thought fit to force upon our enfeebled and exhausted population? A grievous burden of this kind has, for instance, been kept upon our shoulders since 1828, by compelling us to pay, as an item of the Grand Jury Assessment, £18,000 annually for the sustainment of the General Valuation Service in Ireland. Why, let us ask, should the already over-taxed ratepayers be saddled with the expense incurred in keeping up this department of the Civil Service? For whose behoof and benefit, may we ask, are its arduous labours undergone? Certainly not for the people's. The Government desire to ascertain to a fraction the value of the rateable property of every rateable individual in the country in order that they might at a glance, as it were, know the amount of taxes of every kind they could levy for revenue purposes. The Valuation Office is, moreover, a reliable place of reference, where the true state of the electoral registry can be more easily and correctly learnt; and the ratepayers are, therefore, merely interested in a very secondary degree in the labours of the Valuation Office. Government get the information they require from the office, yet the people are assessed to pay the salaries of the officials, and for keeping up the entire establishment. This then is, to all intents and purposes, what may be termed, putting the saddle on the wrong horse; and a petition is, therefore, in course of preparation, calling upon the Legislature to make such provisions as will cause the Valuation Service to be henceforward paid out of the Consolidated Fund, and not by tax on the counties.—*Catholic Telegraph and Irish Sun, February 28th, 1857.*

Fair reward sweetens labour. Advancement is the life of the working man, as condemnation to a state of professional stagnation is the death. Without progress, or the hope of progress, human beings of whatever degree, languish, sicken, and die. It is a well-established fact, that active trade and the open professions, with their fluctuating gains and high prizes, stimulate the instinctive desires of mankind to improve their condition; whereas, on the contrary, fixed incomes, especially when measured so as to be barely sufficiently to procure absolute present requirements, and those of a moderate kind, have ever been found to depress, and ultimately destroy the instinctive energies. The cases of some classes of public servants exhibit in a strong light the effects of stationary position, and toil without the

remotest prospect of advancement. We allude especially to those persons engaged in what is called the Temporary Service of the public. When to correct the abuses of an old system, and to establish a new one which should insure fidelity, efficiency, and zeal, and to provide for the retirement of the incapacitated, the principle of remuneration, partly by salaries and partly by pensions, was adopted; it unfortunately happened that this principle was not extended to all, but that certain, and those not the least active and efficient, labourers for the State were excluded from its operation. From that period to this, many a gross injustice has been committed by simply giving to public services the name of "Temporary," and by thus depriving of their natural rights valuable and indefatigable officers, who have adapted special talents, and given the best years of their lives to their country. The unfairness of this procedure is probably in no instance more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the Irish Valuation Commission. This service, the first requirements of which originated the Ordnance Survey, has not only relieved the country from a system of levying rates the most iniquitous and difficult of application, and in its stead supplied one which in its working has been more than satisfactory; but it has also been auxiliary to other services, such as the Poor Law, Income Tax, Incumbered Estates, &c. Yet while these collateral and more recent services have, as it were, been established in houses the Valuation abides still in tents!

We have from time to time imposed upon ourselves the task of bringing to light some of the many harsh features of their duties, and we would now urge the justice and necessity of legislative interference in their case, which the establishment of an extensive and efficient redundant system in the Civil Service would fully meet. Were that accomplished, we feel that the pages of the history of Civil Services would never again be darkened by a document such as that issued by the Commissioner of Valuation in February, 1856, in which he says, 'I was obliged to pursue the same course (dismissal) on the completion of the different lines of new road constructed by the Government in the south of Ireland, between the years 1822 and 1828; also on the completion of the boundary department of the Ordnance Survey carried on from 1824 to 1824. Similar reductions were also made on the completion of the extensive works connected with the Shannon Navigation, and are at present being made in the number of engineers connected with the arterial drainage. I mention these circumstances to show you that yours is not a singular case.' But to the credit of the Commissioner be it recorded that he evaded, as far as possible, the necessity which constrained him. Those discontinued from one service were transferred to another, and his sternness conceded to justice that 'the length and importance of the services rendered to the public by several of those whose connexion with this department must soon terminate appear to me to merit the consideration of the Legislature.'

Here we find virtually a redundant system. The skilled assistants, superfluous on one work, were rendered available on another, and hence the rapid and efficient progress of the Commission. But

now we are told the final scene is at hand. The Commissioner cannot at so advanced an age undertake new enterprises, and supply fresh avenues into which he may draft his old but redundant hands. It remains an inevitable necessity to transfer the service to the Government, if, indeed, it be sound policy to provide the best available civil servants for the public business.

In the legislative measures which must shortly be placed before the country, we would strongly urge the consideration of this vital point—the cancelling of the word “Temporary” from all Civil Service in reality “permanent.” Let the scale of time by which pension is granted be the test of permanence, as we urged in a former article, and let an efficient redundant service, under a board of directors, be established to meet the necessity of extra work for any department. Should that be done, we believe it will be found that no department will supply better writing clerks, arithmeticians, draughtsmen, and mathematicians than the service of the General Survey and Valuation of Ireland.”—*The Civil Service Gazette*, February 28, 1857.—(*The Advocate of March 4* inserted the above article.)

“GRIFFITH’S VALUATION AND THE GRAND JURIES.—In the year 1830 a commission was appointed, under an Act of Parliament, to make a uniform townland valuation of Ireland, with a view to the more equal levying of county cess and local rates. The valuation has been completed, at vast labour and cost, in seven-and-twenty counties. The whole expense, although in the first instance borne by the Government, has since been levied off the counties, for the benefit of which the valuation was instituted. Five counties remain in which the work is still going on, and will soon be brought to a close. When all is finished, and the bill paid, the question remains—will this commission close? Will Mr. Griffith, after thirty years’ Commissioner-ship, retire to enjoy in peace the snug fortune he has amassed in the public service; while the poor underlings, who have borne the labour and heat of the day, withdraw to holes and corners to starve and die unnoticed, after the devotion of the best years of their life to a service into which, under the delusion of false hopes, they may have entered some five-and-twenty years ago.

“It would appear, from recent legislation, that this commission is not to close—in fact, that it cannot close. So valuable has the result of its labours become to the general government of the country, that provision has been made in several Acts of Parliament for an annual revision of the valuation, and for new valuations, at stated periods. Whence has arisen the necessity for this? The original design of this valuation has, in fact, been superseded by objects of imperial interest, to which it has been applied, and for which it is now considered indispensable. It is the foundation of the elective franchise—succession and legacy duties are levied according to its standard, as also the income tax—so that the collection of this impost has been rendered far more easy and regular in this country than in England, and has, beyond all doubt, saved the imperial Treasury a much larger sum than annual revisions for many years to come will cost.

“It is high time that the attention of the Legislature should be directed to the anomalous character of this commission. If the con-

tinuance of its labours is considered essential to the government of the country, it should be replaced by a properly constituted branch of the Civil Service. Such a settlement of the question would not only rid the Irish counties of a burden which cannot in equity be imposed on them, but would also be the means of rendering an act of simple justice to a deserving body of public servants, who are at present placed in a position of extreme hardship, being liable to be turned adrift any day without a penny by way of pension or compensation, because, forsooth, their employment is temporary, although, in several instances, it has endured for upwards of a quarter of a century. This is a cruel return, and unworthy of any government, for the useful labours of men, many of whom have spent their health and strength in the public service.

"We recommend this question to the consideration of the Grand Juries of Ireland, and we cannot but believe that a vigorous and combined effort on their part will procure a final settlement of it during the present session of Parliament. Let each Grand Jury send forward a short petition, and let the county members but do their duty, and we answer for it that the Government cannot resist the passage of a measure, the justice of which is so simple and so obvious."—*The Evening Mail*, March 4, 1857. (*The Westmeath Guardian*, March 5; *Sligo Journal*, March 6; *The Advocate*, March 7; and *Limerick Chronicle*, March 7, copied the above.)

"'A Ratepayer' declares he will withhold his vote from any candidate who will not pledge himself to endeavour to have the future maintenance of the General Valuation Office paid for out of the Consolidated Fund. 'A Ratepayer' is right. The General Valuation is now mostly used for imperial purposes, and should, therefore, be paid for out of the Imperial Exchequer. We shall attend to this matter at the proper time. Meantime we are glad to see the Grand Juries bestirring themselves on the subject."—*The Nation*, March 21, 1857.

"The gentlemen employed in the service of the General Survey and Valuation Commission of Ireland are, we perceive, awake to the necessity of exerting themselves, and of enlisting support both in Parliament and the press for their forthcoming struggle for justice. As usual with persons who have the will, and go about their work in earnest, they have obtained an encouraging success. The Irish papers, so discordant on other subjects, are marvellously agreed upon the question of the grievances and claims of the valuers, draughtsmen, and assistants attached to this important national service; and members of Parliament and candidates for seats in the Legislature have freely pledged themselves to co-operate in pressing upon the Government the propriety of giving a favourable consideration to the case of the Valuation corps. The members for the city of Dublin, Messrs. Grogan and Vance, and the candidates for the county of Dublin, Messrs. J. H. Hamilton and Colonel Taylor, besides Mr. Magan, member for Westmeath, and several others, have spoken out boldly. Mr. Hamilton in one of his addresses said:—"There is a highly respectable class of gentlemen, who are employed in carrying on the Valuation of Ireland, and who consider themselves to be labouring

under a hardship. I am anxious to state publicly that, not only with respect to them, but to every other class so circumstanced, I will render every assistance in my power to obtain the relief which they seek ;' and Colonel Taylor, referring to these remarks, observed :— ' With reference to the Civil Service Superannuation, I quite agree with all that my friend Mr. Hamilton has said, and the subject shall receive our best attention.' We might quote several other declarations did our space permit. With regard to the Press, the opinion in favour of this ill-used class of public employés is unanimous. The *Advocate*, in its last number, says :— ' We are glad to find that Mr. Grogan has undertaken to deal with the Civil Service in this country, and expressed his determination to support the claims of the gentlemen employed on the General Valuation of Ireland. We entirely concur with Mr. Grogan's views on this important subject, and look upon the case of these gentlemen as one of peculiar hardship. We are also of opinion that, from the nature of the duties, the permanent character which the work has assumed, and its general applicability and usefulness for State purposes, those employed thereon should be placed on a similar footing with the other Civil Servants of the Crown in this country. This would have the effect of relieving the several counties from a considerable amount of taxation, and is a question in which Irish members of all shades of politics can agree.' Another Dublin paper, the *Nation*, likewise last week, in referring to the subject of the justice of having the expenses of the General Valuation borne by the Imperial Exchequer, as it is now chiefly used for Imperial purposes, observes :— ' We are glad to perceive that Mr. Grogan has signified his intention of taking up this subject. Here is neutral ground, not only for political but for mercantile men, and we hope they will not hesitate to occupy it. The mayor, magistrates, and merchants of Liverpool have, as we announced some weeks ago, taken the initiative in a most important movement, in favour of the Civil Servants of the Crown, and the town-councils and mercantile bodies of other important cities, towns, and ports in England and Scotland are preparing to follow the spirited example thus set them. The capital of Ireland, too, we are happy to say, is not going to be behindhand, and the Roes, Guinesses, Pims, Bewleys, Codd's, Huttons, Jamesons, McDonnells, Darceys, Kingston-Jameses, &c., are about to make a demonstration in favor of a speedy and equitable settlement of the heart-burning Superannuation question.'—*The Civil Service Gazette*, April 11, 1857; *the Saunders' News-Letter*, the *Nation*, and the *Advocate* of April 18th, inserted the above article—also the *Mail* of April 17th.

The above extracts place so vividly before us, and in such fearless and nervous language, too, the wrongs they would expose, that it requires not the assistance of our pen to comment on them.

We call on every member of Parliament, no matter what hue his political bias may assume, to stand forward, during the present session—for at no future period will the subject

be more ripe for legislation—and to insist on a prompt and equitable adjustment of those well-founded claims. We feel assured if they do so, that the Government can no longer, on any equitable grounds, postpone this measure; and we consequently anticipate that, before the expiration of the present session, there will be a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which seemingly surround the question.

The Grand Juries, we are glad to perceive, have taken up the initiative, and many have petitioned to be freed from the anomaly of paying out of the local funds for a service acknowledged to be chiefly useful for Imperial purposes, and, had not the General Election been concurrent with the Assizes, the petition would have been universal. We give underneath a copy of a petition from *The Evening Mail* (Waterford), and recommended for adoption by many of the other provincial papers:—

“The PETITION of the GRAND JURORS of the County of —

“SHEWETH,—That it appears from an Official Return presented to your Honorable House in the month of April, 1856, that up to that period the total cost of the General Valuation of Townlands and Townements in Ireland had amounted to £357,433, which large sum was defrayed by the several Grand Juries out of local rates.

“That the same Parliamentary Return shows that the cost of revising the Valuations, for twelve only of the thirty-two counties, had amounted to £4,799 for the year ending on the 31st December, 1855.

“That the General Valuation of Ireland, though originally designed solely for the collection of County Rates, is now extensively applied and used for important Imperial purposes—such as the collection of Income Tax and Succession Duty, and Duty on Spirit Licences; also, the Regulation of the Elective Franchise.

“That the Grand Juries of the several counties in Ireland have no power whatever to control the said Valuation, or the expenses thereof, the exclusive control and management being absolutely vested in the Government authorities, who alone can check and apportion the expenses, appoint or dismiss the several officers, and regulate their respective salaries.

“That it is not just to compel the Grand Juries of Ireland to present annually out of local rates for maintaining a staff and machinery which are now employed chiefly for Imperial purposes, more especially as the main expenses of instituting the system of a General Valuation have been already defrayed exclusively out of local rates.

“Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray,

“That, having regard to the foregoing statements, the local rate-payers may be relieved from the further maintenance and cost of an Annual Revision of the General Valuation of Ireland, and that all

future expenses of such Annual Revision may be defrayed out of the general funds of the empire, which now derive the chief benefits thereof.

“For Self and Fellows,

“_____, Foreman.

“Grand Jury Room,

“Spring Assizes, 1857.”

—*The Mail, Waterford, February 26, 1857.*—(*The Advocate of March 7, inserted the above.*)

We fear we have exceeded our space in thus dilating so minutely on this subject, but we have been induced to do so by the deep anxiety we feel to have wrongs redressed, be they national or otherwise, and our sympathy with these gentlemen has been increased manifold by a perusal of the pamphlet through which we have attained a knowledge of the service performed for the country, of the amount of which we had no previous knowledge.

But, before concluding, may we ask what says the Commissioner of Valuation at this particular juncture? We are anxious to ascertain how his pulse beats on this subject. We know Dr. Griffith as a public man, and, as such, he stands pre-eminently high, with a character *sans peur et sans reproche*. His mission has been a high one, and nobly has he redeemed it. He has fulfilled a glorious destiny in thus erecting a monument to his own memory which no ribbon or bauble in the gift of princes could compete with; for what can vie with the imperishable work of genius? His was not the labor of a few years; neither was it any sudden discovery in science or machinery. No; it was the patient, enduring industry of many, many years, and the perfection of a work that none but a master-mind could achieve. We said above that Dr. Griffith had raised his own monument. Yes, truly, he has done so, but it still wants the apex to crown the structure—the permanency of that office, to which his name is and ever shall be allied, is still required before the work can be complete.

Stand forward, then, Dr. Griffith, still in the plenitude of your unclouded intellect; break the official shell by which you allow yourself to be encrusted; and boldly, truthfully, and manfully plead the cause of those wronged and ill-requited servants of the State, with whom you have worked so nobly and so well. You are accountable to posterity if you permit the golden years still before you to go for nought.

In civil, as in military tactics, the discrimination observable in the selection of officers is the strongest proof of superiority of intellect and maturity of judgment. In this, as in every other way, has Dr. Griffith proved his able generalship. Eminent in character, as in position, stands his General Superintendent, Mr. John Ball Greene. When we consider the firmness of character, earnestness of purpose, and urbanity of manner by which this gentleman is characterised, whose duties are more than ordinarily onerous, owing to the temporary position of his employes; when we see strict discipline, tempered by kindness of heart, giving an impetus to labor; and leniency, in the guidance of the official helm, increasing the zeal of the labourers, we are tempted to exclaim, how prudent and efficient must that officer be, under whose judicious guidance the work of the country thus progresses, both in office and field! All, and more than all, we have adduced, when speaking of the General Superintendent, is evidenced by the skill, tact, and ability shown in the administration of the office itself, and which a retrospect of the past five or six years will enable even the most casual observer to notice. Whilst bestowing this well-merited encomium on the two gentlemen we have named, we do not mean to pass over any of the officers holding a prominent position in this department. Each and all deserve their meed of praise—aye, even to the humblest employed in the service. We merely particularise Dr. Griffith and Mr. Ball Greene as being the most responsible officers, and justly consider the praise bestowed on them a reflective praise which may be participated in by all who are tried and trusted by men possessing the characteristics we have enumerated as the attributes of those gentlemen.

With those gentlemen we are personally unacquainted, knowing them only through the medium of their public character, and from facts concerning them which have been brought prominently before us.

The length and breadth of the land bears the impress of the Valuation officers' labors; and feeling deeply for the injustice with which they have been so long treated, we conclude with the again-repeated hope that the present session of Parliament will not be permitted to pass away without the necessary legislative measures being

introduced to remedy these shameful wrongs. Whatever be the vices of our rulers, we should be sorry to suppose that indifference to the fate of their tried servants can be ranked amongst them.

APPENDIX.

SCOTT AND THE WAVERLEY NOVELS.

(*See page 508, ante.*)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

SIR—I observe in the *Times* of June 5, a manifesto from Miss Scott and her sisters, contradicting a “surnise” that their parents had a share in the authorship of the ‘Waverley Novels.’ It is odd that the late Thomas Scott’s son and representative, Colonel Scott, should withhold his signature from that document. The denial, however, so far, will doubtless influence the views of many persons; but I confess that my conviction on the subject, *as well as the convictions of several members of the late Mrs. Scott’s family*, remains unshaken. A serious difference of opinion, and of policy exists among the relations respecting this important literary question, and the course to be pursued. One of them, in a letter to me, says, “Why seek to stifle the elucidation of truth?”

I shall regard this proceeding from the most courteous point of view. My pamphlet connects Captain and Mrs. T. Scott with the earlier novels only. Of these, the first appeared exactly forty-four years ago—a period probably before the ladies who have addressed the *Times* were born, or when they must necessarily have been exceedingly young. In their letter they declare that no literary participation whatever, “less or more,” took place between their parents and Sir Walter—totally forgetting, or, more probably, totally ignorant of their uncle’s published admission that some of Thomas Scott’s literary labor is embodied in “Peveril of the Peak.”

In “Moore’s Diary” (Vol. II, p. 199) it is recorded, on the authority of Samuel Rogers, that “when Wilkie was taking his portraits of Scott’s family, the eldest daughter said, ‘We don’t know what to think of these novels. We have access to all papa’s papers. He writes everything in the midst of us all, and yet we never have seen a single scrap of the manuscript of any of these novels.’”

Now, if Sir Walter Scott’s daughters remained for years in profound ignorance of their father’s intimate connexion with the

novels, how much more likely is it that Thomas Scott's daughters should not have become acquainted with the fragmentary literary aid, contributed from Canada forty years ago, to the same mysterious compositions?—the more so when remembered that obvious prudential reasons prompted the utmost secrecy. My *brochure* repeatedly refers to the mystery in which the transaction was wrapped, as also to the allegation (p. 99) that, "not even Sir Walter's children, or Thomas Scott's children were let into the secret."

More than half a dozen veteran brother officers of Captain Scott—men of strong judgment and untarnished honor, who possessed his confidence and friendship, and who have been raised to almost the highest military dignity—have separately published in my book a chain of clear, positive, and highly interesting evidence in substantiation of that which I originally ventured, on merely circumstantial grounds, to conjecture. And I do absolutely defy any attentive reader, no matter how prejudiced he may be, to go through the pamphlet, without his views undergoing considerable modification. They who have not yet seen the work, know not its strength, nor can those unacquainted with the contents comprehend the cogent reasons which caused the secret to remain so long, and so carefully preserved.

Even assuming, which is unlikely, that Captain Scott's children were let into the secret, I conceive that their contradiction is far from a conclusive settlement of the question. Sir Walter himself—a man, in general, of great honor and veracity—never scrupled to deny, even "*upon his honor*," that he had any participation, less or more, in the authorship of the *Waverley Novels*. This fact is mentioned in "*Rogers' Table Talk*" (p. 193), and in "*Moore's Diary*" (p. 199). The great man would appear to have been one of those who regard broad equivocation, in literary transactions, as a very venial offence.

It is nearly two years since I publicly started the question. Mr. French's writings, and mine, were known to the daughters of Thomas Scott. If the theory is untrue now, it was equally untrue then; and why not have nipped the bad by a resolute public denial? Why allow public opinion to intensify for two years? My conviction is that conflicting views prevailed to such an extent among the family, that it is only now, on "the day after the fair," that even three members of it could be induced to sign the contradiction.

My attention has been directed to a manuscript letter of Miss

Scott, in which she very justly speaks in terms of the utmost veneration for 'dearest uncle Walter,' and ardently desires that his fair fame should, if possible, be added to. Miss Scott evidently considers it no ordinary duty to come forward zealously to (what she conceives to be) his support. She does not appear to understand my views—namely, that if others supplied the bricks and mortar, he built the edifice—but imagines that my researches aim to tear down the laurels which shadow the great man's grave. While I admire the watchful zeal evidenced by Miss Scott, and her sisters, I cannot but regret that they and others should have so widely misunderstood my motives.

When the question was agitated in *Notes and Queries*, so far back as 1855, Mr. Edgar MacCulloch (Mrs. T. Scott's cousin, and himself an able literary writer), after praising her strong mental powers, remarked that it was quite 'generally thought in her family that she had supplied many of the anecdotes and characters which Sir Walter worked up;' and in proof of this statement, Mr. MacCulloch adduced some curious evidence: In a recent letter he says—'My belief now is that she did much more than merely collect the bricks and mortar with which the house was built, and that by far the greater part of the handiwork and ornament was her own.'

And now let me examine this tardy contradiction. Does it say 'we have heard our parents repudiate the report, or 'evidence and letters from our parents can be produced, denying any participation in novels?' Not a bit of it. The manifesto merely says—'*We* desire to offer *our* contradiction;' and again—'*We* shall be obliged by your publishing *our* declaration.' Individual opinion, or mere assertion, unsupported by proof carries no weight. The recent letter of Colonel MacDonell, C.B. (Lord Arundell's brother-in-law, published at page 42 of my work), gives, with ample detail, the memorable confession on the subject, made by his dear deceased friend, Captain Scott; and another old comrade, Major Sweeney, deposes to having conveyed, in 1817, a huge mass of 'Waverley Novel' MSS. from T. Scott, in Canada, to Sir Walter, at Abbotsford. But it is useless to cite further proof. My pamphlet furnishes ample evidence establishing the fact that both the late Captain and Mrs. Scott occasionally admitted that a literary participation took place between them and their illustrious relative; they never contradicted an impression which many of their friends, and various literary persons assure me has existed for

the last forty years. And, moreover, they never contradicted the letter (pp. 46 to 48) which appeared in the newspapers under their very eye, exhibiting, on striking evidence, the secret of the literary 'participation,' and which even embodied oral admissions on the subject made by Captain and Mrs. Scott themselves.

Evidence should be met by counter-evidence; and until this is forthcoming, the reflective portion of the public will retain 'their own opinions still.'

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

W. J. FITZPATRICK.

P.S.—I have this moment received a letter from an officer of considerable distinction, rank, and scholarly attainments. His evidence appears in the pamphlet. Speaking of an old friend of Captain Scott, whom I had not been fortunate enough to hear of sooner, my respected correspondent says: "It is satisfactory to know that he entertains the same opinions that all the other friends of Thomas Scott hold on the subject of the novels. He will shortly write to you himself on the subject. We happened to be together in the club-room when our attention was directed to the article in the *Times*, signed 'Thomas Scott's Daughters,' and we both agreed that it did not, in the slightest degree, cause us to alter the opinions we had already formed."

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ART I.— ODD PHASES IN LITERATURE.

FIFTH PAPER.*

1. *L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris.* Paris : 1694.
2. *Essai sur les Livres dans l'Antiquité.* Par H. Géraud. Paris : 1840.

Amongst the PECULIARITIES APPERTAINING TO ANCIENT WRITINGS, the writing which bore the name of *bonstrophe-don*† is remarkable.

In this system of writing, the first line was traced from the left to the right, the second from the right to the left, the third from the left to the right, and so on.

Writing from left to right, in use at the present day amongst the inhabitants of the West, was introduced amongst the Greeks by Pronapides of Athens, whom Diodorus of Sicily pretended to have been the preceptor of Homer. It was afterwards adopted by the Latins.

The form of writing in the ancient Greek manuscripts and inscriptions presents a very striking dissimilarity to the Latin writing. Whilst the Greek characters are in general small, close, and correct, the Latin characters are long, large, and the

* For the other papers of this series see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. vi, No. 23, p. 439 ; No. 24, p. 647 ; Vol. vii, No. 25, p. 1 ; No. 26, p. 267.

† From two Greek words, *Boûs*, ox, and *εργίζω*, to return. This phrase, according to the Benedictines, is perfectly characteristic of the operation of the laborer guiding a plough drawn by oxen, who after having traced his first ridge, forms it at the other side, and in that manner pursues his labor, till he has finished the line. A specimen of this species of writing may be seen in vol. xxiii, p. 403, of the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, the fac-simile of the inscription of Amyclæus.

distance altogether irregular. Thus, in the fourth century, St. Jerome called certain Latin Manuscripts, the characters of which were of enormous dimensions, pregnant letters. The Latin scribes were very inferior to the Greek; we do not see in fact any of their works figuring among the prodigies of caligraphy mentioned by authors of antiquity. Aelianus tells of a man who, after having written a distich in letters of gold, could enclose it in the rind of a grain of corn. Another caligrapher traced some verses of Homer on a grain of millet.

"Cicero," said Pliny, "relates having seen Homer's *Iliad* written on parchment which could be enclosed in a nut shell." This latter fact would be regarded as incredible amongst the moderns, notwithstanding a proof exhibited by Huet, before the Dauphin and his court, to whom he demonstrated that a bit of vellum, sufficiently slight, of a quarter of a yard in length by nine inches in width, could on both sides contain about 15,000 lines and be easily enclosed in a nut shell of moderate size.

No matter how the incredulous may cavil at what certainly appears all but impossible, there is a fact which none can question, or dream of contesting, and that is, that the characters in writing can be drawn with a minuteness equal to the smallest print.

The *Maxims* of La Rochefoucauld, printed in microscopic characters, at the establishment of the younger Didot, in 1829, comprised 26 lines of 44 letters on a page of 951 millimetres square. Now, the *Iliad* contains about 15,210 lines, and each line comprising 33 letters, which would make a total of 501,930 letters. Or, if a square of paper is taken of 435 millimetres, sideways, that is to say of 189,225 millimetres square, what the first and second leaf would doubly comprise ought to be 378,150.* By a very simple calculation we may thus perceive that the space is more than sufficient to contain the entire *Iliad*; and nothing could be easier than to inclose a paper of such dimensions in one of those nuts where for 30 years women have kept their ball gloves; nor was the slightest abbreviation necessary.

We are about to cite some examples to prove that the caligraphy of the present day is in no point inferior to that of antiquity.

* A metre is about equal to a yard, a millimetre is the thousandth part of a metre.

They have shown, and probably exhibit to the present day, at St. John's College at Oxford, a sketch of the head of Charles the First composed of written characters which, seen at a very short distance, has all the appearance of an engraving ; the lines of the countenance and the ruff contained the Psalms, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. In the British Museum we believe there is a drawing about the width of the hand representing the portrait of Queen Anne ; lines of writing are distinguishable on this design, and each time it is shewn care is taken to exhibit a folio volume containing precisely its contents.

"I have seen," said Menage, "several figures and likenesses taken in this manner, such as that of Madame la Dauphine drawn in a car crowned by a Victory in the air. They had there also other hieroglyphical figures bearing reference both to her and Monsigneur. All formed a square picture of a foot and a half, and what appeared to be the mere ordinary lines of the features, were formed by small and capital letters of such surprising delicacy that both the figure and the face of Madame la Dauphine, had a striking resemblance to a most beautiful print. Finally, all these letters composed an Italian poem of several thousand lines in praise of this Princess. The author was an officer of the Nuncio, Cardinal Ranucci." Very many designs of this species might be cited. Of this class were the portrait of General Koenigsmark, which contained the life of this warrior, and the *Christ* of Pozzo in which was written the Passion according to St. John.

There is still in existence at the Imperial library of Vienna, a sheet of about eight feet in height by six in width, and which contains on one of its sides alone five books of the Old Testament written by a Jew ; namely, *Ruth*, in German ; *Ecclesiasticus*, in Hebrew ; the *Canticle of Canticles*, in Latin ; *Esther* in Syriac, and the *Deuteronomy* in French.*

According to the general opinion of the present day it is the Roman alphabet, more or less modified, that enables us to trace all the type employed in Europe since the invasion of the Barbarians.

* P. Bales, a celebrated English Caligrapher, presented in 1575 to Queen Elizabeth, a ring, the bezel of which was about the size of an English farthing, and had written on it in very legible writing the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Ten Commandments*, two short Latin prayers, his name, a device, the day of the month, the year of our Lord, and that of the reign of Elizabeth.

Before the Roman conquest, the Gauls employed the Greek characters, and in preserving some of them at a later period they employed the Latin alphabet.

The writings which have been in use in France since the invasion of the Barbarians have been divided chronologically into two periods. One extends up to the end of the twelfth century, the other from the commencement of the thirteenth to the fourteenth. We shall now enter into a few details on this subject. The writings of the earlier period were divided into *Capital*, *Uncial*, *Minuscule*, *Cursive* and *Mixt*.

The writing *Capital* was merely the capitals employed at the present day for the frontispieces and titles of books. They rarely present themselves under a regular form in the manuscripts which were not posterior to the eighth century, when they were altogether in capital letters.

The writing *Uncial** is formed of capital letters the greater number of the outlines being rounded and differing from the *capital* by the form of some letters. All manuscripts (with the exception of the liturgy or ornamental illuminated) entirely written in *Uncial* are anterior to the ninth century.

The writing *Minuscule* corresponds to the *Roman* of our printing. Employed under the Mérovingians, it attained a high degree of perfection under Charlemagne and his successors.

The writing *Cursive* differs very little from the *Roman cursive*. It is to be met with in all the letters patent of the Kings of the first race. They apply to the cursive, a writing extremely slim and immoderately high, the title of *allongie*, which was in vogue from the eighth to the thirteenth century, whilst the writing *tremblante* is that in which the lines of all the round letters appeared to be shaking. This latter writing was introduced in the eighth century, and became less frequent towards the end of the eleventh, and was abandoned altogether in the century following.

The writing *Mixt* is thus named from having borrowed its characters from those mentioned above.

The writings of the second period, to which they have very improperly given the name of gothic, have been like the former divided into capital, minuscule, cursive and mixt.

The writing *Capital*, used frequently in inscriptions on

* It is thus named from the Latin *uncia* which signifies the twelfth part of the Roman foot.

bronze or marble, is very rarely discovered in the manuscripts of the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth centuries.

The writing *Minuscule* was distinguishable by breaking the lines which were straight or crooked in the writings of the preceding centuries. It has been employed in the books having reference to the church from the time of Saint Louis up to that of Henry IV.

The writing *Cursive*, which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century, had for its distinctive character negligence of forms, irregularity of letters and of abbreviations.

The writing *Mist* subsequent to the first years of the fourteenth century, participated at the same time of the properties of the minuscule and of the cursive.

The use of periods or stops in order to mark not alone sentences but words, dates from the most remote antiquity. Each word is followed by two points in the celebrated Eugubine tables in Etruscan characters, and of one only in the same tables in Latin characters. The words of an inscription found at Athens, and which dates from the year 450 before the Christian era, are separated by three stops placed perpendicularly. In some other inscriptions the stops are differently disposed, horizontally, obliquely, in a triangle, in a lozenge, in a square, &c., or replaced by different figures, such as of branches or leaves, of circles, roses, hearts, &c. This latter species of punctuation was most frequently used in the manuscripts to indicate the end of the discourse.

Amongst the ancient Danes the end of the period was indicated by the mark ||, and when a new sentence was commenced they placed at the top a figure of the moon.

The correct arrangement of punctuation has been attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, who lived 200 years before Christ. This grammarian was the first who marked the different parts of the discourse by means of a stop placed sometimes above, sometimes below, and occasionally in the middle of the last letter of the sentence which corresponded with the divisions admitted by the ancients, and to the marks employed at the present day: the comma, the colon, and the full stop. Some vestiges of punctuation may be discovered in several manuscripts of great antiquity; but a very great number are deficient in them, for this was the business not of the transcriber, but of the correctors. Connoisseurs of books and studious men were the only persons who punctuated the copies they employed,

"The manner best known," said the Benedictines, "of punctuating in the earlier ages, was by writing in sections, and thus distinguishing the various portions of the discourse. Each section or verse was comprised in a line which the Greeks called *enkykli*, so that when counting the verses they discovered the number of lines contained in each volume. After the example of Cicero and of Demosthenes, Saint Jerome introduced this distinction by sections or verses in the Holy Scriptures in order to facilitate the reading and understanding them by the simple faithful. Frequently they placed at the commencement of a new sentence or verse a letter a little larger, or more forward than the other lines. The empty space in white supplied another mode of punctuation, and this was the most ancient manner, as soon as they marked the point when the reader took time to breathe, they placed a stop which rendered the discourse perspicuous.*

Alcuin, in the schools he had under his direction, had this inscription placed over the benches intended for the copyists:—

Hic sedeant sacræ scribes flamina legis...

Per cola distinguant proprios et commata sensus,

Et punctosa ponant ordine quisque suo.

The rules of punctuation were not, however, universally observed till the sixteenth century, and the early printers were not very faithful in noting them.

It is also to the ancient grammarians we owe the turned commas known at first under the denomination of *Antilambda*, the colon, the *parenthesis*, and the asterisk. The signs of accentuation in the Greek language have been also attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium, marks which during a long period were only employed in manuscripts intended for scholars. Montfaucon affirms that he never came across any of those manuscripts anterior to the seventh century. As to the accents of the Latin language, they are a modern invention, and are not to be seen in any manuscript. They had no other object but to facilitate to young persons the reading of the authors, and the good editions of the classics contain them up to the present day.

MATERIALS AND IMPLEMENTS SUITABLE FOR WRITING.—

Nothing could be more varied than the substances employed by different nations for writing. The three most in favor we shall place before the reader. Inscriptions on stone destined to transmit historical facts to posterity have been too generally used in all times and in all countries to detain us in description :

* See *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*.

Jaspar, Cornelian, Agate, &c., were even employed. Among the collection of antiques in the Royal Library, Paris, might be seen a cone of basalte, covered with cuneiform characters. It was found in the Euphrates.

The Babylonians during more than seven centuries, according to Pliny, consigned to bricks their astronomical observations; the greater number of the European museums possess some of those bricks laden with writing taken from the ruins of Babylon. The painted earthen vases were in very frequent use amongst the Greeks; they have been found in considerable heaps in certain parts of Egypt. They are covered with Greek characters, and served as an acquittance from imposts. In general they date from the very earliest period of our era.

Bronze was not only useful in preserving treaties, contracts and other documents of this description,* but it was also employed for letters of recommendation, furloughs granted to soldiers, &c. It appears that the Romans had even books of bronze. Such were the books deposited in the Archives of the Emperor, and where, according to Hyg  nius were, consigned the grants made to the colonies, the measurement and boundaries of the territories conceded.

The use of lead was not less frequent or less ancient than that of bronze. "Who will grant me," cried Job (ch. xix. verses 23rd and 24th) "that my words may be written? who will grant me that they may be marked down in a book? with an iron pen and in a plate of lead, or else be graven with an instrument in flint stone?"

"The Boeotians," said Pausanias (book ix) "shewed me a roll of lead on which all the work of Hesiod was written, (*The Works and Days*) but in characters that time had very nearly effaced."

The Ancients understood the process of reducing this metal into very thin sheets or leaves; before papyrus was known in Italy, it appears, according to a passage from Pliny, that the public deeds were deposited in volumes of lead.

The decrees of the Senate bearing reference to the emperors, were, during a lengthened period, graven on books of ivory; black ink was most frequently used when writing on this

* There is preserved at Lyons a copy on bronze of the discourse pronounced by Claudius, in 48, apropos to the adjunction of the Senate with the principal inhabitants of *Gallia Comata*.

latter substance ; this method was adopted principally by those whose sight was failing.

The use of tanned skins dates to a very remote period, and was spread amongst all the nations of Asia, the Greeks, the Celts, and the Romans. They have in preservation at the Library of Brussels a manuscript of the Pentateuch which is believed to have been written anterior to the ninth century. It is written on fifty-seven skins stitched together, which form a roll of about thirty-six metres in length.

Petrarch had a leather vest, on which he wrote during his walks, when paper or parchment failed. This garment, covered with erasures, was still, in 1527, preserved as a precious relic by Cardinal Sadolet.*

The intestines of animals have also been occasionally employed, Zonare, in chap. 2 of the book 14 of his *Annales*, relates that the library of Constantinople, which was burned under the Emperor Basiliscus, contained the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer written in golden letters on an intestine of a serpent one hundred and twenty feet long. The Ambrosian library of Milan contains probably to the present day a diploma in letters of gold on the skin of a fish.

It is to the middle of the twelfth century, according to several writers, that we may date the invention of parchment, prepared from sheep skins.†

If it was not invented at Pergamos, it was in this city at least that it was brought to perfection, whence is derived the Latin name of *pergamenum*

Beside the white and yellow parchments, the ancients employed purple, blue, or violet parchment. These latter were designed to receive characters of gold and silver ; several of them have been preserved at the Royal Library.

The most ancient manuscripts that we know are written on parchment ; the laws written on this material date only from the end of the seventh century ; they attained sometimes enormous dimensions. Thus the schedule of enquiry against

* This custom of writing on garments was perhaps common to the middle ages ; we have read of an Abbe recommending to his monks, when they discovered a work of Saint Anastasius to transcribe it on their habits if paper failed.

† Calf-skin, as its name indicates, is manufactured of the skin of the calf. The ancients do not appear to have distinguished it from parchment.

the Templars, which are preserved in the archives of the kingdom of France, were about twenty-three metres in length.

Parchment became very rare towards the periods which preceded and followed the invasions of the Barbarians. This scarcity was caused by their carrying away during the various quarrels the original writings; this destructive custom by which we have lost so many scientific and literary treasures, originated with the Romans, and continued until the invention of paper constructed from rags. The manuscripts which had received two writings were called *palimpsestes*.

We are indebted to short hand for the revival of several original writings; by this means have the fragments of Livy been preserved, the treatise of Cicero on the Republic, the Institutes of Gaius, &c. The parchment which united whiteness to fineness may be regarded as anterior to the twelfth century.

According to Pliny, the leaves of trees were the first substance on which characters were traced. Volumes have been formed out of the leaves of the palm and the mallow. It was on the leaves of the olive (*petala*) that the Syracusans wrote their opinions.*

The natives of Persia, of India and of Oceana, write still on leaves of trees. Amongst the Maldives the leaf of the makarekan is used, which is a yard in length, and about half a yard in width. The Royal Library is possessed of several manuscripts on the leaves of trees, some of which are varnished and gilt.

Up to about the close of the sixth century, the internal and external bark of various trees were used,† books even were made of them.

The most ancient written memorials which we possess at the present day have been written on wood. An inscription engraved on a plank of sycamore taken from the coffin of Mycerinus, king of Egypt, found in 1837, in the third pyramid of Memphis, and which is actually in England, dates, according to English authority, as far back as five thousand nine hundred years.

* Whence originated the word *petalism*, which amongst them had the same signification as *ostracism* among the Athenians.

† Saint Jerome, Cassidore, and Isodore of Seville, maintain that the signification of the Latin word *liber* had its origin from this custom, which dates from a remote period.

Before the invention of their paper, which dates close to two thousand years, the Chinese wrote on planks of wood and on tablets of bamboo, some of which are preserved to the present day by the Chinese themselves as precious souvenirs of antiquity.

We find also in Greece and in Italy the custom of engraving monuments of importance on planks of wood. Towards the middle of the first century of our era there was still in existence at Athens, in the Prytaneum some ruins of the tables of wood (*axones*) on which four hundred years before Solon had written his laws. These tables, united in the shape of quadrangular prisms, and crossed by an axle, were at first set up perpendicularly in the citadel, where turning with the slightest effort on themselves, they presented successively the entire code of laws to the eyes of the spectators. Those of Draco were undoubtedly also carved on wood, which gave rise long after to a comic poet quoted by Plutarch saying: "I aver that the laws of Solon and Draco have been used by the people in cooking their food."

At Rome, before the use of columns and tables of bronze, the laws were graven on planks of oak which were exposed in the Forum. The annals of the Pontiffs, where they wrote day by day the principal events of the year, were probably written in black ink on a plank of wood whitened with white lead, and which they called *Album*.

This plank was exposed before the Pontiff's house, and very severe penalties were enacted against those who dared to carry it away, or change it by erasing or altering the text. The annals of the Pontiffs ceased towards the year 688 of Rome, (120 years before Christ) but the use of the album was preserved long after, since we find in the Code Theodosius laws published on a table plastered with white lead. Wood was still employed for private uses; a passage of the Digest proves that the Testaments were sometimes written on tablets of wood.*

We find in the mummy cases linen covered with writing, and the Egyptian museum in the Louvre contains several rituals on linen cloths. It appears that this substance had been at first reserved for memorials bearing a religious character. It was, relates Livy, by means of an old ritual written on linen that the Samnites regulated the order and ceremony of the solemn sacrifice by which they preluded the war against the

* H. Géraud, *Essai sur les Livres dans l'Antiquité*, 1840, in octavo, p. 19-20.

Romans. The Sybilline oracles were also written in books of the same material. We know that much later linen was employed in circumstances altogether different. It was on linen that the Emperor Aurelius had an exact journal written of all his actions, on which were traced the registered plans deposited in the imperial archives. We know that several laws were published on it under the first Christian Emperors, and that Apollonius made use of the same material in the fifth century on which to write his lighter poetry.

These linen or canvass books were designated *carbasina volumina* in a passage of Martianus Capella written in the fourth or fifth century.

It may be seen by a letter from Symmachus that they wrote also on silken stuffs, and that this custom had its origin in Persia. In the seventeenth century, as we are informed on the authority of the well known verses of Boileau,* they had some copies of the Theses maintained in the universities written on satin; they were designed to be given at an entertainment.

The papyrus† is a species of reed the stalk of which is in height about a yard and half quarter, and is covered by an outward husk of a filmy substance by means of which they fabricated various kinds of paper.

The first quality was *hieratic* or sacred, because it was reserved for writing holy books: after a time, however, adulation induced them to change the name of the first class paper into *Augustus* or *royal*; the same motive prompted them to call the second quality *livian*—derived from Livia the name of the wife of the Emperor Augustus; thus the denomination hieratic was thenceforward applied only to the third class paper. Another species of paper was known under the name of *Amphitheatic*, in consequence of having been manufactured at Alexandria in the district around the Amphitheatre; but this paper

* Peindrai je son japon bigarré de latin,
Qu' ensemble composaient trois thèses de satin,
Présent qu'en un procès sur certain privilège
Firent à son mari les régents d'un collège,
Et qui sur cette jupe à maint rieur encor,
Derrière elle faisait lire *argumentabor*.

† This plant, named *Βίβλος*, by the Greeks, was got from the time of Phny in the marshes of Egypt, in Syria, and in the suburbs of Babylon. At the present day it grows naturally in Sicily.

was susceptible of great improvement. Fannius, a Roman grammarian, succeeded in effecting this improvement by extending its size, and polishing its surface. The paper thus remodeled took the name of the *Fannin* paper, and rivalled the paper *Augustus*; those who would not admit of the improvement still preserved the name *Amphitheatric*, and it remained in the fourth rank. The papyrus which grew in the environs of Saïs in great quantity, but in inferior quality, served to make paper of the fifth quality which was called *epitic*. In the sixth rank came the paper *tenotic*, thus named from a district of Alexandria where they manufactured it; the quality of this paper was so inferior that it was sold by weight. In the last rank was placed the paper *emporetic*, or wrapping paper. This could not be used in writing, and served only to make pack cloth or envelopes for the other species of paper.*

The Emperor Claudius had a species of paper manufactured to which he gave his name, and which bore away the first rank from the paper *Augustus*. They succeeded in giving to the paper of the papyrus considerable dimensions, for we have records of about two yards and a quarter in length. That which we call, at the present day, a quire of papyrus contained 20 sheets at the time of Pliny, and only ten in the fourth century.

We can assign no date to the invention of papyrus, the origin of which is due to the Egyptians. According to a letter addressed by Champollion to the Duke of Blacas, the learned traveller had discovered some deeds on papyrus, bearing their date on them, and which went back to the remote period of seventeen hundred years before the Christian era.

We are ignorant at what precise period papyrus was introduced into Greece or Italy, but we know positively that at Rome it was made to undergo a new preparation, and it is owing to that preparation that we are indebted for the greater portion of the manuscripts found at Herculaneum. It is, however, a fact that out of two thousand two hundred and seventy pages found in 1825, forty only belonged to the Latin language, the others were in Greek.

Egypt appears to have preserved at all times the monopoly of the commerce of papyrus, the principal manufactories of which were at Alexandria. Thus when the harvest of this

* See *Essai sur Les Livres dans l'Antiquité*, p. 25-26.

plant failed one year, the scarcity of paper was felt all over Europe. Pliny relates that they had so considerable a failure under Tiberius, that it caused an insurrection at Rome, and that the senate were obliged to have recourse to similar measures as those which had been taken during periods of famine. They named two commissaries who distributed to each citizen a supply of paper according to his wants.

From the fourth century, papyrus became less general. The conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, and the little commerce that existed between the East and Europe, rendered it more rare. Its manufacture ceased altogether before the twelfth century, when the use of paper made with cotton, known, it is supposed, through the eastern nations, was spread into the west. The most ancient charters on this paper date from the commencement of the twelfth century.

It was about the same period that they commenced to employ generally paper made from rags. The authors of *l'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, cite an edict of Hugues II., Count of Châlon-sur-Saône; it is a charter in rag paper bearing the date of 1075. The same paper is mentioned in a treatise of Pierre le Vénérable, composed in 1122. In 1189, Raymond Guillaume, Bishop of Lodève, granted an annual quit-rent, empowering the construction of several paper mills on the Hérault. The most ancient record on rag paper still existing is a letter from Joinville to Louis le Hutin.

We must not omit the mention of tablets, which were formed of several leaves of parchment, or thin shavings of wood, ivory or prepared of metal to receive writing; some were even covered with wax, on which they wrote with a bodkin or stylus. The usage of these dates to a very remote period of antiquity. The following words are placed in the mouth of God, in the fourth book of Kings, c. 21, v. 13:—"I will efface Jerusalem, as tables are wont to be effaced, and I will erase and turn it, and draw the pencil often over the face thereof."

Herodotus and Demosthenes mention also the use of tablets to which frequent allusion is made in the Latin poets. At Rome they served as a medium of correspondence between the inhabitants of the city and the suburbs, whilst the papyrus was reserved for letters forwarded to a more distant locality. They frequently replied to notes on the same tablets upon which the note had been written.

The most precious wood used for tablets was that of Citrus, a species of cypress from Northern Africa.

The Romans sent tablets as gifts during the Saturnalia, in the same manner as we of the present day give *port-folios*, *souvenirs*, and other matters.

The Diptychs were tablets with two leaves. At Rome, the consuls, and other magistrates, when entering on the duties of their office, sent to their friends amongst other presents, diptychs usually in ivory, artistically wrought and enriched with ornaments in gold. This custom became so expensive in consequence of the gorgeousness which they displayed, that we find in the Code Theodosian, a law, by which none but consuls were empowered to give presents of diptychs in gold or ivory as gifts. But this prohibition, like so many others, was openly violated, and the son of Symmach, being named Questor, offered to the Emperor himself a diptych covered with gold, and to his friends diptychs in ivory, and gifts of silver.*

Tablets of wax served in the ancient as well as in the middle ages for writing rough copies of deeds, or histories of travels which were afterwards transcribed neatly either on papyrus or parchment. Such were the tablets of wax belonging to Philippe Bel, preserved in the Royal Library. They were in use up to the last century, as has been proved in a memoir of the Abbé Lebeuf, placed in the collection of the Academy of Inscriptions. Thus, in the church of Rouen, until 1722, the tablets of the choir, on which they marked the names of the ecclesiastics who did duty and served in the choir during the week were in wax, written with an iron bodkin.

Black ink, amongst the Ancients, was composed of lamp-black, gum and water, to which they added a little vinegar, in order to render it indelible. Pliny asserts that they steeped wormwood in it to preserve the books from mice.

This ink was employed up to the twelfth century, at which period was invented that which we have in use at the present day.†

The Ancients, besides the red, blue, green, and yellow inks, had also an Indian ink mentioned by Pliny, made from the cuttle fish which differs little from the ink of China.

* There are several of these diptychs in existence at present. Montfaucon has engraven some of them in the supplement to his great work.

† This latter is a composition of wormwood, iron, gall nut, and gum and water.

Amongst the red inks, that which they called the *minium** and which, according to M. Brongniart, was nothing more than red lead, or cinabar, was the most esteemed. But that extracted from the *murex* was reserved exclusively for the Emperors who interdicted the use of it, or even its manufacture for private persons under the penalty of death.

The guardians of the Emperors affixed their signatures in green ink; there is still at Orleans a charter of Philip the First written in ink of this colour.

The Ancients were acquainted with the use of gold and silver ink. During the latter period of the Roman Empire, the writers in gold, the *chrysographos*, formed a particular class. The Royal Library possesses several Greek Gospels, and the book of the *Heures*, by Charles the Bald, are written altogether in gold. There are in Germany, Italy, and in England several diplomas similarly written; gold ink was principally used from the eighth to the tenth century. There are but few manuscripts existing written in silver. The most remarkable are the Gospels of Ulphilas preserved at Upsal, and the Psalter of Saint Germain, bishop of Paris, in the Royal Library.

The implements employed in writing were the stylus in metal or in bone,† of which there are several specimens to be seen at the different museums in Europe; the pencil,‡ the reed, which is cut like our pens, and which the Easterns use at the present day; and finally the pen, which is several times mentioned by an anonymous writer of the fifth century. Metallic pens were very probably known in ancient times, for, according to Montfaucon, the Patriarchs of Constantinople employed, in affixing their signatures, pens made of a silver reed. We may perceive in Montfaucon's Antiquities, and in the collection of paintings found at Herculaneum, that the ink, the writing, the desk, the penknife, the scraper, the sharpening stone, and the sand box, were known at a very remote period. By means of a rule and compass they traced lines to enclose the writing; black lead pencils were used for this

* The minium is known to day as the oxyde of lead.

† The styluses in iron were, it appears, proscribed at Rome by an edict. They were, in fact, a dangerous weapon, and we find in history several examples of murders having been committed by means of this instrument.

‡ This instrument was in use also amongst the Egyptians, and is employed at the present day by the Chinese.

purpose, but up to the thirteenth century these lines were traced with the point of the stylus.

The Ancients do not appear to have been in the habit of using a table in writing; they wrote on their knees or on their left hand. This latter method is still in use in the East.

TRANSCRIBERS AND MANUSCRIPTS.—Amongst the Hebrews this study was confined to the use of holy books; the profession of a transcriber appears to have been confounded with that of a commentator. The title of copyist was an honorary one, and indicated the literati, who interpreted the Scriptures; we are even led to suppose, according to a quotation from the translation of the Septuagint, that they had a particular residence assigned them. Among the Romans the duty of transcribing manuscripts was principally reserved for the slaves, and such of them as were employed as copyists attained great importance. This was a luxury which of course could only be enjoyed by the wealthy, who were desirous through these means to parade their erudition. Seneca, in his 27th Epistle, mentions a certain Calvisius Sabinus, who having purchased eleven slaves, made each of them learn a Greek poem. They cost him 100,000 sesterces, a sum by which he jestingly said he had acquired eleven libraries.

Thanks to the increased value of these *servi litterati* the instruction of slaves from their infancy was considered a lucrative speculation. "Pomponius Atticus," according to Cornelius Nepos, "had several slaves instructed, who were qualified to act as readers, and many of them transcribers. He had not even a footman who could not read or copy if required."

The destiny of educated slaves was much more agreeable than that of the others; they were well cared, and even cherished as objects of priceless value. When they succeeded in gaining their master's affection they were enfranchised; this only attached them more warmly to their persons. The correspondences of Cicero and Pliny the Younger furnish us with proofs of the extreme care bestowed on those servitors whose talents rendered them so valuable in their masters' eyes; when afflicted with illness change of residence, travel, nothing was spared to restore them to health. Pliny sent successively to Egypt and to Firuli one of his enfranchised slaves who had been attacked with several relapses of disease of the chest.

Besides the educated slaves, there were also copyists by

profession, and at Rome this occupation was principally exercised by the enfranchised and by strangers.* The celebrated Edict of Dioclesian on the *Maximum*, an edict of which an inscription from Stratonice has preserved to us some fragments containing the prices paid the copyists; but unfortunately the stone is mutilated at the part where the price of the parchment and the salary of the writer were inscribed, and all we can glean from it is, that the salary was rated by every hundred lines.

There were also female transcribers, as proved by a Latin inscription published by Gruter. In 231, when Origen undertook the revision of the Old Testament, Saint Ambrose sent to him some deacons and virgins instructed in caligraphy. At the end of the fifth century Saint Césaire having founded at Arles a convent for women, they were appointed to occupy themselves in copying the books during their hours of occupation. During a long time, and even up to a late period, the profession of bookseller was not distinct from that of copyist; the latter we find naturally selling the manuscripts, retaining counterpart copies. The word *Librarian* was derived from the term *librarii*, a name given by the Latins to their transcribers.

The Latin writers of the latter ages gave the title of antiquarii to the copyists who transcribed ancient works. This occupation rendered preliminary study indispensable, particularly when engaged in decyphering very ancient writings.

In the middle ages the term clerk (*clericus*) also designated copyists, monks and ecclesiastics having been, during a long period, the only persons privileged to transcribe manuscripts.

The Romans had workshops where several copyists wrote from the dictation of a reader. Several copies of a work could be thus easily obtained. In the middle ages this was not the case, as in consequence of the scarcity of books it was considered of more importance to have a single copy of various works than several copies of one. Besides, the monks could devote but a certain number of hours to the transcription of books, and not being stimulated, as the laics were, by love of gain, did not consequently proceed so quickly.

The hall in which the monks copied bore the name of *Scriptorium*. It was consecrated by the following benediction,

* The greater number of the names of copyists that have been preserved are Greek.

as related in the Glossary of Ducange :—"Benedicere digneris, Domine, hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum, et omnes habitantes in eo, ut quidquid divinarum Scripturarum ab eis lectum vel scriptum fuerit, sensu capiant, opere perficiant; per Dominum, &c."

The transcribers were obliged to work in silence, and, in order that they might not be disturbed, the Abbé, Prior, under Prior, and Librarian, had alone the privilege of entering the hall. It was the librarian who had the charge of pointing out to them what they were to transcribe, and furnishing them with all requisites for their purpose. They were strictly prohibited from copying anything but what was pointed out to them. Alcuin had the following inscription placed in the *Scriptorium* of the transcribers under his direction :—

Hic sedeant sacræ scribes flamina legis,
 Nec non sanctorum dicta sacrata patrum.
 Hic interserere caveant sua frivola verbis,
 Frivola nec propter erret et ipsa manus;
 Correctosque sibi quærant studiose libellos,
 Tramite quo recto penna volantis eat.
 Est decus egregium sacrorum scribere libros,
 Nec mercede sua scriptor et ipse caret.

Cassiodorus, in the *Scriptorium* of his Monastery at Viviers, had placed a sun-dial, a water-clock, and some lamps which were self-supporting; by some mechanical process, they fed themselves with oil, which emitted a bright and effulgent light.

The transcription of books, especially those that related to religion, was regarded in the middle ages as a most meritorious work. "The books which we are now copying," said the statutes of Gui II, Prior of Chartreuse, "ought to inspire us to become preachers of the truth. We hope that God will reward us for all those whom the reading of these books will lead from error, or any which they may help to strengthen in the truths of Catholicity."

There is a very curious passage on copyists in Orderic Vital; he writes :—

"Theoderic, Abbe d'Ouche, wrote well and has left, to the young religious, noble monuments of his talent. The book of the *Collects*, the *Gradual*, and the *Antiphon*, were written by his own hand in the Convent. His nephew, Radulphe, copied the Ecclesiasticus as well as the Missal, in

which they chanted the daily Mass at the convent. His companion, Hugues, made a copy of the Exposition on Ezechiel, of the Decalogue, and of the first part of the books of Wisdom."

We are indebted to the Priest Roger for a copy of the third part of the book of Wisdom, of the Paralipomenon and the Books of Solomon. This was the school from which was furnished some of the choicest transcribers,* such as Bérenger, who became afterward Archbishop of Venosa, Goscelin, and Radalphe, Bernard, Turquetil, Richard, and several others who filled the library of Saint Evroul with treatises of Jerome and Augustine, Ambrose and Isidore, Eusebius and of various doctors; their example incited the younger men to follow in the good work. Theoderic, that man of God, whilst giving them instructions warned them above all things to avoid sloth of the mind, which was calculated to destroy body as well as soul. He was accustomed to speak to them in these terms:—"A certain brother dwelt in a monastery; he was guilty of many infractions of the monastic rules; but he was a writer, he applied himself to the Scriptures, and copied voluntarily a large volume of the Holy Book. After his death his soul was conducted to undergo an examination before the tribunal of a wise and equitable judge. Whilst the evil spirits brought forward the strongest proofs of his guilt, and exposed his manifold crimes, the good angels on the other side, presented the book which the brother had copied in the house of God, and counted letter by letter the enormous volume, offering it in expiation of his sins. They succeeded finally by a single letter, and all the efforts of the demons were unavailing to oppose another sin. Thus was the Divine clemency propitiated, the brother was pardoned, his soul was permitted to return to his body, and sufficient time granted him to amend his life."†

In the generality of convents, the rule prescribed the trans-

* The French caligraphers rarely put their names to their works. The transcribers of the celebrated *Codex Evangeliorum*, which was formerly at Saint Denis, were two religious of the ninth century named Beringar and Luithard; and the caligrapher of the *Codex bibl.* which was presented to Charlemagne, during his sojourn at Pavia, was called Ingobert.

† *Histoire de Normandie*, book iii. Guizot's collection, vol. xxvi. p.41-43.

cription of books, though this was not always observed strictly. There were some monasteries to which candidates were not even admitted without presenting to the library some beautifully transcribed copies of works either sacred or profane.

The pasting of manuscripts, that is to say, the uniting of the leaves of which the volume was composed, was, according to Photius, invented by a certain Phillatius, to whom the Athenians in gratitude erected a statue. Among the Romans, this operation was chiefly practised by the apprentice copyists, or by the enfranchised slaves; it was, however, a recognised profession, and bore the title of *glutinatores*, as has been discovered in some inscriptions on the tombs, such as those found at Naples, and referred to by Annius Stichius, pasteboard-maker to the Emperor Tiberius. Among the Romans the copying slaves were at the same time bookbinders and pasteboard-makers; their labor, however, was shared by the religious, at least in some of the convents. "Whilst one," wrote Trithemeus, Abbot of Spanheim in the fifteenth century, "corrected the book which another wrote, a third made the ornaments in red ink with which the punctuation was beautified, another arranged the pictures, whilst some were employed in pasting the leaves, and binding the books with covers of wood; thus, each had his separate part to perform."

Ornamentation and colouring in manuscripts scarcely existed before the sixth century, though the Benedictines, with some shew of reason,* trace its custom to a much earlier date. The ornamented letters employed for the titles of works and the initials of chapters assumed the most singular and varied forms. They sometimes represented grotesque men with monstrous deformities, on other occasions animals, plants and fruits. They frequently took up an entire page, but this work was in general confined to other hands than the copyist.

Manuscripts of works sacred or profane were overladen in almost every page with gothic ornaments, vignettes, coats of arms, colored designs, and initials in gold. The margins were filled with paintings, which led to the remark that the writers had become artists, *hodie scriptores non sunt scriptores, sed pictores*. The tracers or painters of these marginal designs were

* It is alluded to in the following verse of Tibullus:—
Indicet ut nomen *littera picta* tuum.

called *babuinare*. This extravagance, carried to much greater extent in Italy than elsewhere, was soon extended into France; of this we have a striking evidence in the two manuscripts of Saint Graal, one of which exhibits one hundred and twenty-five golden miniatures, and the other a hundred and twenty-seven, beside capitals emblazoned with the arms with which both were replete. Such also were the four Gospels in letters of gold, which were completed in less than a year, from 1213 to 1214, at the Abbey of Haut-Villers, under the Abbé Pierre Guy; the copy of the Bible, executed towards 1239 at the Abbey du Parc, and which has been employed since by the Holy Fathers in the Council of Trent; finally the *Passionnaire*, or compilation of a hundred and thirty lives of the saints, written at Haut-Villers, in 1282, under the Abbé Thomas de Moremont. Some objections having been raised against this magnificence, the Dominicans prohibited the copyists of their order from ornamenting books with gilding, and enjoined them to apply themselves for the future in forming more readable characters.

These ornaments had raised the books to an almost fabulous price, of which it would be difficult for us, considering the variations of the monetary system, to form a correct idea. We think, however, that every miniature of the manuscripts of Saint Graal cost two florins, and that eighty livres were paid for a copy of the Bible, and two hundred florins for an ornamented Missal. In general, we might say that the average price of a volume in folio at that time, was equivalent to any valuable work of the present day for which we would be content to pay sixteen or twenty pounds.*

We shall give now a few extracts from an account of the expenses incurred in the house of Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy. They will serve to authenticate what we have stated relative to the prices paid for illuminating:—

1373. (Amiot Arnaut) Belin, illuminator at Dijon, wrote and illuminated the seven Penitential Psalms for the Duchesse for which he was paid 3 francs (about 28 francs 45 cent.)

1377. The Duke paid to Master Robert, maker of dials at Paris, the sum of 4 francs (about 36 francs 45 cent.) for an almanack which he had made for him for this year commencing the first of January.

* *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome xvi, p. 39.

1382. The Duke paid to Henriot Garnier Breton 72 francs (511 francs 30 cent.) for a book called the *Chroniques des rois de France*

Long after the invention of printing, wealthy people had manuscripts magnificently ornamented with miniatures executed at great cost.

Thus, before departing for Rome the Duke de Guise ordered a prayer book from Louis Duguernier, in which he represented the greatest beauties of the court under the form of so many saints. Bussy made a calendar, the portraits in which were, it is said, executed by Petitot.

The *Dialogue de l'Amour et de l'Amitié*, by Perrault, was so pleasing to Fouquet, that he had it transcribed on vellum and ornamented with gilding and pictures. The Imperial library at Vienna possesses a celebrated manuscript executed in 1647 by Frederick Brentel, a distinguished painter, for William Marquis of Baden. It belonged for some time to the Prince de Strassbourg. This manuscript is divided into two parts, the entire comprises about 470 pages. The first part is entitled, *Officium B. Mariæ Virginis Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu editum*; and the second: *Orationes selectæ et officia quædam particularia ad usum Guillelmi Marchionis Badensis, variis, auctore Friderico Brentel, ornata picturis anno MDCXLVII.* This magnificent manuscript, beside forty reductions of the most beautiful pictures of Albert Durer, of Jordaens, Rubens, Vandyck, Breughel, Wouvermans, Teniers and others, had a frontispiece representing a celestial concert, a calendar, each month of which was enriched with a portrait, and the work was finished with a portrait of the painter.

One of the most ingenious modern calligraphers, and certainly the most skilful of all the French calligraphers, Nicholas Jarry, was born at Paris about 1620 and died before 1674. He received from Louis XIV., the patent of *writer and music copier to the King*. His works which are very rare, bring an exorbitant price, as may be judged by the following details. The work which is considered the first of Jarry's is a *Preparatio ad Missam*, 1633, in octavo, on vellum, and ornamented with initial letters in gold and colors. There were 250 francs paid for it at a sale. *La Guirlande de Julia*, 1641, in folio of thirty sheets. This magnificent work is the most celebrated of all Jarry's. It was written for the Duke de

Montausier, who presented it to Julia de Rambouillet, some years before they were married.

The frontispiece of the volume is encircled with a garland which has given the name to the work; on each leaf is one of the flowers which makes part of the garland, and was painted by the famous Robert. Over each flower is a madrigal transcribed by Jarry with admirable perfection.*

On the death of the duke, who survived his wife, this book passed to the Duchess de Crussol d'Uzès, then to the heirs of this lady. At the sale of the Duke de La Vallière's library, it was purchased by an Englishman at the enormous price of 14,510 livres. It has been since re-purchased by the daughter of the Duke de La Vallière.

A copy of this manuscript made by the author himself in 1641, but without pictures, has been bringing successively 406 francs, 622f., and 250f.

The text was published by Didot in 1784, and in 1818.

Missale solemne 1641, in folio, written in red and black and on two columns, with singing notes. Each page is encircled with a band of gold and ornamented with initial letters in gold and in colors. This missal was sold in 1813 for 601 francs.

Adoration à Jésus naissant, écrite et présentée à la reyne, 1643, in duo decimo, on vellum and magnificently executed. Was sold for 750 francs.

Heures de notre dame écrites à la main, 1647, in folio, on vellum, with seven miniatures. It has been sold successively for 515 francs, 1,601f. and for 73 livres.

Preces Christiana, 1652, in duodecimo, on vellum with frontispiece and vignettes. Brought 1,210f.

Office de la Bienheureuse vierge Marie, 1656, in duodecimo on vellum with miniatures by Petitot. This book had been, as is alleged, executed for Anne of Austria, and after her death given to the Duke of Burgundy by Madame de Main-

* All these madrigals were in general very bad; we know at the present time but very few of them; we give one that was written, at foot of a violet, by Desmarets de Saint Sorlin:

Modeste en ma couleur, modeste en mon séjour,
Franche d'ambition, je me cache sous l'herbe;
Mais si sur votre front je puis me voir un jour,
La plus humble des fleurs sera la plus superbe.

tenon ; it belonged afterwards to the prince de Conti, and was sold at a much later period for 110 livres.

Adonis, a poem by La Fontaine, dedicated to Fouquet, 1658, in quarto. This magnificent manuscript which was considered one of the most precious morceaux known of its kind, after having been for a time in the study of Prince Michael Galitzin at Moscow, was sent back to Paris with this nobleman's library, and sold in 1825 for 2,900f.

The high prices which Jarry's works brought encouraged forgers of writing to affix his name to the caligraphic productions of his pupils, and even of rivals ; but we do not know who M. Brunet desires to point out in the following sentence placed at the end of the article which he devotes to Jarry : " Why should we have to tell of a man whose pen, cunning in the imitation of all kinds of writing, has not feared to lend himself to this species of fraud by inscribing not long since the name of Jarry on several small prayer books which were anonymous."

Some manuscripts became celebrated though possessing no other merit than that of difficulty to decypher. Such was the *Liber Passionis D.N.J.C., cum figuris et characteribus ex nulla materia compositis*. The leaves of this book were of parchment, on which were inscribed all the strokes of the letters used for writing or printing on paper, so that if you placed between the leaves some black paper, you could read the words distinctly on the opposite side in clear daylight.

This extraordinary book might be seen in 1640 in Prince de Lingen's library, and they maintain that the Emperor Rholphe offered a considerable sum for it.

We shall offer a few more observations on the manuscripts of the middle ages.

In the ninth century, Loup de Ferrières wrote to Eginhard : " I will go see you to return your books and learn from you which of them I most require to study. I would have sent you Aulus Gellius, had not the Abbé kept it, complaining that he had not had time to copy it, but he has promised me to write you explaining that he is the cause of the books being detained." In a letter addressed to another, we find the following passage : " I send you before I have read it, the manuscripts of the annotations of Saint Jerome on the Fathers, feeling satisfied that your watchful diligence will induce you to read, copy, and return them promptly."

The correspondence of the same writer proves how difficult it was to procure works sacred or profane. Thus, having requested from a German Abbé the *Treatise on Jeremiah* by Saint Jerome, and being unable to procure it, he addressed himself to Pope Benedict III, and after recommending two monks who had undertaken a pilgrimage to Rome, he added :

"We also request from you Cicero's *De Oratore* and the twelve books of the Institutes of Quintilian, which are comprised in a single volume of moderate size. We have several portions of those authors, but are anxious to possess them in their entirety. Finally, we solicit the *Commentary* of Donatus on Terence. If in your liberality you would accord us this favor, all these works will, with the assistance of God, be promptly returned to you."

At this period, in consequence of the value of manuscripts, forwarding books was a hazardous undertaking and frequently insecure. Loup de Ferrières is excusing himself to Hincma for not having sent him a work of Bede : "The book was so voluminous," said he, "that it could neither be concealed in the bosom nor in the wallet, and when both those modes of conveyance were impossible, it would be exposed to the fatal mischance of being seized by a gang of miscreants whose cupidity would be tempted by the beauty of the manuscript, and thus it would be lost both to you and me."

We may conceive in effect, according to the following fact related by Mabillon in his *Analecta*, that the value of manuscripts held forth a strong temptation to the cupidity of robbers : Grecie, Countess of Anjou, in the eleventh century, purchased a collection of the *Homilies* of Haimon of Halberstadt for two hundred sheep, a hogshead of cheese, another of rye, a third of millet, and a certain number of marten sable skins.

The possessors of manuscripts, in order to defend their treasures, had recourse to means, the efficacy of which was rather doubtful. The *Alexandrian Codex* (the Old and New Testament) manuscript of the fourth century preserved in the British Museum bore this inscription :*

"This book is dedicated to the patriarchal chamber of the city of Alexandria. Whoever removes it hence will be excommunicated, and turned out of the pale of the Church, Athanasius the humble."

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. V. No., 17 p. 146.

In the eleventh century Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, gave to the monastery of this City a *Ritual* (Sacramentary) at the end of which might be read : " If any one steals this book either by force, fraud, or through any other means, this crime will cause the perdition of his soul, his name shall be erased from the books of life, never more to be written amongst those of the just." In a manuscript of 1072, which may be seen at Monte-Cassino, a notice terminates thus : " If any one attempts to take this book, no matter under what pretext he does so, he shall at the day of judgment be amongst those condemned to eternal fire." In fine, we discover the following phrase in a manuscript written about 1250 and containing the Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, the Canticles, and Wisdom : " This book belongs to the monastery of Rochester : if any one takes it away or conceals it, he will be anathematised. *Amen.*"

In another part we perceive that the prior and the monks of the same convent proclaimed every year the ban of excommunication against any one who should embezzle a copy of Aristotle's *Natural Philosophy*, or even alter the title.

At the present day in colleges students have preserved the habit of placing in their books burlesque maledictions against any one stealing them, or not returning them when taken.

Dedicating the manuscripts to God, to the Churches or the Convents as votive offerings for the comfort of their souls, *pro remedio animæ suæ*, was looked on as a most meritorious work. Mabillon has found prefixed to a manuscript collection of general councils and rescripts of the Popes, an inscription which shewed that this book had been offered on the altar of Notre-Dame-du-Puy, by Adalard who was Bishop in 919. Saint Maïeul, Abbé of Cluny, having copied Saint Ambrose's commentary on Saint Luke and that of Raban Maur on Jeremias, made an offering of them to his monastery, and placed them on the altar dedicated to Saint Peter. There are several examples of this custom. From the earliest ages of the Church this dearth of books had given rise to a very laudable practice. They suspended in certain parts of the church the Holy Scriptures and some books of prayer, that the faithful might be enabled to consult them. This practice dated as far back as the fifth century, as may be seen by what is related of the Abbé Gélase, who lived about the year 450 :—

" He had a book written on parchment, containing the Old

and New Testament, and which was worth 18 golden sous. He placed it in the church in order that all the brothers could read it. A strange monk stole it, and the holy old man was unable to follow him, though he perceived the theft. The other went into the town and tried to dispose of it, demanding 16 golden sous for it. A person who wished to purchase it, asked permission to examine it, and took it for this purpose to the Abbé Gélase, who said to him : 'Buy it, it is beautiful, and well worth the price.' The purchaser said to the seller : 'I have shown it to the Abbé Gélase, and he told me it was too dear, that it was not worth the price you demand for it.' The vendor asks him if the Abbé had made no other remark. 'No' replied the other. 'I will not sell it at all' said the monk, who, touched with remorse, sought Gélase and restored to him the book ; the Abbé refused to take it, when the monk said to him : 'If you do not take it I will never be at ease again.' He then took it, and the strange monk converted by this act, dwelt with him up to his death.* They gave to these books, thus placed in the churches, the name *d'enchainés*, in consequence of their been attached to the wall in that way.

In 1406 a priest named Henri Beda having bequeathed his breviary to the Church of Saint-Jacques-la-Boucherie, left at the same time to Guillaume l'Exale, churchwarden, an annuity on condition that he should construct a cabinet to enclose this breviary.

It was not devotional books alone that were placed in the churches. The authors of *l'Art de Vérifier les dates* mention a book thus placed in the Cathedral of Mâcon, and which contained a list of the nobles of the city. In the southern towns the municipal statute books were frequently affixed to the wall by an iron chain, and placed in a cabinet secured by either lock or padlock, of which the consuls kept the key.

But to return to the copyists.

Good copyists were as rarely to be met with in the olden time as in the middle ages. Works in the Latin tongue were transcribed in so faulty a manner, that Cicero did not know where to apply in order to purchase some required by his brother Quintus. Even his own works were incorrect though

* Fleury, *Histoire Ecclesiastique*, liv. XXVIII. ch. 38.

copied under his direction. In the time of Strabo nothing could be more incorrect than the manuscripts which were sold at Rome and at Alexandria; it does not therefore surprise us to learn that sundry incomprehensible passages have been detected in the works of the ancient authors. Each copyist renewed the errors of his predecessor, or added new ones. We can therefore easily conceive the enormous amount of mistakes which had thus accumulated from century to century, dating from the very earliest periods of antiquity, and continuing up to the invention of printing.

What contributed still more to render the text of certain authors obscure was the latitude which some of the critics permitted themselves when correcting a passage in the manuscripts of the meaning of which they were ignorant. The Greek writers in particular had much to suffer from the erudite criticisms of their editors or commentators.

The mistakes of transcribers are as numerous as the posterity of Abraham. Those who would desire to count them might as easily calculate the grains of dust on the earth. We shall now give a few specimens of the criticisms on the various editions of Greek and Latin classics.

Several writers have asserted that Aristotle was a Jew; this singular assertion arose from an error in punctuation: the version of Josephus by Georges of Trébisonde bore this sentence: *Atque ille, inquit, Aristoteles Judæus erat*, in place of: *Atque ille, inquit Aristoteles, Judæus erat*.

Bayle, in the article which he has dedicated to Artémisia, quotes (note D.) a passage from Plutarch relative to a panegyric on Mausolus by Isocrates, a passage in which some have discovered that this oration was lost, whilst others maintain that it is still extant. "See," added he, "how fortune sports with manuscripts: a stop omitted, or added, alters the entire sense and changes yes to no."

The Abbé Lebeuf relates a strange mistake of some transcribers of the middle age. Accustomed to copy in the Missals, epistles, or hymns on the lives of Saint Stephen, Saint Denis, and the Holy Innocents, it chanced that they entitled certain prose writings *la Vie du premier jour de l'an, la Vie de l'Epiphanie, &c.*

In the fourteenth century Petrarch complained bitterly of the ignorance and negligence of copyists. "How are we enabled," said he, "to remedy the evils which our transcribers inflict on us; their ignorance and idleness ruin and destroy

everything? They prevent men of the highest genius from placing before the world their immortal works, and thus rob posterity. This is a punishment merited by this age of sloth and luxury, in which choice dishes are more valued than the rarest books, and good cooks more eagerly sought than good copyists. Whoever can paint the parchment or hold the pen is regarded as an ingenious transcriber, though he possesses neither knowledge nor ability. I do not speak here of orthography: that has been cast away long since. Would to God that the copyists wrote, however badly, all that had been given them to transcribe! We would then at least, despite *their* ignorance, have the substance of the books, and not be confounding the copies with the originals, and be thus perpetuating errors from century to century. Think you that if Cicero, Livy, and other ancient authors, above all Pliny, were raised from the dead and given their own works that they would comprehend them? No, they would exclaim at each word and at each page, those works you have given us to read are not ours, they are the productions of a barbarian. The evil is that there exists neither rule nor law for the copyists; they undergo no examination: the locksmiths, the agriculturists, the weavers, and other tradesmen, are subjected to an examination and to rules, but there are none for the transcriber. In the meantime there are heavy taxes for these destructive barbarians, and we are obliged to pay dearly for spoiling all our good books."

The poet also, in a letter to Boccaccio, complains of not being able to find any one who would faithfully copy his book on *la Vie Solitaire*. "It appears incredible," said he, "that a book which has been written in less than a month, could not be copied within the space of several years."

When engaged in works relating to religion, aware of the importance of their faithful transcription, the copyists were in the habit, either at the commencement or conclusion of the manuscripts, to recommend those who copied after them to compare carefully their work. This warning was sometimes replaced by imprecations against those who either added to the text or abridged some part of it. An example of this may be seen in the 18th and 19th verses of the last chapter of the Apocalypse of Saint John.

ABRIDGED AND SECRET WRITINGS.—The term *sigles* has been applied to the letters of a word by which this word has

been represented either entirely or in part. Cicero called this species of abbreviation *singula litteræ*, from whence the word *sigla* had its derivation, which has since been transmitted into the French language.

There are two species of sigles. The sigles *simples* are those which represent each word by a single letter, as N.P. *nobilissimus puer*. The sigles *composés* added to the initial letter one or several letters of the word, as A.M. *Amicus*, F.S. *Fratres*. The sigles had their origin amongst the Hebrews, according to some commentators, from them they passed to the Greeks and Romans, and from that period the custom of using them has never ceased. They were employed in inscriptions, manuscripts, statutes, decrees, dissertations and letters.

As sigles bore various interpretations, the habit of using them occasioned so many abuses, that the Emperor Justinian prohibited them by decree; so that any one daring to employ them in transcribing the laws of the empire was punished as a forger. The Benedictines discovered in a manuscript of the Abbey of Saint Germain des Prés, several fragments of Virgil in sigles; this manuscript is now at the king's library. We cannot conceive what advantage could be derived from reading from a book, where all the lines were written thus :—

Tityre, t. p. r. s. t. f.

That is to say :

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi. This manuscript is known in France under the title of *Virgile d'Asper*.

Up to the eleventh century, according to the Benedictines, the custom of abridging writings in this manner was in use. Of this we have proof in the famous doomsday book, compiled by order of William the Conqueror. This manuscript in two volumes was written in ancient letters and in sigles. These sigles nevertheless were not so frequently employed in it as in the *Virgile d'Asper*. They were merely used to distinguish the books, and to mark the number of chapters and quires in the manuscripts. They also explained the value of the weights by different letters of the Greek and Latin Alphabets. Physicians have preserved up to our own day in their prescriptions the use of some sigles which date to a very remote period of antiquity. The employment of sigles in marking proper names in deeds and documents of all kinds led to innumerable errors; whether caused by the copyists or interpreters, they occasioned great confusion in history. Of this we furnish an example :

The ancient martyrology of Saint Jerome, marked on the sixteenth of Feb. eleven martyrs, companions of Saint Pamphilius, after these words: *Juliani cum Ægyptis* V., they had *mil*, an abbreviation of *militibus*. The transcribers after the word *Juliani* put *cum aliisquinquemillibus*. The author of the *Roman martyrology*, Baronius, not having discovered this blunder, inserted five thousand martyrs instead of five. Errors of this description were very frequent, and have been remarked on more than one occasion.

There is found amongst the ancient manuscripts another species of abridged writing, which consists in the suppression of a portion of the letters of a word, and in the substitution of certain signs for the characters suppressed.

In the most ancient manuscripts, abbreviative signs are extremely rare, but they increased towards the seventh century. In July, 1804, Philippe le Bel essayed to remedy this abuse by an ordinance relative to scribes and notaries. But his efforts were vain, for up to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we meet with a crowd of such records full of abbreviations by which they are rendered almost unreadable.

They were introduced even into the books first printed. This rendered them very difficult to be read without some work which would form a key to these abbreviations. We know, amongst others, of a book published by Jean Petit merely for works of the kind, and which is entitled: *modus legendi abbreviaturas in utroque jure*. Paris, 1498, in octavo.

We give here an example of these abbreviations, two lines taken from folio 121, of Occam's *Logic*, printed at Paris, in 1488 in folio:

Sic hic e fal sm qd simplr a e pducibile a deo g a e. Et silr
hic a n e g a n e pducibile a Deo;

That is to say:

Sicut hic est fallacia secundum quid simpliciter: A est producibile a deo. Ergo A est. Et similiter hic: Anon est. Ergo Anon est producibile a Deo.*

The abridged writing known amongst the ancients under
* the name of *notes tironiennes*, and with us under

* See the first volume of the *Elements de paléographie*, by M. N. de Wailly, containing a dictionary of sigles and abbreviations.

† This name was derived from an enfranchised slave of Cicero, called Tullius Tiro who contributed materially to the perfection of the stenography used in Latin writings.

that of stenography was, in all probability, invented by the Greeks. Diogenes Laertius relates that Xenophon employed it in compiling and publishing the discourses of Socrates. The Romans were ignorant of this art till a much later period, and Cicero was the first according to Plutarch who practised it at Rome during the debates to which the conspiracy of Cataline gave rise in the senate. "He would not agree," he said when speaking of Cato's reply to Cæsar, "that this oration was altogether Cato's, because Cicero had on that day brought a number of clerks who were very expert in writing, whom moreover, he instructed through the medium of notes and abbreviations to typify and describe in a few words all they should hear; for that purpose he disposed them here and there in different parts of the senate hall; by this means they were enabled without being recognised as scriveners to express an entire sentence in one word by means of annotations and abridged letters. They were the first to commence this mode of inscribing." Cicero employed stenographers himself, and it was in this manner that his pleading for Milo was gathered as he gave utterance to it. The *notes tironiennes*, successively augmented and became more perfect up to the time of Seneca the elder, who increased the number in his possession to five thousand; this was a common practice in the Western countries. Up to the fourth century they were taught this practice in the public schools. Discourses were thus written as also wills, public decrees, indictments, and even sermons: for Saint Augustine relates that his auditors collected by this means all he said in the pulpit. But what was even more singular, they transcribed entire books in short hand. Saint Anchaire, at first monk of Corbie, in the ninth century, afterwards Bishop of Bremen, wrote in this manner several large volumes; and they have preserved in the Royal Library various Psalm-books written thus, even anterior to the ninth century.

The stenography of the ancients was equally expeditious as our own, and the rapidity of the scribes is the subject of a charming epigram by Ausonius (146th epigram) which we cannot resist giving in its entirety:—Slave, clever minister of rapid notes, hasten! Cover the double page of thy tablets, in which a long series of phrases, each expressing various points, is traced as rapidly as a single word. I survey enormous volumes: and as the surge hastens on the storm, the words precipitate themselves from my clamorous lips, and thy

ear is not disconcerted, thy page is filled ! Thy hand scarcely appearing to move, flies over the surface of the wax, and if my words creep through long circuitous windings, thou fixest my ideas on the wax, as if they were already enunciated. Would that my mind were as prompt to conceive, as thy hand is ingenious in fore-stalling my words. Who, I ask of you, who has betrayed me ? Who has already revealed to thee what I designed to say ? How can thy winged hand thus rob me of my most hidden thoughts ? By what new order of things can thy ear be cognisant of what my tongue has hardly expressed ? It is no master that has taught thee this art, no other hand could fly thus rapidly over the pages. No, nature has bestowed on thee this gift ; it is to God thou art indebted for this special favour, of knowing before hand what I ought to say and of willing that which I desire."

The *notes tironiennes* ceased to be employed in France towards the end of the ninth century, and in Germany towards the conclusion of the tenth. Three hundred years later some copies were found in the patents of the Kings of Spain. However, we may say, that they fell into disuse very near the period when abbreviations increased in ordinary writing. Notaries alone continued to employ them in deeds, as a species of cipher, intended to serve as a security against forgers.

Cryptography, or secret writing, dates to a very remote period of antiquity. Aulus Gellius has given on this subject some very curious specimens.

"We have," said he, "a collection of letters written by C. Cæsar to C. Oppius and to Balbus Cornelius, in which were discoverable, at various parts, imperfect syllables, and isolated letters which could not form a word, and which appeared as if flung there in meaningless confusion. The manner, however, in which the letters were transposed had been previously arranged, and what appeared chaos on the paper, was to the reader simple and legible, owing to the preconcerted agreement by which he was enabled to put each letter in its proper place. In arranging to employ this mysterious manner of communicating, they agreed on the signification which each letter should bear. Probus, the grammarian, composed with much labor a commentary on the meaning of the letters used in Cæsar's correspondence.

"The Lacedemonians possessed also the means of rendering the letters written to their generals unintelligible to the enemy,

in case they seized on them. They wrote in the following manner: they had two round sticks of the same length and thickness, scraped and prepared in the same way. One of these sticks was placed in the Archives, under the care of the magistrates. When they wanted to write on any matter of importance to the general, they rolled spirally around the stick a band sufficiently small and of convenient length, taking particular care that no space should intervene between the different folds of the band. They then wrote in a transverse form on this band what they wished to communicate, the lines going from end to end of the stick, this they unrolled, and dispatched to the general. Detached and unrolled, it presented nothing to the view but mutilated letters, without either heads or tails. Thus, if it fell into the enemys' hands, it would be perfectly unintelligible to them. But the general knew what to do; he rolled the letter around his stick, and by that means placed the characters in the order in which they had been traced, and thus formed a letter easily decyphered. This species of letter was called by the Lacedemonians, *scytale*. It is recorded in a history of Carthage that an illustrious general of this republic, Hasdrubal perhaps, having to write a state secret, employed the following stratagem: he took some new tablets that had not yet being covered with wax, and engraved on the wood what he desired to say, plastering it over with the wax. The tablets were then dispatched without having the slightest appearance of being written on; the person receiving them, being forewarned, raised the wax and read the letter on the wood."

Aulus Gellius relates another example of secret writing, which is certainly the most singular we could mention; it is almost beyond credence.

"When Asia was under the domination of Darius, Histiaeus of Miletus, was at the court of this King, and wishing to announce privately some important intelligence to a certain Aristagoras, conceived this most extraordinary stratagem: he had a slave who was suffering from a complaint in his eyes for some time; under the pretext of curing him he had his head shaved, and wrote with his stilus on the bare crown all he desired to say. He retained the man in his house till his hair grew again, and then sent him to Aristagoras. Arriving at the residence of Aristagoras, he told him, that his master recommended him to shave his head, as he had previously done; persuaded that this request was not motive-

less, he complied with the injunction, and thus read the letter on the head of the slave."*

The methods used by the cryptographers employed by J. Cæsar and Augustus were extremely simple. According to Suetonius the former always employed, instead of the letter usually required, that which was placed fourth in order after it in the alphabet; thus he put D for A, E for B, and so on. Augustus put B for A, C for B, and A twice for Z.

From this period cryptography has been continually used; both prince and minister have employed it in their political correspondence.

"Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Spaniards wishing to establish between the scattered members of their vast monarchy a communication which could not be intercepted, originated a species of type known only to themselves, in order to baffle the attempts of those who desired to trace their correspondence. This cipher, composed of more than fifty figures, was of marvellous utility during the civil wars. The celebrated French geometrician, Viète, having been enjoined by the King to discover the key, attained that knowledge easily, and found means even to follow all its mutations. France profited during two years by this discovery. The Spanish Court being disconcerted, accused France of having had recourse to the devil and to sorcery in order to gain this knowledge, and appealed to Rome. Viète was summoned there as a necromancer and sorcerer, which afforded much merriment."†

The Council of Nice also employed secret characters, and Raban-Maur, Abbot of Fulda and Archbishop of Mayence, relates two examples of a cipher of which the Benedictines discovered the key. In the first example, five vowels are suppressed, and replaced in the following manner:—It is represented by a period, A by two, E by three, O by four, and U by five; the letters are arranged in this manner.

Nc. p. t : vs : .s B : n. f. c. . . rch. gl : r. : s. q : m : rt. r. s. which may be read thus :—

Incipit versus Bonifacii archi. gloriosique martyris.

In the second example they substituted for each vowel the letter which followed it. All the consonants, *b, f, k, p, x*, according to this system, maintained their value.

* *Attic Nights*. See also Herodotus, book V. ch. 35.

† *Biographie Michaud*, vol. xlviii. p. 446.

We have referred in this paper to the curses uttered against those who should alter the manuscripts. In the 18th and 19th verses of the last chapter of the Apocalypse we have an example of these imprecations, and possibly the original:—

“18. For I testify to every one that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book: If any man shall add to these things, God shall add unto him the plagues written in this book.

“19. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the Holy City, and from these things that are written in this book.”

Bayle has a curious passage in his article on *Polonus*. He writes: “before the art of printing was found out a great deal of time was necessary to prepare the copies, and books were extremely dear; all possible care was taken to husband the transcriber’s time, and the buyers’ purse, and it was so managed for the benefit of several persons that one chronicle supplied the place of two or three, and for that end, instead of copying several, they added to one everything that was particular and most remarkable in the rest.”

ART. II.—THE DECLINE OF PORTUGUESE POETRY.

FIRST PAPER.

1. *Lusitania Transformada de Fernan Alvares do Oriente.* Lisbon : 1781.
2. *Lusiadas de Camoens, commentadas por Manuel de Fariay Sousa.* Madrid : 1639, &c., &c.
3. *Fuente de Aganippe.* Madrid : 1646.
4. *Obras poeticas de Antonio Barbosa Bacellar.* Lisbon : 1716.
5. *Fenix renascida.* Lisbon : 1746.

Portuguese poetry is of older date than Spanish : pastoral songs were sung on the banks of the Tagus in the old language of the country even before the monarchy itself was founded (in 12th century). And it is not only more early in origin, but also more pastoral in spirit than the Spanish ; which is natural, considering the circumstances of Spain and Portugal. In the latter country the Moors had been so humbled in 1112, by Alfonso Henriquez, the first Portuguese king, that they were never afterwards able to offer any formidable opposition to the progress of the kingdom, whose people were thus enabled to cultivate, in comparative security, the arts and the sentiments of peace, and to enjoy their beautiful rural scenery, while Spain was still struggling in arms with a powerful internal enemy, the Moors, who were not subdued till the time of Ferdinand and Isabella, at the close of the 15th century. Portugal, too, was one kingdom, under one head, while Spain was, till the 15th century, divided among different, and frequently hostile, Spanish monarchs. Hence it arises that in the Spanish cancioneros and romanceros (collections of songs and ballad-romances) the warlike and chivalresque poems are in greater number than in the Portuguese collections, the majority of whose pieces are of the pastoral species, with its variations, amorous, elegiac, descriptive, sentimental : and when love is the theme, there is more gentleness and tenderness in the strain, than in the more fiery and intense songs of Spain. The Portuguese were mingling freely in society, and occupying themselves with the affairs of the world, while the Spaniards were still dwelling in haughty and jealous seclusion, in castles

fortified against the Moslems, and against each other, and with their feelings untempered, unsoftened, by general social intercourse.

The Portuguese language, soft and plaintive, was well fitted for pastoral poetry, which was long predominant, and was characterised by an engaging simplicity and a tender earnestness. But the genius of the poetry expanded, and continued to expand till the latter end of the sixteenth century. Latin, and modern foreign literatures, were studied, and exercised an influence on the Lusitanian Parnassus. Sá de Miranda, and his disciples, Ferreira (called the Portuguese Horace), Diogo Bernardes, Caminha, and Cortereal, refined their native poetry, rendered it more classical, and gave it greater scope. They were contemporaries of Camoens, but "Camoens was a poor adventurer, wandering in India, at the period when Ferreira, Caminha, and other cotemporary writers, were setting the poetic fashion at the brilliant court of Lisbon. But the poems which he produced previously to his departure for India approximate in a striking degree to the classic works of the school of Sá de Miranda; and hence it is probable that the influence of that school, and of the older Portuguese poetry, may have operated in an equal degree on his genius."* But Camoens proved the Portuguese poet *par excellence*, unsurpassed by any of his countrymen in epic and lyric, sonnet, elegy, and cantiga. In him Portuguese poetry reached its zenith, and then began to decline. The causes of the decline are obvious: immediately after the death of Camoens (in 1579) Portugal ceased to be a nation. The young king Sebastian, with a large portion of the nobility and chivalry of his realm, fell in Africa, at the fatal battle of Alcaçer-quiver, in 1578: he left no direct heir; his uncle and successor, Henry, was very old, and a Cardinal, and he dying in 1580, leaving the crown unsettled among the claims of distant relatives, Philip II. of Spain invaded, and after a short struggle subjugated, Portugal, and humiliated it to the condition of a province of Spain, oppressed by the foreign victors.

The national feeling was crushed (and without it there can be no true poetry), and there was little or no patronage for native literature. The Portuguese kings, who themselves often wrote verses, were friends to belles lettres: popular poets were

* Bouterwek, History of Portuguese Literature.

invited to their courts and obtained appointments. These advantages ceased on the conquest of the country, and a blight fell upon its literature from which it has never recovered, not even after Portugal had burst the Spanish chain, and regained her independent position ; for in the interim the national taste had been corrupted, bad foreign models had been adopted, and the same degree of patronage was never again extended to the literati by the court, the nobles, or even the people ; and though from time to time a poet appeared who was not unworthy of being a co-patriot of Camoens, Portuguese literature, and especially poetry, continued to decline, till it reached its present low ebb.

In these pages (and in succeeding papers) we essay to commemorate the few poets who, like stars of the second and third magnitude, shone in the darkening horizon after the sun of poetry had set with Camoens. We shall, however, in the first instance, retrograde a little in chronology ; and instead of commencing our remarks from the death of Camoens, we shall begin with one who was the cotemporary of the latter, and who wrote a national epic which stood high in popular favor, and even for some time held its ground in the face of the *Lusiad*. The author we mean is Fernan Alvares do Oriente, of whom we would speak because he has been passed over with a mere casual mention of his name by those standard historians of Portuguese literature, Bouterwek and Sismondi ; though specimens of his compositions have been inserted in recent collections of Portuguese poetry.

Our poet, Fernan, or Fernando Alvares, added to his family name the cognomen of "do Oriente," (of the East) on account of the place of his nativity, which was Goa, the capital of the Portuguese possessions in the East Indies, where he was born about 1540. He chose the navy as his profession, and during the Indian vice-royalty of Antonio Moniz Barreto, he commanded a galley of the kind called by his countrymen a *Fusta*, and by English seamen a *Foist*, a light small vessel impelled by both oars and sails : and he distinguished himself in some of the expeditions sent from Goa against other Indian ports during the years 1574, '75, and '76.

Of the particulars of his private life, nothing is known, but he achieved fame in Portugal by a kind of pastoral epic, called "*Lusitania transformada*," (Lusitania transformed) which has been eulogized by Faria y Sousa, and other native

critics. It contains some pretty lyrics, and various eclogues. In one of the latter, Alvares seems to have been smitten with a fancy to imitate Ovid, for the eclogue which is entitled "Saladin," is the story of an unfortunate lover who is metamorphosed into a tree, like Daphne, the sisters of Phaeton, &c.

Alvares represents two persons, Arbello and Ribeiro, in a rural scene in India, sitting under the united shade of a Palm, and of a tree called by the Indians "The Sorrowful Tree," because it is only *at night* that it yields its perfume and displays its flowers, which open after sun-set, and fall off at day-break. This tree, or shrub, which is of the Jasmine family, is called by botanists *Nyctanthes Arbor tristis*, but by the natives in some parts of India, "*Hursinghur*," and in others "*Nilica*." An orange dye is extracted from its flowers. In Lalla Rookh the fair princess is represented as wearing "a silk dyed with the blossoms of the sorrowful Nilica." Ribeiro, calling the attention of Arbello to the trees, says :—

The tree by Indians nam'd "the Sorrowful,"
Mark how it blooms all garlanded with flowers,
And breathes its odours only in the cool
And silent shadow of nocturnal hours.

But from the Pole when in his car of light
Returns at dawn of day the joyous sun,
And touches the fair tree with fingers bright,
Then flowers and fragrance both alike are gone.

Behold the Palm with luscious burden fraught,
Whether the beams of day effulgent glow,
Or night to hide them hath her mantle brought,
Their various fruits those liberal branches show."

Arbella remarks that there is an old Indian legend connected with these trees, which he proceeds to detail, but so much at length, that we dare not venture to offer more than an extract (in its place) to the reader. He relates, that in a part of the country, far to the east of the Portuguese possessions, there once lived a noble Indian, who had a son named Saladin, endowed with rare gifts both personal and mental : but growing weary of an inert life at home, he fled from his father's house, in search of warlike adventures. After performing deeds (which the poet says *he* will not declare, for that is the business of Fame), the youth at last reached the valley in which the two friends were then sitting, and where there dwelt an old man with a daughter named Grisalda, "*a cele-*

* In the original the Eclogue, is in the *Terza rima*, for which we substitute the more familiar, and more manageable, elegiac stanza of the ordinary structure.

tial planet disguised in a human form, brought down to earth by wrongheaded Fate ; the poison with which love tips his darts ; the harsh prison of noble hearts ; the fierce conflagration of indiscreet souls," thus Alvares describes a beautiful but evil minded woman. Saladin met with her as she was gathering flowers, fell in love of course, renounced his life of adventures, hung up his arms on a tree, and became for her sake a rural swain and tiller of the ground ; though she treated him with coldness, the more to excite his love, and "*to keep alive the flame amid cold ashes.*" But her father who discovered Saladin's love, and found the young man useful to him in rustic occupations, gave him his daughter in marriage, and Saladin thought himself the happiest of the happy. But fortune who loves changes, "*would not thwart her own inclinations for the sake of the lover-husband.*" Chance, or destiny, whichever we may deem the accomplice of fortune, now brought to the valley, one who had formerly dwelt there, and had loved Grisalda, but had been compelled by circumstances to depart from those scenes. He returned thither, and found his beloved the wife of another, yet unhappily still remembering her former inclination for himself, she became unfaithful to her marriage vow, and her guilt was discovered by Saladin, who was distracted between his indignation at her treason, and his own still surviving love. He assembled the parents and friends of Grisalda in a secluded spot, he twined a garland round his head and climbing up into the highest Palm, he addressed the group below. (A ludicrous image, injurious to the effect of the Eclogue ; and showing the decadence of Portuguese taste since the days of the early pastoral poets with their pleasing simplicity, and of the classic Sà de Miranda and his followers.) The speech of Saladin, however, is conceived in a spirit of tender and generous devotedness. He told of his deep grief, of the struggle between love and indignation, and of the victory of love, which forbade him to avenge himself on her to whom his heart had been given, either by taking *her* life, or that of the man for whose loss she would mourn. He gently reproached her for her ingratitude to his unalterable affection, and burst into tears that formed a river which fertilized the Palm, which till then had borne no fruit. (Portuguese critics have condemned this hyperbolical river : but Alvares do Oriente, found a precedent in Petrarch, whose works were assiduously studied by the Poets of the Peninsula).

Ne giammai neve sott' al sol disparve,
Com' io senti me tutto venir meno,
E farai una fontana a piè d'un faggio.
Gran tempo umido tenni quel viaggio.*
Chi udì mai d'uom vero nascer fontana?
E parlo cose manifeste e conte.

(Never did snow beneath the sun dissolve
As rapid as I felt me melt away
Into a fountain at the beech-tree's foot.
My wanderings had I sped through humid hours.
Who e'er hath heard of *man*† to fountain changed?
Yet what I speak is manifest and true.)

Petrarch Canzone.

But to continue; Saladin having breathed his last adieu, suddenly flung himself down from the top of the lofty tree, and was killed at the feet of Grisalda; "*and the earth that was thickly covered with emeralds, was now covered with the rubies scattered there by Love*;" says Alvares, with one of those unfortunate conceits that too often disfigured Portuguese poetry after the death of Camoens, and English Poetry under the auspices of Cowley and Donne. Grisalda was seized with shame and remorse, and the spectators, filled with sorrow, buried Saladin upon the spot.

Then beth'd in tears to native earth they gave
His pallid corse, and took the proffered wealth
Of flowery fields to scatter o'er his grave.
When dawn'd next morn, and night with pace of stealth
Retreated timorous to her cavern deep,
Shunning day's radiant glances to behold,
Up from the spot honour'd that trust to keep,
That sacred trust, because less hard and cold
Is earth than human hearts, yea, thence up-sprung
A fresh green tree; for thus transform'd the spoil
Which that most pure and noble soul had flung
Aside, now bloom'd with many a leafy coil.
Beautiful Tree! that all thy fragrant
Dost lose when touch'd by female hand (too dear
A woman's hand hath been, hath cost to thee)
In that sweet scent with which from yon high sphere
Thy star hath blest thee, we the type desory
Of thy pure faith—the tints thy flower displays,
Yellow and white, *this* symbol to the eye
Despair; and *that* fair purity portrays.
And falls the flower soon as the forest screen
The sun illumines? 'tis the type of woe
And shame, for love that ill bestowed hath been.
When like rich pearls the dews at Even flow,
Wept by the pensive stars, then sweet perfume
Love to th' unfolding blossoms doth impart.
O loving Flower! that openest to the gloom
Thy treasure'd charms, most beauteous *then* thou art.
Thus the pure heart on earth its grief doth vent
When the skies weep their own; when heaven is seen
With countless stars, like flow'rets, all besprant,
To flower celestial answers flower terrene.

* Literally, "I had very wet weather on that journey"—a very affected manner of expressing that he had wept much as he rambled.

† But he must have read in his Ovid of a *woman* changed to a fountain viz. Arethusa.

The stately Palm, emblem of triumph, new
 Crown'd with abundant fruits its head up-rears ;
 Yet erst nor fruit, nor blossom grac'd its bough :
 And though the noblest mid its high compeers,
 It yielded to its Lord no tribute—none,
 Save the cool shade that on the plain it threw,
 The parch'd, untill'd, and dreary plain whereon
 The Palm, though sterile, still majestic, grew.
 But since it hath been bath'd in waters shed
 By that true Lover in his sorrowing,
 Prond hath it borne its precious burden, fed
 By tears, a flood pour'd forth from bitter spring.
 The crystal wine^a whose sweetness can make glad
 His heart who tastes, that magic sweetness gains
 From bitter source, e'en from those tears so sad
 That bath'd the tree, and fill'd its inmost veins.
 Thus by its gifts the friendly Palm declares
 How all its worth from Lover's pangs hath sprung—
 Such are the honour's Love so faithful bears,—
 The guerdon of fond heart by falsehood wrung.

Grisalda (continues Arbello) was seized by the indignant people, and condemned to the flames : from her ashes sprung up a shrub bearing a poisonous berry. Her guilty lover, flying from the country in hopes of escaping punishment, came unwittingly to the scene of Grisalda's execution, saw the shrub, ate of its fruit to appease his hunger and died of its poison. The moral the poet intended to convey is sufficiently obvious.

In the same poem of Fernan Alvares do Oriente, "Lusitania Transformada" there is a lyric on the charms of Rural Life, which we ourselves much prefer to the Eclogue of "Saladin," being more natural, and quite free from conceits and hyperbole, as well as from images (always disagreeable) of guilt and personal suffering. It is, however, too long for these pages, and we can only offer an extract to the reader.

RURAL LIFE.

Happy, thrice happy he,
 Whose life in rural scenes is past ;
 How peacefully his lot is cast,
 In sure felicity.
 His thoughts in waveless calm repose ;
 Nor chilling fear, nor fluttering hope he
 Knows.
 Cheerful he lives, unvex'd by anxious
 thought,
 Nor seeks in prideful Courts,
 Where flattery resorts,
 The favour that at conscience' cost is bought.
 To him doth Nature yield
 Her ready boons—the fields
 Gives him its flowers, its fruits the tree,
 Water the fountain, fresh and free.
 What simple joys can recreate
 His mind content with humble state :
 In green umbrageous glade

He Nature's works may contemplate
 And see her thousand blending hues
 display'd.

Down from the rugged steep
 He sees the rushing torrent bound,
 And murmur mid white pebbles strew'd
 around.

He sees his dear-lov'd sheep,
 In the fresh hour of morning tide,
 Close clinging to the mountain's side ;
 And, as along the heights they wind,
 Leaving the verdant meads behind,
 They list with heedful ear the strain
 Sung sweetly by the shepherd swain.

He sees how morning gay
 Gives to the blossoms, zephyr-fann'd,
 The bright hues of her blushing brow :
 Wher'e'er his footsteps stray
 He sees the fair shells on the strand,

* The Palm Wine.

The upland flowers with various tintings
 glow.
 And when the sun hath sunk below
 The far horizon's line,
 He sees at Even's pleasant time
 The moon above the dark hills climb,
 And like a watch-fire shine,
 The gauzy clouds with silver fringing,
 And their thin veils like Iris tingeing.
 For him th' abounding Vine
 Yields its rich fruit, the purple and the
 green:
 For him the clusters gush with glad some
 Wine.
 When on his valley's peaceful scene
 The sunset casts a temper'd ray,
 With careless steps he loves to stray;
 Now singing as he roves along,

Now listening to responsive song.
 Willing the hours in jocund leisure,
 Happy in idleness, indolent in pleasure:
 The one lightcare that to his heart is known,
 Is for his meek and simple flock alone.
 What tho' he boast not vest
 Gandy with gold, with silver bright,
 Nor dome by Art's fair pencil dight,
 For him the earth is drest
 In lustrous em'ralds, and the skies,
 Paint all around with heaven-born dyes.
 He hath no thought, no fear,
 Of peril lurking near,
 But lays him down to healthful rest
 While streams through dewy herbage mur-
 muring nigh,
 Invite sweet slumber with their lullaby.

Beside the "Lusitania transformada" Alvares do Oriente wrote some small poems that are contained in the Cancionero, or collection of songs by Pedro Ribeiro. With the date and place of Alvares' death we are unacquainted.

We now proceed to poets who wrote after the time of Cameons, and we commence with his commentator.

Manoel Faria y Sousa was of gentle blood, but more especially by maternal than by paternal descent. His father, Perez de Eiro, a gentleman of the Royal household, married Donna Louisa, daughter of Estacio da Faria (a Fidalgo) and niece of Manoel de Sousa, lord of the village and district of Valmelhorado. The son of Perez and Louisa bore the names that he inherited from his mother in preference to his father's surname, de Eiro. The original appellation of the Faria family was Gonzales, but the name was changed in the 14th century, in commemoration of an honourable circumstance. In the reign of King Ferdinand of Portugal the Castilians and the Portuguese were at war (as was usual with them); the Castilians invaded Portugal; a part of their army ravaged the province of Entre Minho e Douro, defeated a body of Portuguese troops near Guimaraens,* and took prisoner Nuno Gonzales, governor of the castle of Faria (in the above named Province) which was holding out for King Ferdinand. Gonzales feared lest his son, whom he had left in command when he himself took the field, might be induced to surrender the castle in order to purchase his father's liberation; but dissembling his sentiments he told his captors, that if they would escort him to Faria, he would deliver to them the keys of that stronghold. They accordingly conducted him thither, and on his

* A considerable town, on a hill, 165 miles N. E. of Lisbon.

arrival he demanded a parley with his son, who appeared upon the ramparts above. Then the brave and faithful Portuguese, well aware that he was devoting himself to instant death, exhorted his son in the most solemn and energetic terms, to take no thought of *him*, or of his welfare, but to defend resolutely that important fortress for his sovereign, even though he should at last be buried beneath its ruins, and bade him remember that a man is to be accounted honourable only as he is loyal. The Castilians, enraged at the disappointment of their expectations, fell furiously upon their unarmed prisoner, and dispatched him with many wounds in the sight of his son. But this ignoble cruelty only exasperated, instead of intimidating the young man, and stimulated him to an obstinate and ultimately successful defence. Ferdinand, in recompense, bestowed in him the Castle of Faria, and desired that he and his posterity should thenceforward assume the name of Faria, from the scene of his father's noble self devotion. To this castle the subject of our present memoir alludes in one of his Spanish poems.

It was beneath a pleasant roof where oaks
And chestnuts threw a grateful shade around,
That Clotho on her distaff twin'd for me
Life's thread—a simple, not ignoble, home.
An ancient tower, with lilies sculptur'd fair,—
Gave me, not riches, but time-honour'd name.

Manoel Faria e Sousa was born in 1590, at the Quinta (county seat and estate) of Souto de Filgueiras (to which he alludes in the above lines) near Pombeiro in a beautiful valley of Entre Minho e Douro, between Guimaraens and Amarante.* At ten years old he displayed abilities greatly in advance of his tender age: he learned quickly, had a retentive memory, was fond of reading, especially history, attempted poetical composition, and executed clever pen and ink drawings. His father taught him the rudiments of Latin; but soon sent him to school at Braga,* an Archiepiscopal city of his native province. There he studied Latin, Logic, and the then usual routine of education; but addicted himself *con amore*, to poetry, and wrote multifarious verses which, in later years, his maturer judgment condemned to the flames.

* A town on the river Tamega, in a pleasant and wooded country.

† Braga is 15 miles from the sea, in a fine open valley, watered by two small rivers, shaded by trees, and surrounded by mountains, and famous for the best oranges in Portugal.

But even in boyhood he demonstrated such peculiar capacity and inclination for business (diplomatic) that, at the age of fourteen years, his relative, Don Francisco Gonsalvo de Moraes, Bishop of Oporto, appointed him his secretary; and undertook to instruct him in every thing necessary to fit him for holding office in the state.

He remained ten years with the Bishop, who is represented as a wise, learned, and amiable man; and then married Donna Catherine Machado, daughter of Pedro Machado, Comptroller of Customs at Oporto. The bride and bridegroom were both 24 years of age at the time of their union.

In 1618 (four years after his marriage) he removed from Oporto to Pombeiro, near which his parents then resided, at the celebrated Quinta of Caravela: and he diligently employed himself in literature, and soon became widely known by his writings, in the pouring forth of which he showed a facility almost as wondrous as that of Lope de la Vega; and like that prolific Spaniard, his reputation is owing more to the multitude of his works than to their superior excellence. In his era good taste had declined: quantity took rank as quality; Portugal, still subjugated, was but a province belonging to Spain; its nationality (so essential to poetry) languished: the literary men wrote principally in Spanish, and had adopted the faults of foreign poets, the affectation and conceits, the inflation and hyperbole of the Spanish Gongora and the Italian Marino, that style, the antipodes of ancient simplicity, called Gongarison and Marinism from its grand masters. Still, however, there is much to admire in Faria e Sousa: he loved literature, and he wrote in earnest (and earnestness always commands some degree of success); he often wrote, too, with grace and vivacity, and in a pleasing strain of sentiment; but he composed much more in the Spanish language than in the Portuguese.

The fortune of Faria was not equal to his birth; his family increased, but his means did not, in spite of his industry, which was indefatigable: and in order to amend his circumstances by the emolument of some official situation, he determined upon going to Madrid (which was politically, though not geographically, the capital of Portugal) whither he had been frequently invited by Pedro Alvares Pereira, Secretary of State to the Spanish King, Philip IV. On arriving at Madrid, accompanied by his wife and children, he was most graciously received by Pereira: but all the hopes he conceived from the interest of the friendly se-

cretary were suddenly annihilated by the unexpected death of that Minister. Thus after all the expense and trouble of a long journey with a very large family, in an era when travelling was slow, laborious, and costly, poor Faria, like a shuttlecock in the hands of Fortune, saw himself obliged to return forthwith to Portugal. But his drooping spirits were somewhat supported by encouraging promises made to him by the Marquis de Castelo Rodrigo,* Don Manoel de Moura, to whom Don Alfonso Furtado de Mendoza, Archbishop of Lisbon, had addressed a letter on Faria's behalf, stating that though the person on whose account he wrote was personally unknown to him, yet from all he had heard of his talents, information, and high moral character, he was sure that the Marquis would find him worthy of his esteem, and eminently useful to the public service; he therefore recommended him for the post of Secretary for India. But the Marquis disapproved of Faria's nomination to that office, as below his merits: and on the same pretext he also opposed another appointment offered by the Portuguese secretary, Francisco de Sucena, to the unfortunate candidate for place, who might exclaim, in reference to the Marquis's patronage, "save me from my friends"!

He returned to Lisbon by sea in search of employment in 1628, and on the voyage contracted a deafness from which he never recovered. The Archbishop of Lisbon anxious to place him in some honorable situation, with a salary commensurate to the wants of his large family of ten children, procured him the appointment of Secretary of State for Portugal. But alas! for poor Faria! he was soon persuaded by his unlucky patron to give up a reality for a shadow. The Marquis de Castello-Rodrigo, being appointed Ambassador to Rome, and knowing Faria's capacity for business, and his indefatigable application, beset the ill-starred man with promises and entreaties, till he induced him to relinquish his office in his native country; and again taking his numerous family to a foreign land, he accompanied the Marquis to Rome, where, on his arrival, he was appointed Secretary to the Embassy, and entrusted with the cypher.

Faria e Sousa applied himself with never failing assiduity to

* Castel-Rodrigo a town on a high mountain (in the province of Beira in Portugal) near the Spanish frontier, was created a county by Philip II. of Spain, for don Christopher de Moura, for whom Philip III. advanced it to a marquessate.

hard work, unvaried by any amusement, not even by the recreation of social intercourse, from which he always kept himself aloof. He was, however, much noticed by the Count de Castelvillani, Grand Chamberlain at the Papal Court, who was well acquainted with his works, and who urged him to write a poem on the coronation of Pope Urban VIII. He complied, and that Pontiff, who was himself a follower of the Muses, accepted the tribute with much pleasure, and in an audience, at which he received the author, in September, 1633, he expressed his delight at what he termed, "the elegance, harmony and buoyancy of his verse." Yet save empty praises, he reaped little benefit from his labors in the eternal city: and hopeless of ameliorating his condition there, he returned with his family, to Madrid in 1634. But on his re-appearance in the Spanish capital our luckless bard, met with an unexpected blow, being arrested on a charge of some breach of diplomatic confidence, some official indiscretion, *he* who was one of the most unsocial and uncommunicative of men. By the kind offices of Don Jeronymo de Villanova, then Secretary of State, he was, however, soon restored to liberty, and had a small pension granted to him. But he saw that his expectations of promotion were fallacious; Fortune was but a step-mother to him, and Hope a deceiver: and he composed for himself a device, having on one hand the ancient Castle of Faria, with its heraldic lilies, and on the other, an open compass standing on a book; the whole surmounted by a crown, with the motto, "In vanum laboraverunt." By which he meant to express, that neither his 30 years of labor, literary and diplomatic, both at home and abroad, his honorable birth, his connections with the highest families in Portugal, nor his great industry, had availed to procure him any substantial benefit—all had been in vain.

His case seems hard: yet, by the account given of him by his biographers, he was ill adapted for any post requiring intercourse with, and knowledge of, the great world. His love of seclusion was carried to eccentricity; in whatever country he might be, he shut himself up in the bosom of his own family, going nowhere but to church, and steadily refusing every invitation, saying that he should feel far less pleasure at the most epicurean table, than when seated at ease at his own frugal board. He was even scarcely known by sight to the ministers from whom he should receive his despatches. *Ex quovis ligno*

non fit mercurius; and he was not the material of which to make a Minister of State: though he had exactly the qualities for the drudgery of a subordinate. His deafness unfitted him for general conversation, and gave him the air of being cold, taciturn and austere; but by the few with whom he would occasionally converse, he was esteemed as an amiable and agreeable companion, full of anecdote and clever apophthegms. He was a steady lover of truth, and contemner of flattery, a moral and religious man, an affectionate husband and father.

With the title of Knight of the Portuguese Order of Christ, and with a small pension as a commander of the Order of the Knights of Rhodes, he retired, from diplomatic service, fixed his abode at Madrid, and devoted himself to a most laborious life of literature, for the maintainance of his family. He rose at day-break to write, and rested only while taking his meals. His pen was so quick, and his ideas so varied, that he has been known to write in one day a hundred letters of condolence, or of congratulation, as occasion required; and each different from the others in thought and expression. It was his habit to write daily 12 sheets, of 30 lines on each page, each line containing at least 60 letters (of the alphabet) and during the execution of this task, he was obliged to seek among many books the materials for the work on which he was employed.

As a poet Faria e Sousa does not stand in the foremost rank of Portuguese bards. He is deficient in the rural simplicity and tenderness of the old pastoral writers, and was perverted by the false taste of his day for conceits and farfetched antithesis, and hyperbole.* Of his eclogues 12 only are in Portuguese: and in his ideas of pastorals he included subjects which are not bucolic:† and wrote judiciary, monastic, critical, and genealogical eclogues. He has been, however, adjudged, the praise of having composed some few eclogues in the true spirit of pastoral life. His sonnets are considered the best of his poems: out of an immense number he selected 600 for publication: of these (which he called Six Centuries of Sonnets) 400 are in Spanish; the remaining 200 in Portuguese. These

* The most glaring instances of these faults occur in his *Spanish* poems.

† Faria seems to have followed the example of the Italian Sanazzaro who (in the 15th century) wrote Piscatory Eclogues in Latin; but our Portuguese bard went farther than Sanazzaro in extending the range of the eclogue.

are often graceful in style, pleasing in sentiment, and sweet in versification. We select for translation two or three that have been favourably quoted (in the original Portuguese) by Bouterwek. Faria, who was a methodical man, arranged his sonnets (as well as his eclogues) in classes, according to their subjects.

Giving the precedence (as of right) to the power that
"Rules the Court, the Camp, the Grove,"

we shall commence with a

LOVE SONNET.

Nymphs of the Valley! Nymphs, whose
 beauties rare,
In each like thousand flowers are bleas-
 soming,
Revealing to our eyes a human spring,
With charms so blushing, and with tints so
 fair—
O lovely ones! that in your radiance are
The earnest of you sphere's immortal light,
Come, with your beamings, with your
 roses bright;

Haste ye to aid me in my pleading song,
For laden with abounding flowers I come
On this glad day to greet, with chaplets
 new,
The portals of my lov'd Albinia's home.
But jealous for your beauty's glory, you
Beseech my prayer, and come not—well ye
 know
That by her side your charms diminish'd
 show.

The next place after love we must accord to memory that
consoles and animates love.

SONNET OF REMINISCENCE.

Whence'er I seek that spot, (a fairy tale
It seems) where first he was my bliss to
 see,
In human frame, a bright divinity,
Or human beauty deified—the while
I think upon that slender form, that smile
Ambrosial, that transparent blush, that
 small
And snowy hand, that voice so musical,
Whose words impart new life whilst they
 beguile,

That step so airy, that we think clamping
With all its charms, in radiant grace
doth move,
Touch'd by the lightsome Zephyr's play-
ful wing—
Then, then once more my heart is fired
with love—
Then, by my ardent wish alone pourtray'd,
That radiant queenly presence shines dis-
played.

Our last specimen shall be taken from Faria's "Second
Century," from the class he calls his moral or sentimental
sonnets.

SONNET OF REGRET.

They've pass'd away, my green and
thoughtless hours,
Fresh April-time of human vanity;
A spring so false, delusions were its flowers,
And errors all the fruits they bore for me.
Hasten are the useless blossoms—prune to
 see:
Fast is the summer of an ancient age,
To youth too, dear—those tints so fair to
 see

Mask poison fire for Reason calm and sage,
These I've renounc'd, I ween without recall,
But know not if exemption I achieve
From those aspects that make the mind
their thrall.
Forgone delusions scant assurance give
That of those flowers the fruits have per-
ish'd all,
Since, though long years are dead, long
habitudes still live.

Except the 12 eclogues, and the 200 sonnets, all Faria's
poems are in Spanish: he collected them (in both languages)
in a work in several volumes, called "the Fountain of Aga-
nippe."* In his literary seclusion he wrote more of prose

* Among his poems are the fable of Narcissus and Echo, Albania
Epithalamiums, Elegies, religious poems, etc.

than of poetry, and composed much on history, statistics, and criticism. Among his works one of the principal is "Europa Portuguesa" (Portuguese Europe) a history of Portugal from the beginning of the world : it is in Spanish, and is thought by Sismondi to "deserve attention more from its style, and the talent it displays for narrative and oratorical composition, than for its historical merits, the exactness of its researches, or the soundness of its criticism." We should, doubtless, consider history in a very mistaken point of view, if we should suppose with our author, that the serious and dignified tone, together with the lucid order and simplicity, which it requires, are to be made subservient to a continual desire of shining, and to a crowd of promiscuous ideas, and daring images. But it is only a man of superior talents who is likely to fall into such an error ; and in fact, while we peruse the work of Faria, we cannot help regretting at every line, the unfortunate misapplication of the talents with which he was endowed. He also wrote on the Portuguese affairs in the Asiatic, African, and American Colonies ; on the empire of China ; on the history and genealogy of the Count of Barcelos, and the Marquis de Castello Rodrigo.

Among his critical works are three treatises : "On the Sonnet :," "On the erroneous ideas of the moderns concerning Poetry :," and "On Pastoral Poetry :," these have been esteemed by his own countrymen as canons of sound criticism ; but the critics of other countries judge them to contain much that is false in reasoning, and contrary to good taste. But the great work of Faria, on which he was employed for a quarter of a century, is his commentary on Camoens, or we should say his commentaries, being in two parts, the one on the *Lusiad*, the other on the miscellaneous poems of Camoens. These commentaries he very inappropriately wrote in Spanish, using the language of his country's conquerors to treat of that national poet whose patriot heart burst when he foresaw the fall of his country. The Commentaries are valuable for the information they afford concerning the lives of Camoens, and of the great Portuguese navigators ; and also for the historical data industriously collected to illustrate the *Lusiad* and the minor poems of Camoens : but it is blamed by Bouterwek and Sismondi as being overloaded with a mass of erudition foreign to the subject, and as defective in taste and judgment, for while Faria extols Camoens, instead of appreciating the real beauties of that

great Poet, he reveres him for the one great blemish on his perfections, his mythological pedantry.

In 1640, a remarkable event occurred, the liberation of Portugal. The Portuguese, weary of the Castilian yoke, which was both galling and insulting; indignant at the violation of all the laws by which the Kings of Spain were bound to govern Portugal, secretly planned, and successfully executed, a revolt against their foreign masters, from whom they freed themselves after a servitude of 60 years, and called to their throne, by the title of John the IV. the Duke of Braganza, as the nearest of kin to their last legitimate sovereign, the Cardinal Don Henry. The deliverance of his native land made no change in Faria's life, though it filled the mass of his countrymen with enthusiasm; he continued to live at Madrid as a Spanish subject: perhaps he was influenced by the feeling, that in Portugal he had gained nothing but empty renown, but in Spain he had obtained a pension; he had declined not a little from the patriotism of his honoured ancestor, Nuno Gonzales.

The excessive labours to which Faria was a slave, the total want of exercise for his body, and of recreation for his mind, ruined his health; he became the victim of an excruciating malady, from the tortures of which he was at length released by death on 3rd June, 1649, at the age of 59; and was interred in the Conventual Church of the Præmonstrant Order at Madrid.

He had lived in uninterrupted harmony with his wife for 35 years, and was the father of six sons and four daughters. One of his sons, Pedro Faria was a captain of cavalry in the Spanish Army, and served in Flanders; he married a lady of Madrid of a good family, Donna Lousia Narvaes Delgado. Another son, Manoel Faria, also embraced the military profession, and went to India in 1639. One of his daughters, Donna Louisa Faria e Sousa (who married Don Conrado de Freitas Paym) was admired for her great skill in painting, and for the excellence of her performance on various musical instruments.

We now proceed to notice a celebrated cotemporary of Faria e Sousa, who less voluminous, and consequently with less of pretension, had fewer faults and mere merits as a poet, and more patriotism as a Portuguese than Faria.

Antonio Barbosa Bacellar, born at Lisbon about 1610 (twenty years after the death of Faria y Sousa) was the son of Francis Barbosa Bacellar, and his wife Donna Gracia Gomes

Pereira, who was of the lineage of the heroic Nuno Alvares Pereira (Constable of Portugal under John I) who by his eloquence excited his depressed countrymen, to resist a formidable invasion of the Castilians* in 1383, and who with only 6600 Portuguse, defeated, at Aljubarrota, the hostile army, 30,000 strong, led against him by his own brother, and skill fully following up his advantage, he delivered the kingdom from its danger, and established John upon the throne.

The young Bacellar, even in his boyhood, attracted attention by the clearness of his judgment, the quickness of his comprehension, and the extraordinary powers of his memory. Barbosa Machado, in his *Biblioteca Lusitana*, (Portuguese Library, or rather Dictionary, of Authors) affirms, that before Bacellar had completed his 16th year, he was accomplished in Latin, rhetorio, poetics, philosophy, theology, and mathematics, (quite an Admirable Crichton) and that in the Jesuit College of St. Antonio he disputed publicly on those different branches of learning, and answered with so much promptitude and ability that he excited equal wonder and admiration. His memory was so quick and so retentive that on reading or hearing read two or three pages of any book, he would repeat them faithfully, without missing or altering a single word; a feat which he often displayed in the presence of the literati of Lisbon.

Obedient to the wish of his father, he went to the University of Coimbra, that favorite of Portuguese Royalty when Portugal had her own kings, to study Civil Law, which was then the most certain road to fortune and to office. He embraced this profession with so much zeal, that he subsequently distinguished himself as soon as he had a favourable opportunity for displaying the fruit of his diligence, perseverance, and talents.

Amid his grave studies poetry was to Bacellar more than a recreation, it was a delight. His poems were published before he had completed 25 years, and were at once hailed with universal applause, and many complimentary verses were addressed to him by various pens. He wrote with facility, sweetness

* The King of Castile claimed Portugal in right of his wife, Beatrix, only child of the then late sovereign Ferdinand: but the Portuguese, detesting the idea of a foreign king, called to the throne, John, natural brother of Ferdinand.

and elegance both in Portuguese and Spanish : his good taste rejected the fanciful extravagances in which the admirers of Gongora and Marino indulged : as correct in his style as Ferreira, he excelled him in feeling, grace, ideality, and animation. He took Camoens for his model, and wrote several beautiful glosses on sonnets by that noble poet. He introduced into Portugal a class of poems which he called *Saudades*, an untranslatable word peculiar to the Portuguese language, which means a mingled sentiment of regretful memory, an anxious longing in absence for a beloved object. These *Saudades* are a kind of pastoral narrative in an elegiac strain. The versification (in the original Portuguese) is sweet and flowing, and they contain many pleasing, and even beautiful images, but they are prolix, and have not much variety in their subjects. Of this class he wrote the collections called the "*Saudades of Lydia and Armido*," and those named the "*Saudades of Aonio*:" the latter being the most generally esteemed, we shall attempt the translation of a passage wherein Aonio is meditating among flowers, upon his love.

AONIO.

Intent he ponder'd o'er each flower,
And from each leaf and bud could borrow
Some fond allusion to his sorrow.
A Rose, flush'd like the sun-set hour,
Graceful as e'en the noblest Fair,
And with a prideful star-like air,
Display'd all glorious to his view
The splendour of its crimson hue.

Aonio mov'd to weeping,
In tears the bright rose steeping,
Sighed forth, Remembrancer of grief!
Emblem of loveliness too brief,
E'en hers whom once, short while, I deem'd
mine own,
Now like a shadow, vapour, snow-flake
gone—

Ah! why recall that short-liv'd beauty's
doom!
The Rose that died in scarce unfaded
bloom.

O'er fragrant bowers white jasmynes spread
Their flowers, the summer's snow,
And fill'd the air with odours shed
Around, above, below.
A mournful glance Aonio cast
On those sweet garlands wreathing,
And thought, how long! how long! since last
I press'd her soft lips breathing
Their fragrantcy—since last her voice
Melodious made my heart rejoice,
And on my ear enchanted fall,
Like fabled magic of an Eastern spell.

He wrote many sonnets both in Spanish and Portuguese : from the *latter* we select one for translation.

SONNET.

ON A NIGHTINGALE IN A CAGE.

Bird! gentle prisoner! thy sweet melodies
Thou warblest blithe, with cadence, swell,
and thrill,
As if in freedom thou wert ranging still,
The grove's Amphion, Orpheus of the skies.
For thou didst lose the pleasant memories
Of liberty, down by yon lucid tide,
Where tress'rous hands hid, on its sedge
side,

The snare that made thee, mid thy glee, its
prize.
And I, too, am a prisoner, e'en like thee :
For there are eyes, bright as the cloudless
day,
Where Love in ambush spread a snare for
me—
But I in sorrow live, while thou art gay :
I like art thou and I in captive state ;
But thou'rt content ; I murmur at my fate.

In Spanish Barbosa Bacellar wrote various decimas (poems in stanzas of ten lines) and romances, besides sonnets : but

when he adopted the tongue of Spain, he indulged more lavishly in conceits and *Gongorisms*, than when he thought in his own language. We shall select as specimens of his Spanish muse a set of *decimas*, and a romance, the ideas in which (especially in the former) will remind the reader of the fancies that were fashionable in the days of our own Cowley, Donne, &c. The similes in the 2nd stanza of the *decimas* are certainly overstrained: because a lady's hand is white, it must be compared to Potosi, famous for its silver mines, and still more extravagantly, to crystal, and the loss in crystal is repaid by the ruby blood. The first and last stanzas, too, seem somewhat contradictory of each other.

DECIMAS.
FROM THE SPANISH.

ON A LADY WHO WOUNDED HER HAND
WHILE CUTTING JASMINE.

1.
Cloris, cruel, killing Fair,
Weary of her victories,
Piercing hearts and blinding eyes,
Now her darts of death doth spare:
Now her taper fingers bear
Blade of steel with blood besprent,
Yet devoid of dire intent:
Satiated with her conquests' pride,
Murtherous shaft she lays aside
For less fatal instrument.

2.
Yet the steel is traitor found:—
With its keen, unfeeling edge
Hath it dar'd—O sacrilege!
Dar'd that snowy hand so wound.
As a spring bursts from the ground,
So from that new Potosi
Streams of crimson gushes free;
Precious rubies thus repay

All the crystal stolen away
By that weapon's treachery.

3.
Sylvan saw, and loath'd the steel:
Wrathful it had dar'd so much
Envions of that hand's soft touch,
Thus he spake with lover's zeal:
"Woe befall the blade could deal,
Cloris, e'en one pang to thee;
Yet 'tis love's revenge we see:
Beautiful, belov'd in vain!
Wounding hearts with cold disdain,
Now thou know'st what pain can be.

4.
"Cut no more, 'tis luckless hour,
Of the pure white jasmine here:
For those red drops, though so dear,
Blemish, while they paint, the flower.
Why hath cruelty such power
O'er thy heart, that thou would'st fail,
Rather than its mood restrain,
When there's other victim none,
Wreak it on thyself alone,
Practising thy skill to pain."

The following romance is a sportive apology for the indiscretion, or want of politeness of a friend: its playfulness makes amends for its conceits, which, however, are not nearly so *outrés* as numbers that are prominent in Spanish and Portuguese versification of the period. We abridge the romance; its 26 quatrains would be too many for these pages, and perhaps for the reader's patience.

ROMANCE.

FROM THE SPANISH.
ON A GENTLEMAN WHO FELL ASLEEP WHEN
IN COMPANY WITH A LADY.

1.
Lycid on Cloris look'd—then slumber
Stole o'er his eyes: his fault was light:
For sleep refreshes, and he needed
Refreshing from that dazzling sight.

2.
He slumber'd, and the act though heedless,
Still with discretion mark'd must seem:
For though 'twere blamful to behold her,
Yet bliss is but a sleep, a dream.

3.
And more—respect, though mute, yet modest,
This courteous slumber doth display,
In closing thus those eyes whose glances
Might dare, unvall'd, too much to say.

4.
Yea, thus the more intent and steadfast
Upon her radiance can he look;
She is the sun—what eyes unshaded
To gaze upon the sun can brook?

5.
And Wisdom may approve the reason
Of this so-seeming lethargy:
For useless were his best endeavour
To look on what he could not see.

6.
It was not disregard, but prudence
That seal'd in cautious trance each lid:
For Lycid from the nymph's perception
Hath thus his loving rapture hid.

7.
Too well he knew that Cloris' bosom
Felt nought for him but deep disdain:
And thus hath he renounc'd a pleasure,
To save her pride a moment's pain.

8.
Sight is not always Faith, and Lycid
Doth manifest finesse and skill,
That seeing not he may continue
Believing in her beauty still.

9.
'Tis much to look on lovely Cloris,
Yet more, far more, to comprehend;
And thus he fear'd, if he beheld her,
At once must comprehension end.

10.
To see her were a bliss dimmish'd
As soon as gain'd, for Wisdom saith
That happiness existeth ever
The less in sight, the more in faith.

11.
And, well content without obtaining,
Doth self-denying Lycid prove
That, bliss attain'd he far less prizes
Than the still, longing wish of love.

12.
And if, as minstrels tell us, beauty
Be the sweet music of the eyes,
He that hath felt its charm doth wisely
When to forget the spell he tries.

13.
And Lycid's sleep by skilful token
The double power of Cloris shows,
That though her beauties Care awaken,
Again they lull it to repose.

14.
Lycid on Cloris look'd, and slumber'd,
A sleep as with enchantment fraught;
A sleep by Cloris' charms effected,
A miracle their power hath wrought.

15.
Yet 'twas less sleep than 'twas suspension
Of outer life, for thus would he
Concentrate all his soul, the better
His Cloris' loveliness to see.

16.
He made his heart a hallow'd altar,
And thought and sight confining there,
Ador'd with well-adapted homage
An Idol, the disdainful Fair.

17.
Yea, Sense confined within doth worship
A portrait, as in vision blest,
'Tis Cloris' form, by Cloris' pencil
Traced faithfully within his breast.

18.
His slumber is a voice that mutely,
But plainly, hath his meaning told,—
The better thus with sight concentr'd
Her bright perfections to behold.

19.
O happy youth! whose soul ingenious
Its faith and love through sleep displays:
Thou while a lover's pangs evading
Can'st merit still a lover's praise.

Many miscellaneous poems of various kinds, romances, elegies, decimas, &c., flowed from his ready pen, and (together with his *saudades*, sonnets, and glosses) have been printed in a collection of the poems of different authors of the 17th century, called "*The Phoenix Renovated*," (*Phenix renascida*) published at Lisbon by Mathias Pereira da Sylva, and others.

When the Revolution of December, 1640, freed Portugal from the despotism of Spain, Bacellar, unlike the Castilianized Faria, felt as a true Portuguese, and contributed his aid to the cause of the natural sovereign. Making use of his legal talents and knowledge, he wrote a defence of the rights of the Duke of Braganza to the throne. This work, called *Statera Veritatis* (*The Balance of Truth*) was considered so just, so convincing, and so masterly, that it did the new King, John IV., essential service; and at once raised the author, then but 30 years of age, to so high a reputation in his profession, that it determined him to abandon poetry wholly, in order to devote all his mind to jurisprudence, naturally expecting to make his way to

some lucrative appointment at Coimbra. Thus he took the opposite course from his countryman, Sà de Miranda, the great Italian, Tasso, Ariosto, and Petrarch, and our own Milton, who forsook the hall of Themis for the fountain of the Muses.

He took a doctor's degree at the University of Coimbra, and was renowned for his eloquence, his mature judgment, his profound views, and his extensive knowledge. But becoming candidate for a vacant professorship, and seeing a person of much inferior acquirements preferred to it, either by interest, or by bribery (for long subjugation had deteriorated the Portuguese character) he felt so much disappointment and disgust, that he quitted Coimbra for ever, to the great regret of the majority of the inhabitants both of the city, and of the university, and repaired to Lisbon, when John IV., mindful of his former service, appointed him, first, corregidor (chief civil magistrate) of Castelo-Branco, and afterwards Provedor of Evora.*

Though he had abandoned poetry, he now occasionally wrote some prose works, such as a commentary "in textus Jurisconsulti Pomponii;" an account of the taking of the Fort of Recife in Brazil, by the Portuguese from the Dutch, in 1654; an account of the victory gained by the Portuguese over the Castilians at Elvas, in 1659, a memoir of don George de Mascarenhas, Marquis de Montalvan, the life of don Francisco de Almeyda, Viceroy of India, &c. &c., all (save the commentary, which is in Latin) in Portuguese.

In 1656, his patron, John IV., died: but that monarch's successor, Alfonso VI., appointed Bacellar in 1661, head of the Supreme Court of Justice, and the Court of Requests at Oporto; and held out to him hopes of advancement to the highest posts in the kingdom. Bacellar, however, did not live to see his hopes fulfilled; he died, rather unexpectedly, at Lisbon, in February, 1663, aged 53, and was buried in the Convent of San Francisco in that city, with every demonstration of general respect and regret.

* An archiepiscopal and collegiate city, capital of the Province of Alentejo.

ART. III.—THE REV. ARTHUR O'LEARY.

1. *Essays by the Celebrated and Much Admired R. F. Arthur O'Leary, of the Kingdom of Ireland; with Notes and Observations, Critical and Explanatory; with the Life of the Author Prefixed: Compared with, and Carefully Corrected by the Dublin Edition. A Book well worthy the Perusal of every Person, but especially the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, at this very Important Period,* London: Published for the Editor by S. Bladon. 1782.
2. *Miscellaneous Tracts, by the Rev. Arthur O'Leary.* Dublin: E. and B. Dowling. 1816.

There are not many Irishmen in the least conversant with the history of their country for the last hundred years, who have not at some period of their lives read or heard of Arthur O'Leary, though we believe that but few could tell exactly who or what was the bearer of that once well-known name. From the faint traditions regarding him which are still preserved; and the few sayings still repeated as specimens of his peculiar humour, there is an impression prevalent that he was a mere clerical wit; a kind of Irish Political Rabelais, whom Protestants indeed will not exactly venture to claim as one of their body; while Catholics are not quite satisfied if his orthodoxy may safely be allowed; and have serious doubts if he be one of whom they have reason to be proud. That such ignorance should prevail about such a man as Arthur O'Leary is only an additional proof of the disgraceful apathy with which the Irish, to their shame be it said, too often regard the memory of their best and greatest men.

We do not indeed pretend to claim for the subject of this memoir a leading place amongst the great men who flourished in an age prolific of greatness; but we do not hesitate to assert that there are but few who, as Irishmen, better deserve the notice of their countrymen; none who, as Catholics, demand more strongly the grateful admiration of their co-religionists. He could have been no ordinary man, who, though born of obscure parents, educated in a faith which was proscribed by law, the minister of a fiercely persecuted religion, and the member of an order which was the peculiar object of a savagely penal code; was yet able to command the respect of

a hostile ministry ; and win the regard of bigoted opponents, while retaining the affectionate and grateful esteem of the members of his own Church. Such a man was Arthur O'Leary ; and it is with difficulty that we can refrain from indignantly asking, how comes it that the signal services of such a champion are so completely forgotten ? In other countries brilliant statesmen, successful generals, and distinguished authors, have statues erected to their memory by a grateful people : in Ireland we consign them and their benefits to the silent oblivion of the tomb. France all but deifies a Voltaire and a Rousseau ; England preserves as a sacred relic the house consecrated by the residence of a Shakespeare ; Scotland erects a national monument to Walter Scott ; Ireland forgets even the names of her most deserving sons. Our public monuments are erected chiefly to the memory of men who were not Irish ; we hide carefully from public view the few statues of Irish patriots which do exist ; and the electors of an Irish County prefer an English newspaper editor to the son of Henry Grattan.

Arthur O'Leary was born in the County of Cork, in the year 1729. Though descended from an old and respectable family, his parents were at the time of his birth reduced to a rank but little superior to that of the peasantry. Of his youth nothing is known. Suffering, like the rest of his fellow-Catholics, from the monstrous enactments which restricted the education of a Roman Catholic, he could, while he remained in Ireland, have made but slight advancement in learning. Having resolved on embracing a clerical life, O'Leary, in 1747, repaired to France, and entered a Convent of Franciscan Friars at St. Maloes in Brittany. Here he remained for some years, actively employed in the study of theology, until his ordination. On the breaking out of the Seven Years' War between England and France in 1756, O'Leary was appointed Chaplain to the prisons of St. Maloes, where were confined a number of British soldiers who were prisoners of war. A large proportion of them were Irish, the majority of whom were Roman Catholics. His duties as Chaplain were performed with such attention and humanity, as to call forth, in after years, the expression of deep gratitude from some officers of rank who then experienced his kindness. The Duc de Choiseul was then the Minister of France, and he conceived the idea of availing himself of the services of the Irish prison-

ers of war against the English forces. The valour which they displayed on the field of battle had excited the admiration of the French army, and it was supposed that they would gladly join the ranks of the celebrated Irish legion ; while the attachment which the Catholics were understood to feel for the family of James the Second, induced the minister to imagine that they would willingly agree to serve under the banner of a nation which protected the descendants of the unfortunate Stuarts ; against a country to which they were indebted for nothing but tyranny, oppression and persecution. To ensure success the co-operation of O'Leary was sought for ; but he indignantly spurned the proposal ; nobly preferring to run the risk of losing the pension to which he was entitled as Chaplain, and to encounter the hostility of a powerful minister rather than be a party to inducing subjects to disregard the sacred duty of loyalty which they owed to their Sovereign. In a pamphlet written many years subsequent in defence of the loyalty of Catholics, against the base and unfounded insinuations of Mr. Wesley, he thus alludes to his conduct on the above occasion. "In a Catholic country, when I was Chaplain of war, I thought it too a crime to engage the King of England's soldiers or sailors in the service of a Catholic monarch, against their Protestant sovereign. I resisted the solicitations, and ran the risk of incurring the displeasure of a minister of state, and losing my pension ; and my conduct was approved by all the divines in a monastery to which I then belonged ; who all unanimously declared, that in conscience, I could not have behaved otherwise."

O'Leary, however, was not deprived of his office, and he continued to act as Chaplain until the war was terminated by the Peace of Paris in 1763. He remained in France until 1771, when he returned to Ireland, and took up his residence in the City of Cork, where he erected a small chapel in which he officiated for several years, and which was well known as Father O'Leary's Chapel.* His reputation as a preacher soon attracted a crowded congregation, which consisted in great measure of persons opposed to each other in religious belief, but all of whom agreed in admiring the eloquence of the

* This Chapel still stands, but is no longer devoted to its former holy use ; it serves now as a shed, and a valued correspondent informs us that when he paid it a visit in the summer of 1855 it was occupied by the water carts of the corporation of Cork.

Friar. His sermons are described as being remarkable for a happy train of strong moral reasoning, accompanied by bold figures, and frequent Scriptural allusions. He but seldom engaged in religious controversy; and even when indulging in that proverbially difficult task, such was the kindliness of his nature, and so strongly was he imbued with the precepts of charity and good will, that he never, knowingly at least, offended the religious feelings of his auditors.

O'Leary continued for some years actively and zealously engaged in the discharge of the duties of his ministry in Cork, without the occurrence of anything to disturb the even tenor of his life. A change, however, was at hand, which drew him forth from his obscurity, and soon made known to a wider circle, the abilities which had hitherto been confined within the narrow precincts of a provincial town. In 1775, a Scotch physician named Blair, but who assumed the nom-de-plume of Servetus, published a work which, under the specious title of "Thoughts on Nature and Religion," was replete with absurd scepticism, not unmingled with blasphemy. Claiming to be the champion of free thought in religion, he boldly attacked some of the most universally acknowledged tenets of the Christian dispensation. The circulation of his work was very extensive; and as it soon began to find its way from the middle to the lower classes of society, the friends of religion, dismayed at the vast strides which irreligion and infidelity were making both in England and on the continent, were alarmed at the prospect of the injury which the diffusion of the publication was calculated to effect in Ireland. In this difficulty they applied to O'Leary, who, yielding to their pressing solicitations, resolved to attempt the refutation of the plausible arguments which had been advanced by Blair. At that time, however, the residence in Ireland of a member of any religious order was strictly forbidden by law, and O'Leary deemed it but prudent to obtain the sanction of the Protestant Bishop of the diocese before he ventured to enter the lists with Servetus. After some deliberation this permission was accorded by Dr. Mann, and O'Leary soon gratified his friends by the publication of his "Defence of the Divinity of Christ." It is not possible to commend too highly this production: although a century has almost elapsed since its publication, during which the press has literally teemed with controversial tracts of every description, it would not be an easy task to select one, the arguments of which are more conclusive, or

which is more clearly and more forcibly written than this Defence." Intended for popular use, its style is admirably adapted to the object for which it was written. There is no attempt at ornament, or even elegance; but by a train of calm and conclusive reasoning, he triumphantly refutes the specious arguments by which the divinity of Christ, and the immortality of the soul, were sought to be impugned. It appeared in a series of letters; in the first of which he shows that the tendency of Dr. Blair's work was to deny the divinity of Christ and the immortality of the soul; and by so doing to sap the foundations of Christianity, degrade humanity, and overturn religion both natural and revealed. That by removing religious belief, the poor were deprived of their only solace in affliction and misery, the rich had the sole bridle to their licentious passions wrested away, while the wicked were freed from the single check by which they could be affected in their course of crime. He shows that the tenets broached by Servetus were not merely opposed to the doctrines of religion, but also militated against the first principles of reason; and even if true could be of no possible service to mankind: so far from that being the case, he alludes to the fact that most nations regarded in the light of a public pest him who advanced opinions against the immortality of the soul. Analysing the motives which have at different periods induced men to propagate such systems, he shows the two sources from one or other of which they have invariably sprung; either from the corruption of the heart eager to indulge its evil passions, or from vanity of mind which sought for distinction in singularity. To the latter quality the doctrines now advanced by Servetus could not lay claim, being almost identical with those which Lucretius, the Pagan poet, had put forward nearly two thousand years before. After alluding with humorous sarcasm to some forced and ridiculous allegories which had been drawn by Servetus from certain passages in the Old Testament, he concludes with some forcible remarks on the inadequacy of human reason to explain any, even the simplest operation of nature, and the consequent futility, not to say presumption, of man attempting to unravel the grand mysteries of religion. In the second letter he alludes to what St. Paul said in reference to the "vain imaginations" of the philosophers of his time, as equally applicable to the free-thinkers of a later day; for they, like Servetus, attempted to demonstrate that Moses was merely an allegorical writer. He

shows, however, that his character and his writings distinctly prove the truth of his narrative: while he insists that were it not for revelation man would be an inexplicable mystery for it alone can adequately account for the corruption of his nature, and the vast train of evils with which the world is inundated: it alone can explain the opposition between our passions and our reason; and vindicate the wisdom and the mercy of God. He asks the philosophers, who in a strain of irony deride the Bible, what answer could they give, were the question proposed to them, whether the cause of all the evils with which the world is afflicted was the injustice of God, or the original sin of man; and shows that even the Pagans were forced to say, that we were born only to suffer in this life the punishment which we had deserved for crime committed in a former state. He refutes the idea of natural religion being all that man requires to guide his actions, by the conduct of a Plato, a Socrates, and a Seneca; and adduces other examples from the ancients to prove the utter insufficiency of unassisted human reason: while he asserts that a child instructed by a mother who has never studied philosophy imbibes truer and sublimer notions of virtue, than the wisest of the Pagans had ever been able to conceive. He enlarges on the many benefits which have redounded to man from Christianity; and on the vast debt of gratitude due to it by mankind, for the greater refinement and the higher notions of morality to which it has given birth; and shows that man alone is in fault if he do not derive still greater advantages from it, because he does not approach the consideration of its dread mysteries with an earnest and a purified mind. As, to quote his own words, "we ever and always lose our innocence, before we laugh at our catechism."

In the concluding letter of the series, he applies himself to the removal of the objections against the Divinity of Christ and the immortality of the soul, drawn by Servetus from some alleged obscurities in the Scriptures, and shows the true meaning to be attached to those particular passages; proving by irresistible arguments that if Jesus Christ was not God, he was the greatest imposter that ever appeared on earth; and holding up to scorn the absurdities to which incredulity has ever led its votaries. Examining the opinions put forward by Servetus with regard to the soul; he shows that the justice of God requires a future state; for the belief in it can alone reconcile man to his apparent injustice on earth. He adduces examples from the writings of some of the modern Freethinkers

to prove that the effect of their doctrines is, to elevate the instinct of the brutes, while they degrade the reason of man ; and to shake the foundations of morality by seeking to deprive the soul of its immortality. We extract one passage, from the last letter which is a good specimen of his peculiar and sarcastic style. " Servetus is so confident that the soul of man, and the soul of the brute, are of the same nature and will both perish alike, that he affirms 'Solomon and Sir Isaac Newton to be no more than the production of what their fathers eat ? and deploras our blindness for having been deceived by the schoolmen whose cunning has first introduced this notion of immortality. We shall not dwell long upon the nature of Solomon's and Sir Isaac's souls, which certainly must have been made of the most refined and sublimated particles of matter. Old Scriblerus seems to have entertained the same opinion with the Doctor ; for he would not permit his child Martinus' nurse to eat any roast beef or heavy aliments, lest his son should become too heavy and dull. Hence his choice of attic and Roman dishes, in order that their juices should impregnate his son with the valour and elegance of the ancients. The Doctor would oblige us if he informed the public of the quality and quantity of food used by King David. We should soon have numbers of Solomons. Manifold would be the advantages accruing to society from such a discovery. Instead of losing most of our time in colleges, the outlines of the plan of education suitable to the clergyman, the statesman, the lawyer, could be sketched in the kitchen, and completed at table. The beau and the belle should feed on butter-fies ; calves-feet jelly would qualify the courtier and petit-maitre for making a flexible and graceful bow. I believe that the harshness and acrimony of religious disputes, controversial writings and anniversary sermons, proceed from the great quantity of black-pudding and mustard, which our polemical divines eat at their breakfasts, and if we only knew the spoon-meat, with which the Doctor was fed, we should know the olio requisite to make a philosopher who unravels the secrets of nature and religion."

The success which attended his first literary attempt, soon stimulated O'Leary to make further efforts. Conscious, as he could not but be, of his powers as a writer, he now began to exert himself in a wider field than that of controversy, and came forward as the champion of the political rights of his oppressed co-religionists.

The condition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland at this period was indeed deplorable. Since the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and the introduction into Ireland of the doctrines of the Reformation, each successive Government had vied with its predecessor in cruelty and injustice towards them. The promoters of Protestantism shewed themselves to be of the number of those, who

“Call fire, and sword, and desolation

A godly, thorough reformation.”

Every means which the hellish ingenuity of persecution could devise to eradicate the faith was resorted to, but in vain. Confiscation, imprisonment, and death seemed only to increase the number of fresh victims; and the more rigorous the punishment inflicted, the severer the penalties enacted, the more tenaciously did the Catholics of Ireland cling to the religion of their forefathers. We have the authority of Dr. Johnson for the assertion, that there is no instance, even in the ten persecutions of the early Christians by the Pagans, equal to the severity which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholics.

While the two last Stuarts were on the throne, the Catholics were indeed comparatively unmolested; and history records the desperate fidelity with which they adhered to the adverse fortunes of James the Second. On the accession of William the Third, they began to entertain hopes that a more merciful and a more equitable policy would be adopted towards them: as by the first article of the Treaty of Limerick they were guaranteed the enjoyment of those rights of which they had not yet been deprived; and the King bound himself to use every exertion to procure them still further immunity from disturbance on account of their religion. But these hopes were speedily and cruelly dispelled. The Treaty of Limerick was disregarded; in direct violation of its provisions a series of the most galling measures were enacted against them; and then, as if in mockery, the legislature passed an act* to confirm the articles of that Treaty.

During the ensuing reign their sufferings were still more severe; as a numerous succession of acts were promulgated, one exceeding the other in violence, until they attained such a climax of cruelty, as to compel the English parliament—which had itself shown but little tenderness towards Catho-

* 9 Wm. III. c 2.

lies—to refuse the ratification of such barbarous enactments. Plowden, in his valuable history of Ireland, informs us that “during the whole reign of Queen Anne, the penal laws were executed with unabating severity upon the Irish Catholics, without any other visible cause or charge alleged than their mere profession of the Roman Catholic religion. It was the current though unwise policy of the day to consider them as enemies to the crown and government of the realm. They were styled the ‘common enemy’ by the House of Commons in an address presented to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Pembroke, in 1707, and some years later the lords justices, in their speech to the Commons, said, ‘we must recommend to you in the present conjuncture, such unanimity in your resolutions as may once more put an end to all other distinctions in Ireland, but that of Protestant and Papist.’ In fact, the usual parliamentary phrase for the body of Irish Catholics was, the ‘common enemy?’”

At the time of the death of the *good!* Queen Anne, the penal laws, elaborated by more than a century of malignant ingenuity, formed a code of unequalled and terrible barbarity, so as well to deserve the fearful discription thus given of it, by the illustrious Burke. “It had a vicious perfection—it was a complete system—full of coherence and consistency; well digested and well disposed in all its parts. It was a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man.”* This code had now attained such a “vicious perfection,” that the very existence of a Roman Catholic was ignored by the laws; it being gravely laid down by one of the judges from the bench, that the laws did not presume a papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of the law. And yet, by a cruel contradiction, Catholics, whose existence was ignored, were liable to a number of grievous and most galling penalties for the exercise of that religion, which the law presumed not to exist. It was, however, against the ministers of the Catholic religion that the fiercest enactments were aimed: not merely were they proscribed by law, liable to transportation if found within the kingdom, and guilty of High-Treason if they returned after being transported, but rewards on a gra-

* Letter to an Irish Peer.

duated scale of sacrilege were offered to him who apprehended a Bishop, a Priest, or a Schoolmaster; while severe penalties were inflicted on those who were proved to have succoured or concealed a Roman Catholic clergyman. The laity fared but little better. Their lives, their liberties, and their property, depended upon the indulgence or the apathy of their Protestant neighbours. They were liable to be arrested on the mere suspicion of being Popish recusants. They were disabled from purchasing any but trifling interests in lands; if they inherited property from a Protestant relation, or he devised it by will to them, they were deprived of it, and the law gave it to the nearest heir who was of the statutable faith. They could not possess a valuable horse, and a Protestant on paying five guineas could deprive them of an animal worth perhaps one hundred. They were deprived of all the rights of citizens. Could not carry arms; were unable to hold a commission in the navy or army; or to fill any offices of trust or emolument in the state; and were also prevented from becoming barristers or solicitors. They could not serve on grand juries; might be peremptorily challenged in all trials in which any Protestant interests were at stake; while in cases of the iniquitous and harassing bills so frequently filed for the discovering of Popish trusts, none but known Protestants were allowed to try the issues. They were even incapacitated from voting at elections for Members of Parliament: a disability against which Burke thus inveighs—"The taking away a vote, is the taking away the shield which the subject has, not only against the oppression of power, but the worst of all oppressions, the persecution of private society and private meanness." And yet by a whimsical contrariety, they were liable to pay double towards raising the Militia;* and thus contributed double to the support of the state which had exhausted its power and ingenuity in devising measures against them.

Severe as was this system of political torture as applied to the Catholics of Ireland in their political capacity, it was mild when compared with the still more barbarous enactments, which, by an aggravation of cruelty, were directed against their dearest and most sacred affections; and assailed them in the most intimate relations of domestic life. They were prevented from educating their children as Catholics at home—for to teach the Popish religion was a transportable felony—and

* 2 Geo., I. c. 9, s. 14, and 18.

if they sent them to the Continent, there to be brought up in the cherished through persecuted faith, they were liable to forfeit all their property. A Catholic was also debarred from being the guardian of a child; nay more, the Chancellor had it in his power to deprive him of the custody of his own son, whom he could transfer to the care of the nearest Protestant relation to educate him in the tenets of the religion of the state. And Protestant writers are found to dilate on the cruelty of Ferdinand and Isabella towards the Moriscos of Spain. Nor did the law stop here. It encouraged the faithless wife to betray her husband. For "if the wife of a Catholic declared herself a Protestant the law enabled her not only to compel her husband to give her a separate maintenance, but to transfer to her the custody and guardianship of all their children."* Having thus instigated adultery, the law with consistent wickedness held out a premium for undutiful children to rebel against their parents, for "if the eldest son of a Catholic father at any age, however young, declared himself a Protestant, he thereby made his father strict tenant for life, depriving him of all power to sell or dispose of his estate, and such Protestant son became entitled to the absolute dominion and ownership of the estate. And if the other children declared themselves Protestants they were entitled to maintenance out of the father's property, and at once escaped his control," while they could force him to declare upon oath the clear value of his real and personal estate."† It was to petition Parliament against the passing of these—as they have been well designated—*ferocious acts*, that the distinguished lawyer, Sir Theobald Butler, appeared on behalf of his suffering fellow-Catholics at the bar of the House of Commons on the 22nd of February, 1703, and there delivered that speech, which it is impossible to read even at the present day without being sensibly affected by the touching though manly simplicity which pervades the whole of it, and the pathetic yet indignant remonstrance which it contains against the unholy provisions of the contemplated enactments. "It is natural," exclaimed he, "for a father to love the child, but we all know that children are but too apt and subject, without any such liberty as this Bill gives, to slight and neglect their duty to their parents ;

* 8 Anne, c. 3, s. 14, and see O'Connell's Ireland and the Irish, Vol. I., p. 11.

† 2 Anne, c. 5, and 8 Anne, c. 3, O'Connell's do. p.p. 11, and 12.

and surely such an act as this will not be an instrument of restraint, but rather encourage them more to it. It is but too common with the son, who has a prospect of an estate, when once he arrives at the age of one-and-twenty, to think the old father too long in the way between him and it, and how much more will he be subject to it, when by this act he shall have liberty before he comes to that age, to force my estate from me, without asking my leave, or being liable to account with me for it ; or out of his share thereof to discharge a moiety of the debts, portions, or other incumbrances, with which the estate might have been charged before the passing of this act. Is not this against the laws of God and man ? Against the rules of reason and justice by which all men ought to be governed ? Is not this the only way in the world to make children become undutiful ? and to bring the grey hairs of the parent to the grave with grief and tears ? It would be hard from any man ; but from a son, a child, the fruit of my body, whom I have nursed in my bosom, and tendered more dearly than my own life, to become my plunderer, to rob me of my estate, to take away my bread, is much more grievous than from any other, and enough to make the most flinty of hearts to bleed to think out. And yet this will be the case if this Bill passes into a law. For God's sake, gentlemen, consider if this be according to the golden rule of doing as you would be done unto." And when inveighing against the 28th clause of the Bill he says, " by this clause the Popish father is, under the penalty of £500, debarred from being the guardian to, or having the tuition or custody of, his own child or children ; but if the child pretend to be a Protestant, though never so young, or incapable of judging of the principles of any religion, it shall be taken from its own father, and put into the hands of a Protestant relation for tuition, though never so great an enemy to the Popish parent, and who out of prejudice to me who am the Popish father, shall infuse into my child, not only such principles of religion, as are wholly inconsistent with my liking, but also against the duty which by the laws of God and nature is due from every child to its parents. And it shall not be in my power to remedy or question him for it ; and yet I shall be obliged to pay for such education how pernicious soever. Nay if a legacy or estate fall to any of my children being minors. I that am the Popish father, shall not have liberty to take care of it, but it shall be put into the

hands of a stranger, and though I see it confounded before my face it shall not be in my power to prevent it. Is not this a hard case, gentlemen? I am sure you cannot but allow it to be a very hard case." But his reliance upon the justice of the cause which he advocated, his eloquent vindication of the rights of his Catholic fellow-subjects, and his indignant protest against the iniquitous measure under deliberation, were all in vain. They were contemptuously disregarded by a Parliament that had resolved to pay no attention to them; the Bill was hurried through both houses, and speedily became the law.

The above are but a few of the barbarous enactments by which a ferocious ascendancy had sought the eradication of a religion, which it hated with a hatred that can only be felt by one religious sect for the rival object of its hostility. Nor were these laws a mere dead letter; their enactments a brutum fulmen. Their execution was enforced by special clauses in each act inflicting heavy penalties, in the shape of fines and disabilities, on every magistrate who neglected to carry them out, as well as by large bribes and rewards offered to informers; while those who could inform, but did not, were made liable to the severest punishment. Nay, the legislature itself periodically, in solemn conclave, not merely advocated but commanded their rigorous enforcement. Thus we read that "During all Queen Anne's reign the inferior civil officers, by order of the government, were incessantly harassing the Catholics with oaths, imprisonments, and forfeitures, without any visible cause but hatred of their religious profession. In the year 1708, on the bare rumour of an intended invasion of Scotland by the Pretender, forty-one Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen were imprisoned in the Castle of Dublin, and when they were afterwards set at liberty the government was so sensible of the wrong done to them that it remitted their fees, amounting to £800. In 1705 the House of Commons passed a vote—'that all magistrates and other persons whatsoever who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws in due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom.' And upon another occasion—'that the prosecuting and informing against Papists was an honorable service to the government.' Again in June, 1705, they resolved—'that the saying and hearing of Mass by persons who had not taken the Oath of Abjuration, tended to advance the interest of the Pretender; and that such judges and magistrates as wilfully neglected to make diligent inquiry into

and to discover such wicked practices, ought to be looked upon as enemies to her Majesty's government.' And many years later, in 1745, Lord Chesterfield, in his speech to both Houses of Parliament, declared, 'the measures that have hitherto been taken to prevent the growth of Popery, have, I hope, had some, and will still have a greater, effect; however, I leave it to your consideration whether nothing further can be done, either by new laws, or by the more effectual execution of those in being, to secure the nation against the greater number of Papists, whose speculative errors would only deserve pity if their pernicious influence upon civil society did not both require and authorise restraint.' **

But in spite of the malignant ingenuity thus continuously displayed by a persecuting government; in spite of the rigor with which the execution of the penal laws was enforced; and the persevering barbarity with which the Catholics were treated; the efforts of the Protestant ascendancy signally failed. The Catholics of Ireland, instead of diminishing, continued rapidly to increase.

"Thus captive Israel multiplied in chains."

In 1727 Primate Boulter writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that "there are probably in this kingdom five Papists at least to one Protestant;" and Arthur Young, several years later, thus moralizes on the effects which had resulted from the penal laws—"While property lay exposed to the practices of power, the great body of the people, who had been stripped of their all, were more enraged than converted; they adhered to the persuasion of their forefathers with the steadiest and most determined zeal; while the priests, actuated by the spirit of a thousand inducements, made proselytes among the common Protestants in defiance of every danger; and the great glaring fact yet remains, and is even admitted by the warmest advocates for the laws of discovery, that the established religion has not gained upon the Catholic in point of numbers, but, on the contrary, that the latter has been rather on the increase. As it is the great body of the common people that forms the strength of a country when willing subjects, and its weakness when ill-affected, this fact is a decision of the question. After seventy years' undisturbed operation, the system adopted in Queen Anne's reign has failed in this great aim, and meets at this

* O'Connell's History of the Penal Laws.

day with a more numerous and equally determined body of Catholics than it had to oppose when first promulgated. It is no superficial view that I have taken of this matter in Ireland. I have attended the debates in Dublin upon these laws with my mind open to conviction, and an auditor for the mere purpose of information. I have conversed on the subject with most of the distinguished characters of the kingdom, and I cannot, after all, but declare that the scope, purport, and aim of these laws, as executed, are not against the Catholic religion, which increases under them, but against the industry and property of whosoever professes that religion. In vain has it been said, that consequence and power follow property, and that the attack is made in order to wound the doctrine through its property. If such was the intention I reply, that seventy years' experience proves the folly and inutility of it. Those laws have crushed all the industry and wrested most of the property from the Catholics; but the religion triumphs; it is thought to increase. Those who have handed about calculations to prove a decrease, admit on the face of them that it will require *four thousand years* to make converts of the whole, supposing the work to go on in future as it has in the past time. But the whole pretence is an affront to common sense, for it implies that you will lessen a religion by persecuting it; all history and experience condemn such a proposition. The system pursued in Ireland has had no other tendency but that of driving out of the kingdom all the personal wealth of the Catholics, and prohibiting their industry within it. We have seen that this conduct has not converted the people to the religion of government, and instead of adding to the internal security, it has endangered it; if, therefore, it does not add to the national prosperity, for what purpose but that of private tyranny could it have been embraced and persisted in?"

Despairing at length of ever destroying a faith, the immortal nature of which has been proved by centuries of unavailing efforts to uproot it; wearied of blood and of persecution; and, it may be, actuated by the nobler motives which an increased and an enlightened civilization had generated; the Protestants began somewhat to modify their previous policy. During the reign of George II. the Penal Laws were not enforced with the customary severity, and on the accession of George III. the Catholics were cheered with the prospect of a change in the conduct of the government towards them. Their professions

of loyalty and attachment were graciously received, and an answer returned to an address which they presented to the youthful sovereign.* It was not, however, until the year 1774, that the legislature were induced to show them so much favor as to pass an act by which they were enabled to testify their allegiance.†

Although this concession was received with gratitude by the majority of the Catholics of Ireland, a few of timid consciences stated some theological objections against the oath which the act required to be taken. Among these was Dr. De Burgo, the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, and the learned author of "*Hibernia Dominicana*." In a supplement to this work published in 1772, he noticed the form of an oath which was similar in many particulars to that now imposed, and he unreservedly condemned its clauses. Actuated by a strange infatuation, and apparently for the purpose of promulgating as extensively as possible his sentiments upon the important question then in agitation, he caused copies of his *Hibernia Dominicana* and its supplement, to be presented to some of the Protestant dignitaries, and to the University of Dublin, then, as it uniformly ever has been, the uncompromising opponent of any measure of indulgence to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. This ill-advised step was deeply deplored by many of the other

* On the accession of George II. in 1727, the Catholics had also presented an address of congratulation to the king, which was presented to the Lords Justices by Lord Delvin and several respectable Catholic gentlemen, but it was received with contemptuous silence and never even acknowledged.

† 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35. This act is said to have had this singular origin. The celebrated but eccentric Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, whilst at dinner one day with the Professors of the Irish College in Toulouse, lamented the hard necessity which many of the ablest and best Irishmen were under of spending their lives abroad; adding, however, that he could not see why they should refuse allegiance to their native sovereign, but that until they renounced the opinions entertained by them, militating against the lives of their Protestant fellow-subjects, the safety of the throne and the obligations of an oath—alluding to the doctrines which the Catholics were calumniously said to hold—he could not countenance them at home. This observation gave rise to a conversation in which he was assured that his impressions were most erroneous, that the Catholics abhorred the doctrines imputed to them, and were willing to give every proof of allegiance which could be required. On his lordship's return to Ireland these statements were circulated by him among his political friends, and tended to facilitate the introduction of the act.

Catholic Bishops, and a provincial synod of the Munster prelates was held in July, 1775, when it was unanimously agreed, that the proposed oath of allegiance contained nothing that was contrary to the principles of the Roman Catholic religion. Nor did they stop here. They also unanimously expressed their dissent from the doctrine put forward by Dr. De Burgo in reference to the oath.

Although this declaration was transmitted to Rome, and submitted to the consideration of the Pope; who, on perusing it, and examining the proposed oath, with a translation of which he had been furnished, expressed his ardent hope "that the kindness of the legislature would shortly be further extended to his suffering children;" a party was still to be found, at the head of which was Dr. Carpenter the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who from an excessive timidity of conscience, still entertained doubts as to the propriety of taking the oath. This conduct on the part of the Archbishop occasioned considerable uneasiness to the Munster prelates; and to aid them in their attempts to overcome the opposition thus unexpectedly raised, O'Leary produced a pamphlet entitled "Loyalty Asserted," in which he successfully vindicated the oath from the objections advanced against it.

In this pamphlet, the style of which is singularly clear and energetic, O'Leary examines the proposed oath article by article, investigates with unusual and almost startling boldness the doctrines of the Catholic Church regarding the allegiance due by subjects to their sovereign; repudiates with equal boldness the principles laid down by some of its doctors as to the dispensing power of the Pope; and after replying to the several objections which had been raised to some portions of the oath, establishes conclusively the perfect propriety with which it might be subscribed by every Catholic. It met with the greatest success; was most extensively circulated; called forth the acknowledgments of the friends of the government; was received with gratitude by the large body of Catholics; and what was still more gratifying, was the effect which it produced upon those who had been previously opposed to the taking of the oath; as we read that "in November, 1778, Dr. Carpenter at the head of seventy of his clergy and several hundred Roman Catholic laity, attended at the Court of King's Bench in Dublin, and took the oaths prescribed by the late act for the relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland."*

* Dodsley's Annual Register, vol. 21, p. 208.

Among the many calumnies with which the Catholics of Ireland were uniformly assailed, no charge was so frequently and so unfoundedly brought against them, as that of disloyalty. In times of tranquillity they were, in the mere wantonness of insult, branded as traitors and rebels by their Protestant rulers, who, it may be, would have rejoiced had the conduct of the Catholics justified the charge, and thus afforded to their oppressors an excuse for increased persecution; no station, however elevated or sacred, shielded them from the base and unmerited imputation which even the legislature, in its public enactments, did not hesitate to allege against them. Thus we have one act which recites, "that whereas it is notoriously known that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Jesuits and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish religion, and that the peace and safety of the kingdom was in danger from the number of the said archbishops, &c."* And another, which, to justify its nefarious and oppressive provisions, falsely states "that whereas Papists in this kingdom have always in a time of war with any Popish state or prince kept private intelligence with them and other enemies of this kingdom; by means whereof parts of the sea-coasts have been infested and often insulted by privateers chiefly manned by Irish Papists, who have robbed several of his Majesty's faithful subjects of all their substance by the contrivance of others, their Popish friends in this kingdom."†

So utterly unfounded and unwarranted were these imputations, that in the very teeth of the above solemn legislative lies, the rankest enemies of the Catholics were at times compelled to admit that their conduct was most exemplary, when other sections of the people manifested great disaffection. Lord Chesterfield, to whose intolerant speech to both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the session in 1745, we have before alluded, a little later did not hesitate to declare "that the Catholic priests co-operated with their Protestant brethren, to maintain order and tranquillity, their pastoral letters, public discourses from the pulpit, and private admonitions were equally directed to the service of the government." And Curry in his valuable history relates, that "in the year 1762, upon a debate

* 9 Wm. III., c.1.

† 9 George II., c. 6.

in the House of Lords, Dr. Stone, who was then the Primate, in answer to some objections against the good faith and loyalty of the Catholics, which were revived with virulence on that occasion, declared publicly in the House of Lords, "that in the year 1747, after the rebellion was entirely suppressed, happening to be in England, he had an opportunity of perusing all the papers of the rebels and their correspondents, which were seized in the custody of Murray, the Pretender's secretary, and that after spending much time in examining them (not without someshare of the then common suspicion that there might besome private understanding and intercourse between them and the Irish Catholics), he could not discover the least trace, hint, or intimation of such intercourse or correspondence in them, or any of the letters, favouring or abetting, or having been so much as made acquainted with the designs or proceedings of those rebels; and what he said he wondered at most of all was, that in all his researches he had not met with any passage in any of those papers, from which he could infer that either their holy father the Pope, or any of his Cardinals, Bishops, or other dignitaries of that Church, directly or indirectly encouraged, aided, or approved of the commencing or carrying on of the rebellion."*

Even Swift, whose contemptuous and sneering allusions to the Catholics are, if possible, still more grating than the undisguised hatred of their more virulent opponents, does not hesitate to declare, "as to Popery, I cannot apprehend this kingdom to be in much danger from it. The estates of Papists are very few, crumbling into small parcels, and daily diminishing; their common people are sunk in poverty, ignorance, and cowardice, and are of as little consequence as women and children. Their nobility and gentry are at least one-half ruined, banished, or converted: they all soundly feel the smart of what they suffered in the last Irish war; some of them are already retired into foreign countries; others, as I am told, intend to follow them; and the rest, I believe, to a man, who still possess any lands, are absolutely determined never to hazard them again for the sake of establishing their superstition. And I cannot conceive how a sunk discarded party, who neither expect nor desire anything more than a quiet life, should under the names of Highflyers, Jacobites, and many other vile appellations,

* Vol. II. p. 281.

be charged so often in print, and at common tables, with endeavouring to introduce Popery and the Pretender: while the Papists abhor them above all other men, on account of severities against their priests in her late Majesty's reign, when the now disbanded reprobate party was in power. This I was convinced of some years ago by a long journey into the southern parts, where I had the curiosity to send for many priests of the parishes I passed through, and to my great satisfaction found them everywhere abounding in professions of loyalty to the late King George, for which they gave me the reasons above mentioned, at the same time complaining bitterly of the hardships they suffered under the Queen's last ministry. The Catholics were always defenders of monarchy as constituted in these kingdoms. It is well known that all the Catholics of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true Whigs in the best and most proper sense of the word, bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the Royal House of Hanover, in the person and posterity of George the Second against the Pretender and all his adherents, to which they think themselves bound in gratitude, as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of Queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that Princess, during the administration of that wicked minister, the Earl of Oxford."*

An opportunity was now afforded to O'Leary, of which he at once availed himself, to vindicate his fellow-Catholics from the galling and unjust opprobrium under which they labored. The state of public affairs in 1779, was alarming to a degree. The war of Independence in America had literally drained England of her troops, while the combined fleets of Spain and France scoured the Channel unopposed; and rumours of an intended invasion of Ireland by a large French force added to the public terror. It was with the greatest anxiety, not un-mixed with fear, that the conduct of the Irish Catholics at this crisis was watched by the Government, who began to apprehend that the resentment which centuries of injustice and oppression were so strongly calculated to excite within their breasts, would now burst forth, and induce them to make use of the favourable opportunity now presented, to take vengeance

* Reasons for repealing the Test.

for the protracted wrongs they had endured. And at this period so formidable were the Catholics from their wealth and influence, and still more from their numbers, that had they been disaffected, the consequences might indeed have been fatal to England, embarrassed as she then was by the European and American wars in which she was engaged. In this emergency the Government was relieved by the noble conduct of the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy of Ireland, all of whom came forward to impress upon their flocks the obligation of remaining tranquil and loyal. O'Leary also, whose influence with the people was now very great, addressed a short but spirited appeal to them, in which he, in a homely but practical manner, endeavoured to show them the wickedness and the folly of rebellion, with the miseries to which they would infallibly be exposed, should the French invasion succeed; while he clearly explained, and forcibly inculcated the sacred obligation of loyalty. This address produced the happiest results; it assuaged the feelings of just irritation, which existed in the minds of many, while it tended to quiet the apprehensions of the Government; and had the threatened invasion been effected, there can be but little doubt that the Catholics would have been found among the bravest and staunchest defenders of their country.

O'Leary's next appearance in public was as the antagonist of John Wesley. This celebrated man, who has done more to overthrow the Protestant religion in England than perhaps any of the innumerable sectaries who have at various epochs attacked its doctrines, was animated by a hatred to Catholics, which would appear strange in one who had so boldly claimed, and so unscrupulously exercised, the right to dissent from the Established Church, did not all the apostles of error present the same example of inconsistent hostility to truth. An association styled "the Protestant Association," had been formed in England by some popular but bigoted fanatics, with the avowed object of so intimidating the Government by acts of the most lawless violence, as to prevent it from extending any measures of relief to the Catholics. The far-famed Gordon riots were the natural results of such an unprincipled institution. In January, 1780, Wesley published a letter containing his version of the civil principles of Roman Catholics, to which he appended a defence of the Protestant Association; the aim of which was to show that no Government ought to tolerate Catholics, while all Protestants were called upon to unite in

carrying out the objects which the Association had in view. This production of Mr. Wesley contained more than the average amount of ignorance, distortion, and intolerance generally displayed by Protestant polemical writers when treating of Catholicity; and the spirit with which it was imbued and the measures it advocated, were such as would have satisfied the most virulent opponent of Popery in the days when the persecution it endured raged most severely. O'Leary lost no time in answering it, in a pamphlet which is perhaps one of the best of his many excellent tracts; and though we may not find in it much elegance of style, or purity of diction, still we cannot but admire the sound arguments, happy allusions, and dignified remonstrances, with which it is replete. He boldly but humorously repels the insinuations made by Wesley—whom he terms the reformer of the Reformation,—against the loyalty of the Catholics; adducing his own conduct at St. Maloes, to which we before alluded, as a proof of the conscientious conviction which he, in common with his fellow Catholics, entertained, that allegiance to the sovereign was one of the most sacred obligations of the subject. He reproaches his antagonist with endeavouring to increase the religious dissensions, unhappily but too extensively prevalent, instead of seeking to allay them, and produce harmony and concord amongst the members of all denominations. He corrects the erroneous interpretations and misconceptions of Mr. Wesley, regarding the proceedings of the Council of Constance, and indignantly inveighs against the injustice of making Catholics answerable for any misconduct or mistake on the part of their predecessors, while he shows how forcibly they can retaliate and lay to the charge of the Protestants the innumerable errors and excesses of the various heresiarchs and sectaries that have at various epochs agitated the Church. He vindicates the Sacrament of Penance from the absurd allegations made against it, explains its nature and efficacy, and shows that so far from the power of the Pope over Catholics being unlimited, the founders of new sects have ever arrogated to themselves greater authority than any of the pontiffs have ever ventured to assume: for while the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion cannot be in the least altered by any Pope, the founder of the most insignificant sect can at his pleasure vary, increase, or diminish the tenets of his followers. He ridicules the doctrine of Papal dispensations, which the Protestants will insist

on laying to the charge of Catholics : shows that were it really held, all kings of whatever religion they might be, should desire to have none but Protestant subjects, as on their allegiance alone could they depend ; and proves still more strongly its absurdity by the conduct of the oppressed Catholics of Ireland, who had for centuries submitted to the most galling and violent persecution, when all that was requisite to free them from their sufferings, and place them on a level with their most favoured fellow-subjects, was to subscribe the oath of abjuration, with the obligation of observing which, they could immediately afterwards, by the supposed tenet, be dispensed.

The foregoing controversy was not attended with any display of those acrimonious feelings which are but too generally the concomitants of polemical disputes. O'Leary and Wesley, sometime afterwards, met at the house of a mutual friend ; each was pleased with the other, and they parted with expressions of kindness and regret. At this period also, O'Leary made the acquaintance of Howard the philanthropist, who, in one of his many benevolent missions, visited Cork for the purpose of inspecting the prisons of that city, and was introduced to O'Leary, who was a zealous and active member of a society which had been for some time in existence, for the relief and discharge of persons confined for small debts. In him, Howard found a kindred spirit, a heart as benevolent as his own, and in after years he used to boast of possessing the friendship and esteem of the Irish friar.

A period had now arrived which, from the state of public opinion, appeared to the friends of religious liberty to be favorable for the attainment of a still more extended measure of toleration. O'Leary was so well known as its ardent and indefatigable advocate, and his fame as a successful pamphleteer was so extensively diffused, that an application was made to him again to appear in public as the champion of freedom of conscience. Nothing loth, he obeyed the call. It was a subject upon which he had long felt deeply, and profoundly meditated. Thoroughly imbued, as he was, with the benevolent spirit of the Gospel, and having a painful and practical experience of the miseries of persecution, he both as a minister of religion and an oppressed victim, indignantly, raised his voice against the iniquities of a system from which so many woes have at all times emanated. It is indeed a painful and melancholy reflection that the two greatest boons bestowed by Heaven on

man—Religion and Liberty—have been the most perverted. Under the mask of the one, bigotry and fanaticism have deluged the universe with the blood of tortured human beings ; while anarchy and licentiousness, in the name of the other, have appalled mankind by their hideous enormities. And is it not strange that centuries of woful experience should still be insufficient to teach to nations that wisdom and that lenity which the wise and the good have in all ages, but unheededly, attempted to inculcate ? Of what avail have been the racks, the tortures, the imprisonments, which every sect has successively undergone ? Only to harden its votaries in their obstinacy, to add a principle of honor to religious conviction : until

“ Proud of persecution’s rage,
Some in fire, and some in field,
Their belief with blood have sealed,
Dying as their fathers died
For the God their foes denied.”

The Romans of old are represented as worshipping in private the Penates of their respective families, while they all joined in the public sacrifices offered to the tutelary deities of the state ; would that, imitating them, differences in religious opinions were made by us, our household Gods, cherished at home, but not obtruded on the public and universal adoration of a common Creator. Much has undoubtedly been done of late years ; but more—much more—remains to be done. The sanguinary enactments which once disgraced our statute-books, have ceased to pollute their pages ; and Protestant and Catholic meet, no longer as oppressor and oppressed, but as equals. Are there not, however, still some civil disabilities to which Catholics are unjustly subject ; and why should they be allowed to remain. Do they not complain, and with reason, of several inequitable legal provisions, which affect them in the disposal of their property, and why are not these repealed ? It not all that they hold most sacred in their religion exposed periodically to the blasphemous ridicule of ignorant and bigoted fanaticism ; and why is the continuance of such disgraceful exhibitions permitted ? Has the spirit of toleration, however loudly professed, however ostentatiously exhibited, penetrated, to the inner hearts of those who once dominated over the Irish Papists ? Do they not by a species of mental reservation, in spite of their loud declarations to the contrary, feel a dislike bordering on hatred, a jealousy akin to rage, of those Catholics who attain to any of the political or social dignities

from a participation in which they were so long and so pertinaciously excluded? And how rarely, how very rarely, do members of the different communions indulge in that genuine, unreserved interchange of feelings and ideas, which is the sweetest of the many pleasures of friendship? We very much fear that though the outworks of intolerance have long been laid low; its citadel yet stands, not certainly in the pride of its once formidable strength, but still retaining much of its former menace, and not unwilling, had it the opportunity, to exercise some of its previous force.

In no country, at least of modern Europe, have the horrors of persecution been felt with greater severity than in Ireland; and in none have its evil consequences been more continuously and more perniciously felt. Many of our best and greatest men have at times raised their voices in indignant reprobation of a system the injustice of which was equalled only by its impolicy. To few, however, of those generous advocates of Toleration—we had almost said to none—is a deeper debt of gratitude due than to O'Leary. His essay on Toleration, containing as it does, a concise epitome of the many unanswerable arguments in favor of religious freedom; and shewing briefly but conclusively the folly and the wickedness of seeking to control the minds of men, is a masterpiece, and we much regret that our space will not permit us to do more than thus allude to it. We recommend, however, the perusal of this admirable treatise to all who can take pleasure in the forcible, yet not intemperate enunciation of the grand principles of benevolence and of truth; and in the indignant repudiation of injustice and oppression; couched in language, bold, nervous, and expressive; and bearing the unmistakeable impress of the genuine feeling of honest conviction. His biographer informs us that "this essay had a circulation almost unequalled at the time in Ireland, and was the means of extending the author's reputation as a philanthropist, in a degree that was highly valuable to his religion, and creditable to himself. One pleasing consequence of its publication was his being elected a member of the Monks of St. Patrick.*

* The Monks of St. Patrick, were formed in the year 1779 under the auspices of Lord Avonmore into a patriotic society, which had far higher objects in view than the mere conviviality with which its name is usually associated. It was composed of the ablest and most distinguished men of the day, and formed a collection of the wit, genius and public virtue of the country. The names of many of its members will be for ever remembered by Ireland with gratitude and pride, as of those who sought to give her a constitution and raise her from her state of subjection and dependence.

Honors not undeserved continued to be heaped upon him. The Irish Brigade, a distinguished body of Volunteers, appointed him their honorary Chaplain; he was received with unusual marks of respect by the National Convention; while the most influential of the Irish patriots vied with each other in eulogizing and honoring the poor Capuchin friar.

Everything seemed to promise the speedy realization of the brightest hopes in which the most ardent votaries of religious freedom had indulged. The excitement caused by the rapid and unexampled success of the national movement in favor of legislative independence, had diffused throughout the country a feeling of unbounded and universal exultation, while it had in a corresponding degree excited the alarm of the Government, by the prevalence of what appeared to be the organised disaffection of the Protestants. In this emergency it looked for safety to the well proved loyalty of the Catholics, and began to hold out to them the prospect of extended toleration and immunities. On finding, however, that its apprehensions were unfounded, acting with its usual duplicity, it soon relapsed into its former apathy. Some indulgences were it is true, extended to the Catholics, but the anticipated measure was never attempted to be introduced. This, it is but fair to say, was partly the consequence of the Catholics themselves. They were then, as they have ever been, a jealous and a disunited body. Dissensions designedly sown amongst them by the Government, were fomented by themselves, and from being an object of dread, they speedily became one of contempt. So has it ever been. The disunion which so constantly and so shamefully prevailed amongst the Catholics of Ireland, has always occasioned them a protracted and difficult struggle in the attainment of the simplest measure of justice; which, had they been united, would have been procured with ease and celerity. What does the history, even of the Catholic Association disclose, but a series of the same petty and ignoble squabbles, that were repeated later on a different stage during the Repeal Association; and which prevail in equal, if not greater force, at the present day, amongst the members of the Tenant League. As in political so in social life. Jealousy of their successful brethren and a mean subserviency to fashionable Protestants, are but too frequently the characteristics of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

In the year 1785 and 1786 one of those lawless associa-

tions, which figure so frequently in the annals of our distracted country, and which unfortunately still continue to be its bane, was formed in Cork; and occasioned several serious disturbances by the nightly assemblage of armed mobs, calling themselves White-boys, and under a leader who assumed the name of Capt. Right. The exorbitant rise which had been made in their rents; and the rapacity with which the Proctors enforced the payment of tithes—always the fruitful source of agrarian outrages in Ireland, and which pressed then with intolerable severity upon the impoverished people—had driven the peasantry to desperation; and in their madness, they sought, by acts of violence, to abolish the exactions under which they groaned. They gradually increased in their demands. Not content with denouncing the payment of rent and taxes, they endeavoured by the forcible imposition of a regular scale of charges, to diminish the wretched stipend which the Catholic clergy derived from the offerings of their flocks. They soon proceeded to acts of violence; tithe-proctors and clergymen were attacked, and their houses broken into; Protestant churches were forcibly entered, while some of the Catholic chapels were shut up, and no one permitted to approach them. The deluded people being instigated to the perpetration of these outrages by their leaders, who wished to make use of them in the execution of their political designs. O'Leary, whose exertions had been so successful in 1779, was entreated to use his influence with the misguided peasants, and to endeavour to put a stop to their violence. He accordingly published three short but spirited addresses to the White-boys, in which he familiarly but forcibly demonstrated the folly, the illegality, and the criminality of their conduct; and strongly urged upon them the necessity of submitting with patience to those evils which they had no legal means of redressing; while he condemned in unmeasured terms the many acts of violence and sacrilege which they had committed; and enlarged on the sacred obligation they were under of supporting their own clergy. His exertions were not confined to the publication of the above addresses. At the request of some of the local magistrates, he accompanied them to different parts of the county, and exhorted the misguided people to return to their peaceable avocations, and leave the illegal and dangerous association of which they had been enrolled members. Thanks to him, and to the indefatigable exertions made by the

Catholic bishops and clergy to assist the efforts of the civil and military authorities, the insurrection was happily suppressed, before it had occasioned the dreadful disasters which were at one time apprehended from it.

No sooner, however, had its suppression been effected, than the Protestant clergy, who had been in the greatest alarm in consequence of the outcry raised against them and their tithes, came forward in defence of that ecclesiastical establishment which, despite the denunciations of the wisest politicians, and the execrations of the vast majority of the Irish people, still continues an incubus upon the country, paralysing every effort to improve its condition, and perpetuating the ill-feeling and dissension which have ever been its bane. They were led on by Dr. Duigenan of intolerant notoriety; who, under the signature of Theophilus, published a pamphlet which was an exact reflex of his own distempered mind. In it he made a most unmerited attack upon Father O'Leary; grossly misrepresented his motives, distorted his acts, and commented on his whole conduct in a style which was at once most disrespectful to him, and injurious to the interests of the Catholic body. Its literary merits, however, were but small; and it would in all probability have quickly sunk into merited oblivion, had it not acquired authority by the sanction given to its mis-statements by Dr. Woodward the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne. This prelate, in a work which he published at this time, entitled "Present State of the Church of Ireland," indulged in the most unwarranted and severe reflections on the Catholic prelacy and their principles, while he countenanced the calumnious and offensive attacks which Duigenan had made upon O'Leary. In the recent riots of the White-boys—whom he proclaimed to be "a Popish banditti spirited up by agitating friars and Romish missionaries sent hither on purpose to sow sedition"—he affected to discover a concerted system for the overthrow of the established Church, and the extinction of the Protestant religion in the kingdom: and he did not hesitate to impute the most criminal designs to the Catholics, whose principles he distorted with the most unscrupulous virulence. In alluding to O'Leary's addresses he declared that they tended to sow sedition, "and if such were his design they were most artfully contrived to produce that effect." The appearance of Dr. Woodward's pamphlet produced a profound and painful impression; and excited amongst the Catholics

no small degree of alarm and dismay; as it sought to affirm anew upon them the oft-repeated and oft-refuted charges of disloyalty and sedition.

A correspondence ensued between Dr. Woodward and Dr. James Butler the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, and was followed by the publication by the latter of a justification of the Roman Catholic religion, in which the charges brought against it by Dr. Woodward were refuted. In the course of this controversy O'Leary's name was so frequently introduced, and his writings were so severely and so undeservedly censured, that he was, in self defence, compelled to appear once more in print, to free himself from the odious calumnies with which he was assailed.

Accordingly he soon produced a long and elaborate defence of his conduct during the disturbances in Cork; in which he gave a clear and detailed history of the whole transaction, and boldly and successfully repelled the offensive charges which Duigenan had first brought against him, and which had been reproduced by Dr. Woodward. He then entered at considerable length on a refutation of the arguments advanced by the Bishop against the principles of Catholicity; and concluded by humorously alluding to several absurdities which the pamphlet contained. This production cannot of course be read at the present day, with any of that interest which it excited at its first appearance in 1787; but it will well repay the labor of perusal, as the manly and powerful answer of a high-minded and much maligned man to the unjust calumnies which had been heaped upon him. It has been described as "a masterpiece of wit, argument, delicate irony, and admirable writing; and was not less remarkable for the rapidity with which it was written (in less than eight hours) than for the pointed animadversion which pervaded the whole."* Though we do not assent to all that this friendly critic has said in its praise, we gladly admit its many claims to our admiration. In this defence occurs the far-famed retort of O'Leary, to Dr. Woodward, who objected to the Catholic doctrine of Purgatory. "However clamorous a mitred divine may be about a Popish Purgatory, he may perhaps go further, and speed worse."

Though his defence was admitted to be complete, and was sought for and read with the utmost avidity and delight, it at

* Gentleman's Magazine, for Jan. 1802.

the same time exposed O'Leary to considerable trouble and annoyance. He was attacked on all sides with the utmost violence and acrimony. In one of the debates on Mr. Grattan's motion for a commutation of tithes, Mr. Toler (subsequently Lord Norbury) spoke of his defence in terms of such bitterness and warmth as to draw from Curran the following tribute to O'Leary's worth and character":—"Mr. O'Leary is, to my knowledge, a man of the most innocent and amiable simplicity of manners in private life. The reflection of twenty years in a cloister has severely regulated his passions, and deeply informed his understanding. As to his talents, they are public, and I believe his right reverend opponent has found himself overmatched by him as a controversialist. In this instance, it was just he should feel his superiority;—it was the superiority, not of genius only, but of truth—of the merits of the respective causes. It was the superiority of defence over aggression. It was the victory of a man, seeing the miseries of his country like a philosopher and a tolerating Christian, and lamenting them like a fellow-subject, obtained over an adversary who was unfortunately led away from his natural gentleness and candour to see these same miseries through a dark and fallacious medium."

Nor was it merely by his opponents that he was assailed. One, who like O'Leary, had always been the apostle of peace, and the uncompromising advocate of loyalty, was unsuited for the times which were now unhappily approaching; when dissensions were to be fomented, discontents aggravated, and sedition diffused by those, who in the spread of republican agitation, sought for that national regeneration, which in their Utopian theories, they looked upon not merely as feasible, but as easily to be effected. Even on previous occasions, though his services had been gratefully acknowledged by the large body of the Catholics of Ireland, some of them had regarded him with a species of jealous suspicion. This feeling was now artfully fomented, long-forgotten calumnies were revived; his motives were purposely misconstrued, his actions misrepresented, while he himself was made the object of low ridicule and caricature. Naturally of a vehement temper, and feelings morbidly acute; and with an imagination which had a tendency to exaggerate difficulties, and anticipate misfortune, the unhappy circumstances of the country, and the ingratitude displayed towards himself, produced the most painful impression

upon him. Despairing of being able to effect any good, and disgusted at the treatment he had experienced, he willingly agreed to leave a country, a further residence in which he found to be disagreeable, and from which he apprehended that peace had fled for ever.

He proceeded to London in 1789, and was soon after appointed as chaplain to the Spanish Embassy; having as his colleague, Dr. Hussey, afterward Bishop of Waterford.* His arrival in London was hailed with delight by his countrymen who were residing in the metropolis, all of whom hastened to testify their esteem of his character, and their gratitude for his exertions in favor of religion and liberty. With Edmund Burke he soon became intimate, and was by him introduced to some members of the Royal Family, who were most favorably impressed by his simple yet dignified manner, set off as it was by his wit and pleasantry. The ill-feeling, however, which had assailed him in Ireland pursued him to London, and he

* Thomas Hussey was a member of an old and respectable Irish family, and was educated in the University of Salamanca. His early wish was to become a Trappist, but his professors struck with his ability, induced the Pope to command him to devote himself to the active duties of a missionary. After his ordination he returned to London, and officiated for several years as first chaplain to the Spanish Embassy. As a preacher he was much admired, and was very effective and successful. During his residence in London he was intimate with Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and was, during many years, the bosom friend of Dr. Johnson. On one occasion George III. accidentally made his acquaintance, and was so impressed by his manner, person, and conversation, that he insisted on his accompanying Mr. Cumberland whom the British Government sent to Spain on a secret mission, during the American war. At Madrid he was shewn the greatest marks of respect and admiration; and on his return home was thanked by the Government. To Dr. Hussey is, in great measure, due the establishment of Maynooth, of which he was the first president. In 1797 he was consecrated Bishop of Waterford, and soon after his elevation he published a pastoral, which, at the time, excited considerable animadversion, and gave great offence to the Government, as it treated of some topics in a tone which was not then deemed respectful. In 1802, Dr. Hussey paid a visit to Paris, and was associated with Cardinal Gonsalvi and the Archbishop of Corinth, in the arrangement of the details of the Concordat. In this affair his talents and his prudence were eminently displayed, and excited the admiration of Bonaparte himself, who was afterwards heard to speak of Dr. Hussey in terms of respect. In July, 1803, while bathing at Tramore he was seized with an apoplectic fit which soon terminated his life at an advanced age.

had not been long there, when he had to publish his denial of a most annoying report, which had some years previously been maliciously circulated, and was again revived, that he had changed his religion, and embraced the doctrines of the Protestant church. In this letter he alluded in terms of severe but touching reproach to the recantation of Lord Dunboyne, which had recently scandalized and afflicted the Catholics of the kingdom.*

During the latter year of his residence in London, O'Leary officiated at St. Patrick's Chapel, Sutton-street, Soho-square; and his labours in instructing and relieving the ignorant and indigent Irish, who composed in great measure his congregation, were most indefatigable, and were attended with the happiest results. His sermons were universally admired, and crowds of all classes flocked to his chapel to hear him preach.

His long residence in France, the friends he had there made, and the pleasant associations connected with the many happy years he had spent at St. Maloes, had inspired O'Leary with a feeling of warm attachment to the country. This feeling was

* John Butler, who subsequently became the twelfth Lord Dunboyne, entered the church at an early age; but in consequence of the loss of an eye, his ordination was postponed until this canonical impediment was dispensed with at Rome. On a vacancy occurring in the see of Cork, he was appointed Bishop of that diocese, in which capacity he acted for twenty-three years. His brother and his nephew having both died without issue, he succeeded to the title of Dunboyne; and being the last remaining scion of that distinguished family, his pride of birth, with which he had always been deeply imbued, led him to apply to the Pope for a dispensation from his vows, and permission to marry, in order to perpetuate the family. This unheard-of request was of course peremptorily refused by the Pope. The unhappy nobleman, however, carried away by his pride, persisted in his resolution, and though far advanced in years, was married in Clonmel to a young lady, a relative of his own, named Butler. When this painful intelligence reached the Pope, he addressed a letter of stern yet dignified rebuke to him, in which he most impressively remonstrated with him on the heinousness of his conduct. It was, however, unheeded by the infatuated man, and though after his apostacy, he studiously avoided officiating at any religious ceremony, it was not until the near approach of death that he was reconciled to the church he had so shamefully betrayed. He expressed the deepest repentance for the scandal he had occasioned, and devised a considerable portion of his property to the college of Maynooth. He died at an advanced age, and the object he had had in view in taking the step by which he had deserted the church, was not fulfilled, as he did not leave any children.

increased by his respect for the clergy, his innate love of monarchy, and a sentiment of regard and affection for the old nobility of France. All these feelings combined to inspire him with a profound horror of the Revolution, which had so recently affrighted Europe by its enormities; and his exertions were unceasing in endeavouring to alleviate the sufferings and privations to which the emigrants, and more especially the clergy, who had been compelled to fly their country and take refuge in England, were exposed, when in their friendless and destitute condition they found themselves in a strange land.

O'Leary enjoyed, during the latter years of his life, a pension of £200 a-year from the Irish government. Mr. Charles Butler, in his "Memoirs of the Catholics", states that this pension was awarded to him "for his services in tranquillizing the spirit of lawlessness and outrage which had shewn itself in many parts of Ireland, but fearful of his ascendancy over the Irish peasantry, the government annexed a condition that he should reside in England." This statement, however, is controverted by Dr. England, who, in his "Life of O'Leary," informs us, that during his visit to Dublin, in 1782, he was waited on by a gentleman, who, on the part of the Government, acknowledged the great good which his writings had produced, and intimated a wish that he would publish a defence of the measure upon which the administration were then engaged. This, O'Leary peremptorily refused to do: and when it was hinted that his silence would be agreeable to ministers, he replied with warmth, "that he never would be silent whilst his exertions could be of the least service to his country or his religion." He was then informed that a pension of £150 a-year was to be offered to him, without any condition in the least repugnant to his feelings as an Irishman or a Catholic being annexed to it. A change of ministry soon after occurred, and the promised pension was never paid. Other offers were also frequently made to O'Leary before he left Ireland by the ministry, to induce him to use his pen in defence of the various measures they were introducing, and on one occasion he was solicited to become a supporter of a government newspaper; with all of which requests he declined to comply. He had not, however, been residing long in London, when he was visited by Lord Sydney's secretary, who stated to him that the government, anxious to testify their approbation of the efforts he had uniformly made to promote

peace, good order, and unanimity amongst his countrymen, wished to offer him a pension, the amount of which he was himself to name. "The secretary took the liberty of asking a question, to which, at the same time, he did not insist on receiving an answer—whether in the event of any popular commotion in Ireland, as it was dreaded would be the case from the diffusion of American republican notions, O'Leary would advocate, as formerly, principles of loyalty and allegiance? To this question an unhesitating reply was given, confirmatory of the known inflexibility of O'Leary's political conduct: with regard to the pension he never had sought for one; though at a former period of his life, something of the kind had been hinted to him—in the present instance he was grateful to the government for their recollection of him, and suggested that the utmost of his claims would be answered by £100 a-year. He was afterwards officially informed that his presence in Ireland was necessary for the purpose of having the pension placed on the list of that country: he repaired thither, and after the necessary formalities were gone through, he became entitled to £200 per annum." No condition, as stated by Butler, requiring him to reside in England, was annexed, nor does there seem any occasion for believing that further interference in political concerns was interdicted to O'Leary. His independence of character was too great for him to have ever submitted to such a restraint, and we find that he subsequently took a very active part in the attempts which were made by the Catholics to procure from the legislature additional measures of relief. His last production being "An Address to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal," in which he warmly protested against the passing of a bill, which had been introduced in the House of Commons by Sir Harry Mildmay—the Chambers of that day—the provisions of which were aimed at insulting and annoying the religious ladies who were residing in convents, and in which he replied with all his former zeal and vigour to the oft-repeated calumnies which he had so frequently been called upon to refute.

In November 1779, O'Leary was selected to preach the funeral sermon at the obsequies performed in London to the memory of Pope Pius VI., whose virtues, sufferings, and death had made a deep impression on the minds of men of all religious persuasions. Nor were his literary labours yet ended. During his residence in London, two productions of his pen

were published. One was a memorial in behalf of the fathers of La Trappe, and the orphans committed to their care, in which he made a touching appeal to the charity of the Catholics of England, to assist the Trappists, who, compelled to fly from one country, and driven from another, were reduced to the utmost destitution. The other was, the "Address" to the Lords against Sir Henry Mildmay's projected bill, to which we have just referred.

The dreadful convulsion of Ireland in 1798, and the atrocities with which it was accompanied, occasioned O'Leary the deepest affliction. Indignant at the attempts which were made to ascribe to religious fanaticism, the distractions which the Government had excited by its flagrant misrule, if it did not actually instigate them in its nefarious policy; and at the insulting manner in which his name had been mentioned by Sir Richard Musgrave in his "History of the Irish Rebellions"; O'Leary formed the resolution of publishing a work which would contain, not merely a refutation of the calumnies which had been circulated against the Catholics, but would at the same time be an authentic history of the insurrection. For this purpose he made a collection of valuable manuscripts, and procured from his friends full and authentic details of all the transactions in various parts of Ireland; but unfortunately the progress of the disease, of which he soon after died, and the increasing infirmities of age, prevented him from carrying this resolution into effect. Finding himself unable to continue the work, and hearing that Mr. Plowden was engaged in a similar task, he transmitted to him all the materials he had been able to procure, and these were of the most material assistance to the latter in the preparation of his invaluable "Historical Review" which was soon after published.

Towards the end of 1801 O'Leary was suffering so severely from ill health, and despondency, that his physicians, having exhausted their skill in vain endeavours to alleviate his disease, as a last resource advised him to visit the South of France. Following their advice, he proceeded there, accompanied by a medical friend; but not experiencing the relief which had been anticipated, and immeasurably shocked at the then state of French society—so different from what it had been in his youth—a state which he characterized by querulously declaring "that there was not a gentleman in all France"—he resolved on returning to London. The violence of his disease, however,

was aggravated by a rough passage from France, and his death occurred, rather suddenly, the day after his return to London, the 8th of January, 1802. His body was interred in the graveyard attached to St. Pancras' church; and a monument was placed over it by Earl Moira, subsequently Marquis of Hastings, who wished thus to testify his respect for the character, and his admiration of the genius, of Arthur O'Leary.

It is impossible to form a proper estimate of O'Leary's character, and of the value of his services to Catholicity, without constantly bearing in mind the vast difference which happily exists between the time at which he first appeared, and the present day. To superficial minds it may seem, that too great a stress has been laid upon his exertions; too much attributed to his literary efforts; and too high a meed of admiration claimed for his many and varied productions. If we reflect however, on the state of public opinion in Ireland, when O'Leary first raised his voice in behalf of his proscribed religion; and on the social degradation to which the Catholics had been reduced by the long continued persecution they had endured; we may well feel surprise;—not so much at the results which attended his exertions—as at the courageous spirit which he manifested in venturing even to appeal to the justice, not to say the indulgence, of his Protestant fellow-subjects. At a time when the wish once expressed by an intolerant opponent was almost literally gratified, and a Catholic scarcely ventured to address a Protestant with his hat on; when—as some still living can recollect—a Catholic as he walked the street was immediately recognizable by his abject air and demeanour;* it required no inconsiderable amount of courage

* A curious instance of the effect produced on individuals, by the operation of the penal laws, is given by Wyse in his "Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association."—"The pastor of one of the largest parishes in one of the principal towns of Ireland, had never been seen in the public promenade. For forty years he had lived in the utmost seclusion from Protestant eyes, shielding himself from persecution under his silence and obscurity. But the influence of the persecution remained after the persecution itself had passed away. After the concessions of 1793, a friend induced him, for the first time, to visit the rest of the town. He appeared amongst his fellow citizens as an intruder, and shrunk back to his retreat the moment he was allowed. It was with difficulty, and on the most urgent occasions only, he could be prevailed on to quit it. Seldom did he appear on the walk afterwards, and it was always with the averted eyes and the faltering step of a slave."

for a poor Friar, to break through the habits of submissive deference, which lengthened suffering and degradation had induced ; and boldly to demand, and ultimately wring from a hostile dominant party, privileges and immunities which his fellow Catholics had long sighed for in vain, and had almost regarded as unattainable. All this O'Leary did. He contended against and overcame difficulties, which, to one less ardent than he, would have appeared insuperable. He defended the principles of his religion, when attacked by virulent and ignorant assailants, with a boldness, only equalled by his ability ; while he triumphantly freed them from the gross imputations sought to be cast upon them by interested and bigoted parties. He mainly contributed to the diffusion of milder and more equitable sentiments, which ultimately led to the repeal of many of the most galling provisions contained in the penal code. He manfully resisted the violent attempts made by his opponents to prevent any relaxation from being effected in the system of intolerance which they so vehemently supported, as necessary for the permanence of their religious and political supremacy : while he never, for one instant, yielded to the machinations, which some of his own party were led to form against him, through their jealousy of his successful efforts. And we do not indulge in the language of mere panegyric, but simply give utterance to the truth, when we affirm, that to few is a deeper debt of gratitude due, by the Roman Catholics of these kingdoms, than to Arthur O'Leary.

ART. IV.—MURDERERS AND HANGMEN.

1. *Vacation Thoughts on Capital Punishments.* By Charles Phillips, A.B., one of Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, in London. Tenth Thousand. London: Cash. 1857
2. *Society for Promoting the Amendment of the Law. Three Papers on Capital Punishment.* By Edward Webster, Esq., A. H. Dymond, Esq., Henry Mayhew, Esq. Read at the General Meeting of the Society, July 7th, 1856. London: Sold at the Office of the Society, 3, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall.

The omniscient Ruler, looking down from above, searches every corner of this rolling world, and views with blended pity and contempt the efforts of the guilty man to cloak and conceal his crime. The black curtain of the night,—the solitude of the lonely waste—the thickest walls—and the securest doors, avail nothing for concealment from that glance, which searches, not alone the acts, but the inmost thoughts of men. The malefactor may exhaust his ingenuity to weave around him, as he fondly hopes, an impervious web of mystery;—in an instant, at the appointed hour, the curtain is rent away, and what the all-seeing glance has beheld from the first, the omnipotent arm now uncovers to the general gaze.

So wills the fierce avenging sprite,
Till blood for blood atones ;
Aye, tho' he's buried in a cave,
And trodden down with stones,
And years have rotted off his flesh,
The world shall see his bones !

The range of *human* vision is, however, limited, and the war of human wits is waged on more equal ground. A solitary wretch contends against the united vigilance and penetration of a host of foes, and single-handed, frequently conquers in the fight. Uneducated and untrained in all save guilt, and in that, alas ! too finished an adept, ignorant, brutal, and depraved,—he baffles every effort that refined intelligence, superior skill, and the strength of a righteous cause, can bring to bear against him, and succeeds in preserving from the grasp of the law, that existence which, in

many instances, the sting of remorse has rendered an intolerable burthen.

Surely nothing can be more potent to teach man the fallibility of his own judgment, than the success so frequently attending those efforts to mislead; what more stern warning against rash conclusions! How frequently have we seen a concatenation of circumstances, pointing apparently irresistibly to a particular conclusion, suddenly disjoined and scattered by the eliciting of a new fact by which the pursuit is instantly led away in a wholly different direction.

Few amongst us, but must, in our own persons, at some period of our lives, have winced under the sharp edge of an unjust accusation, and seen a number of circumstances, of whose perfectly innocent character we were fully well aware, marshalled against us as conclusive of our guilt, and when all were stated, felt ourselves almost in doubt as to our own guilt or innocence, so powerful was the effect even on our informed minds. Then we have felt how clear must our guilt have appeared to those who could only judge from such grounds, and could not read the secrets of hearts, and the reflection has moderated the bitterness of our feeling, and helped to cure our wounded self-esteem.

As we have advanced in life experience of the world and the fruits of observation and reflection, have taught our riper years more tolerance of such fancied injustice; for, after all, when the accusation is not prompted by malice, we are, under such circumstances, but partaking of the common lot, and feeling the effects of the general infirmity of human nature, which but condemns us on such proofs, as we, in our time, would think it no injustice, should they lead us to a sure conclusion of our brother's guilt. Thus, the judge often becomes, equally with the prisoner, the victim of circumstances, as for ourselves, we can say with perfect candor that we would a thousand times, prefer to have suffered from the unjust accusation, than to have been the prosecutor of the injustice, no matter how fully every principle of human law and natural equity might have warranted the presumption of guilt.

Often in the, perhaps, too sufficient confidence of our own acuteness, have we reached, as we imagined, an irresistible conclusion, drawn from an assemblage of consistent and concordant facts, and built up a structure of impregnable

proof, and suddenly found the whole fabric crumble into dust at the words of a new witness, like some enchanted castle at the breath of the magician. In our inmost hearts then have we resolved never again to condemn any man, save on the direct evidence of our own or another's senses, and rather to let the guilty free than risk the condemnation of the innocent; and so we have become for a period most tolerant and indulgent, until we have found ourselves again sitting in judgment, this time, however, proceeding on sure grounds, such as could not possibly mislead, and in the end once more rising from our self-constituted tribunal humbled and confounded.

An all-ruling Providence has, in its wisdom, limited man's mental vision and has made many things mysterious to him. It has allowed the assassin's hand, unseen and unnoted, to cut short many a virtuous and many a valuable life, and has decreed that in this world, at least, the crime should go unpunished. Aye, and even that the criminal should, either by natural apathy or adventitious aid, succeed in killing the worm of conscience, and pass through existence without ever feeling one qualm of guilt.

As if to mock the wisdom of man, it has permitted life to be taken away in the broad glare of noon, in the midst of a crowded city, in the circle of a skilfully trained police, and left no clue to trace the murderer; and on the other hand, it has given to the criminal the silence of the night, the solitude of the forest or the plain, the absence or repose of man, and every aid, as it were, to concealment and escape; and, suddenly, without a movement on the part of human justice, has laid a finger on the guilty head, and pointed it out to the world, where most unsuspected and unsought.

One man slays his victim almost before the eyes of the ministers of justice, and escapes without haste or rapid flight; another adopts the most numerous precautions, and appears to exhaust ingenuity in devising plans for concealment, and yet, as if demented by the hand of heaven, neglects some seeming trifling and unimportant safeguard, an omission which eventually lets in the light upon the whole.

The crime of Murder, naturally of all others, excites the greatest horror in the human mind. Ever since Cain roamed the earth with the Almighty brand burnt into his brow,

the murderer has been an object of universal hatred and distrust. For every other offence a pitying sympathy may be found to lay the blame of the transgression on defective training or the allurements of evil companionship; but no hand will ever be extended to grasp the murderer's, red with his victim's blood, no door will be opened to shelter him from the pursuit of justice—by “breaking into the bloody house of life,” he has become an outlaw and an alien from the sympathy and fellowship of man, and has in an especial manner smote the dignity of God by taking that away, which, as it is the gift of Him alone, it is His sole prerogative to recall.

That men should have framed the severest laws for the punishment of this crime is therefore natural, and yet there appears a certain degree of inconsistency in making *Death*—in the infliction of which the enormity of the crime consists—the punishment of the crime itself. Every consideration which tends to aggravate the murderer's guilt, tends also, as it appears to us, to deprecate the taking of his life too.

If his victim have been summoned to his account, “with all his imperfections on his head,” the guilty wretch may also be cut off “in the blossom of his sin”; if repentance has been denied to the one, by the suddenness of his “taking off,” the shadow of coming death falling on the soul of the other may shroud it in a gloom never to be dissipated by the light of grace; but above all and before all, the supposed criminal may be *innocent*! Awful consideration. The victim writhing powerless in the strong grasp of the law, suffers ten thousand pangs, each ten thousand times worse than the bitterness of death itself, while he feels the cruel injustice of his fate enter like a barbed iron into his soul. How powerful must be the religious feeling that can soothe such pangs, that can make him pity rather than hate with the concentrated fury of a thousand demons his mistaken fellow-men, and how often in all circumstances, can such religious feelings be excited. What can be urged in favor or extenuation of a code of laws, that while it acknowledges in every page of its statute books, and provides against the fallibility of human judgment, inflicts upon a fellow creature a punishment wholly irreparable, while he is tried by laws and rules of evidence on every side liable to misconstruction and deception.

We have no desire to enter, in this portion of our paper, upon the question of the abolishment of capital punishment, or to disparage unfairly the force and cogency of the evidence on which convictions for capital crimes are usually based ; but we do desire to submit to the consideration of our readers, whether it would not be more becoming in men and finite beings, liable to error and deception, so to punish, that if thereafter it should appear that they had unjustly punished, they might have it left in their power to offer some compensation, however inadequate, to the victim of injustice. This, it is obvious, they can never do if they have deprived him of his life. Liberty may be taken and restored—wealth may be supplied—and even frail reputation may be repaired ; but the spring of life, once stopped, can never again be set flowing ; the light of life once extinguished can never be re-kindled ; the golden bowl once broken can never be re-united. Except where some one has actually beheld the deed, or the confession of the accused himself has established guilt, the evidence upon which a man is convicted of murder, must always be circumstantial. We shall, we hope, before we conclude this paper, show fully and satisfactorily, as indeed might be at once presumed, that purely circumstantial evidence frequently misleads, and as the murderer usually adopts the precaution of selecting a time and place free from observation for the commission of his crime, we know that the evidence in cases of murder is seldom positive and direct.

It follows, therefore, that there is always a certain degree of risk in convicting on evidence of this character, and we can certainly respect the scruples which would prevent a man from joining in a verdict of guilty on circumstantial evidence, when we remember that *death* is the punishment to follow. As it would be manifestly improper and impracticable to apportion different degrees of punishment for the same offence, according to the degree of positiveness of the evidence adduced, and as we have shown that in the strongest case of circumstantial evidence there is always great need of caution, we think that we have suggested a fair argument for the total abolition of capital punishment.

To argue on this subject is not, however, our immediate purpose, but rather to submit a view of the case, arising from a consideration of the history of circumstantial evidence,

and to what extent it has proved satisfactory, not only to the jury, by whom the cases were tried, but also to the dispassionate enquirer, reading these cases at the present day.

We have read many of these cases with a certain degree of awe, thinking of the strange designs of Providence, who thus appeared to warn man of his infirmity, and teach him to remember his own weakness and fallability, while sitting in judgment on another.

We do not think our laws are now open to the once just reproach of bearing a too sanguinary character. At one period, and that not distant, the number of executions for various crimes was positively frightful. We have now before us a volume of Gurney's Old Bailey Trials, in which such reports as the following occur in almost every page:—"Robert Stewart was indicted for feloniously assaulting John Batty in a field or open place near the king's highway, on the 16th of August last, and putting him in fear and danger of his life; and taking from his person, and against his will, one pair of plated shoe-buckles, value 6d.; one pair of leather shoes, value 2s.; one corkscrew, value 5d.; one horn comb, value 7d.; a piece of silver coin called sixpence; and a copper farthing, the property of the said John Batty." And after a statement of the evidence, the report concludes—"Guilty—sentence, DEATH;" the ominous word being printed in startling black-letter characters.

And again:—

"Tate Corbett was indicted for breaking and entering the dwelling-house of Henry Moses, about the hour of seven in the night, on the 10th of January, with intent to steal his goods, and burglariously stealing ten pair of leather shoes, value 30s., the property of the said Henry."

The evidence is that of one George Raby, who saw the prisoner drawing out his hand, with something in it, from the prosecutor's shop-window, through the broken glass, and who saw a man standing at a distance apparently watching the prisoner's movements.

The prisoner is found guilty, and sentenced to *death*, his age being stated as *twelve* years; and we are informed by a note, in the nature of a summary of the business done, at the end of the reports for the session, that the sentence was duly executed.

Modern reform has given our laws a more merciful cha-

racter, and we may reasonably hope, in course of time, to see punishment by death wholly abrogated. We are convinced that crime will decrease in the same ratio as the severity of the punishment; and of this consequence there is evidence in all our old criminal reports. While looking from time to time into the various mysterious and startling cases, which are narrated in the judicial records of different countries, we have made, in our mind, a classification of these cases, which we now propose to adopt, and we divide them thus:—

1st. Cases in which convictions for murder have been had on circumstantial evidence, and in which, though confession was eventually made by the convict, there could exist no moral doubt of his guilt.

2nd. Cases in which the correctness of the conviction might be reasonably doubted, and has been doubted by various writers.

3rd. Cases in which it had been subsequently discovered that the conviction, though apparently had on the clearest grounds, was wrong. And we shall add to these a notice of a few of the most remarkable cases we have been able to meet with; in which the discovery of the assassin (his guilt frequently confirmed by his own subsequent confession), was owing to apparently fortuitous, but really Providential, circumstances, and others in which no clue to the real perpetrator was ever had.

Before proceeding to the examination of these cases, we may be pardoned a few words on the nature and force of circumstantial evidence, as distinguished from positive.

The latter, as its name implies, is that evidence which is given by a witness who swears distinctly and positively to the commission of the act or crime forming the subject of the trial or investigation.

Circumstantial, or presumptive evidence, is that conclusion which the jury draw or construct and arrange for themselves from a number of circumstances or minor facts, sworn to by the various witnesses examined on the trial.

It has been of late years rather a favorite theme with members of the legal profession to enlarge upon the certainty of circumstantial evidence. Circumstances, they say, cannot lie, but it seems to be forgotten that the narration of circumstances is obtained from witnesses who may,

and, even if the circumstances be all truly stated, the application of these circumstances may be wholly false. We shall show, by and by, cases in which the circumstances seemed not only to warrant the presumption of the guilt of a particular individual, but even to exclude the possibility of his innocence, and yet in these cases the guilt of another, or at least the innocence of the accused, was subsequently established beyond possibility of doubt.

From *one* circumstance positively sworn to by a witness, the inference to be drawn is generally obvious, but the conclusion to be deduced from a long train of circumstances is not always equally plain; it then becomes a matter of judgment, an exercise of understanding, and the single circumstance will generally be deficient in weight, and consequently powerful to a limited extent; the chain of circumstances though of considerable weight, involves the serious question of applicability to the issue.

A good deal of what we think an ill-founded opinion of the cogency of circumstantial evidence, appears to have arisen from certain passages in the charge of Mr. Justice Buller on the occasion of the trial of Captain Donnellan, for the murder of Sir Theodosius Broughton, to which we shall presently more fully advert. His words are these: "A presumption which necessarily arises from circumstances is very often more convincing and more satisfactory than any other kind of evidence: it is not within the reach and compass of human abilities to invent a train of circumstances which shall be so connected together as to amount to a proof of guilt, without affording opportunities of contradicting a great part, if not all, of these circumstances."

This is hardly in accordance with the opinions of eminent jurists; Mascardus, no mean authority, has the following:—

"*Probatio per evidentiam rei omnibus est potentior, et inter omnes ejus generis major est illa, quæ fit per testes de visu,*" and again:—

"*Probatio per presumptiones et conjecturas dici non potest vera et propria probatio.*"

Menochius, who displays a certain degree of partiality for this kind of proof, says, nevertheless, "*Probatio seu fides quæ testibus fit, cæteris excellet.*"*

* Menochius de Præsumptionibus, L. 1. q. 1.

We do not deem it necessary to refer to other writers. The same opinion is expressed by every author into whose works we have looked, indeed none has maintained the absurd doctrine that circumstances cannot lie, or that conjectural proof is superior to ocular demonstration. In the first case which we shall introduce to the reader, the evidence adduced was purely circumstantial though no doubt of a powerful character. It was sufficient to ensure the conviction of the accused, and undoubtedly most justly; nevertheless the evidence of one unimpeachable or even respectable and disinterested witness who had beheld the act committed, would have been more convincing proof, than even a greater aggregation of circumstances merely indicating the truth.

On the 5th of April, 1806, one Richard Patch was placed on his trial before Chief Baron McDonald, for the murder of Mr. Isaac Blight, a ship-broker, carrying on business at Deptford. Mr. Garrow appeared for the prosecution, Mr. Best for the prisoner, and from the statement of the former it appeared that the previous relative position of these parties was as follows:—Patch had originally been a clerk to Blight, having been introduced to the notice of the latter, through the sister of Patch, who lived as domestic servant with Blight. From a clerk at £40 a year, Patch gradually rose to a confidential position with Blight, who becoming embarrassed in his circumstances, and failing to induce his creditors to accept of a proffered composition, adopted a course of proceeding too common under such circumstances, and which was certainly not consistent with strict honesty.

To protect his property he assigned the entire of it to Patch, in consideration of a sum of £2000, which it is needless to say was not paid or intended to be paid.

The object of this contrivance appears to have been gained, for in 1805 we find Blight entering into an agreement with Patch, by which the former was to retire wholly from participation in the business, reserving, however, to himself two-thirds of the property, Patch receiving the remaining one-third, for which he stipulated to pay a sum of £1250.

The payment of this money appears to have been the difficulty which formed the first temptation to the removal of Blight. By hook or by crook, Patch managed to pay down

£250, and for the remaining £1000 he gave to Blight his (Patch's) draft on a Mr. Goom, who, he alleged at the time, was indebted to him, the bill falling due upon the 16th of September.

On the 19th of September, (the dates form an important portion of the evidence) Blight, went to Margate to visit his wife, and was accompanied as far as Deptford by Patch, who had previously prevailed on the bankers into whose hands the draft on Goom had been paid to hold it over till the 20th inst.

Patch having, as we have stated, parted with Blight, and seen the latter on his road to Margate, remained at the house at Deptford with the servant maid, and about 8 o'clock in the evening of the same day sent her out to purchase oysters for his supper. On her return, after a few moments' absence, she found Patch in conversation with some persons outside the house, and relating to them the fact that during the servant's absence, and while sitting alone in the front parlor, a shot was fired at him through the window shutter. To his enquiries these persons replied that they had heard the shot fired but had seen no person, a circumstance which, owing to the peculiar position of the house, appeared strange, if the assassin had made any attempt to escape.

Though professing to feel great alarm at this attempt on his life, Patch refused the offer of one of these parties to procure a person to pass the rest of the night in the house with him, and altogether displayed an indifference by no means consistent with his expressions of fear.

The shutter having been examined, it appeared manifest, from the course of the bullet, that the shot must have been fired by a person who stood at the time close to the window.

The next day was the 20th of September, the day of the maturity of the draft on Goom. This day was Saturday, and upon it Patch writes to Mr. Blight to Margate detailing the occurrence of the firing of the shot, and requesting Blight's presence in town, but making no allusion whatever to the maturity of the bill.

Upon Monday the 23rd, in compliance with Patch's request, Mr. Blight came to town, and having with Patch bestowed some attention upon the alleged attempt on the life of the latter, then turned his thoughts upon the draft on Goom and expressed his great anxiety to learn if it

would be met. Having received from Patch a positive assurance that it would be paid, he despatched him to London with the strictest injunctions not to return without the money.

In the evening Patch returned, and how he managed to satisfy Mr. Blight's anxiety must remain a mystery till that day when mystery will cease. Certain it is that they appeared that evening upon friendly terms, and about 8 o'clock had tea together, and for the first time they sat together in the back parlor.

It will be borne in mind that it was in the front parlor that Patch was sitting when the alleged attempt on his life was made, and further that Mr. Blight hardly ever occupied the back parlor, and had determined quite suddenly to do so on the night in question.

Having finished tea Mr. Blight, who was probably tired after his journey, was dozing in his chair, and Patch left the parlor, and going into the kitchen requested the maid servant to give him a candle and the key of the counting house and of another part of the premises, as he had been taken suddenly ill.

Without the means of reference to a model of the house, such as was produced at the trial, it is not easy to understand with perfect distinctness the position of the premises.

It appears, however, that the door of the kitchen was on the opposite side of the hall to, and facing that of, the back parlor, that the house was surrounded in front by a small paved yard, and that in this yard, and closely adjoining the house, the counting house and out-offices were situated.

Having opened the street door Patch passed out on his way to the counting house, his entering which was announced to the servant maid by the slamming of a door, and immediately after she heard the report of a pistol, and her master staggered into the kitchen exclaiming that he was a dead man. Dreadfully alarmed, the servant ran to shut the street door, which she saw open, and she had hardly time to turn round from doing so when Patch knocked violently at it, and, being admitted, ran as he was, his dress in some disorder, to embrace and compassionate Blight.

The next evening the unfortunate man died and an inquest was held upon his body, and a verdict of wilful murder against person or persons unknown returned.

Patch's conduct during this enquiry; his cautions to witnesses as to the evidence they should give, and in particular his injunctions to Esther Kitchener, the maid servant, pointed suspicion at him, and awakened the vigilance of Mr. Graham, a Bow-street magistrate, at whose instance he was subsequently arrested on the charge.

Mrs. Blight having come to town after her husband's murder, and knowing the extreme anxiety which he had felt as to the payment of Goom's bill, questioned Patch upon the subject, and was assured by him that Goom had paid the amount. To account for the absence in Mr. Blight's books of any entry of the disposal of so large a sum as £1000, Patch was cruel enough to accuse the dead man, to his widow, of excessive gallantries and extravagance in which he had dissipated large sums, many of which he, Patch, had supplied.

The suspicion that had been, as we have said, directed towards Patch began to ripen into conviction of his guilt, and he was at length arrested and committed for trial, charged with the murder of his former benefactor and partner Blight; and certainly if there ever was a case in which circumstantial evidence irresistibly produced conviction of guilt it was this, in which too, by Providential interposition, the very precautions adopted by the culprit to avert suspicion fixed his guilt most unequivocally upon him.

The evidence adduced against him may be shortly stated thus.

The pretended attempt on his own life, made by an invisible assassin while the servant maid was absent; the shot evidently fired by a person close to the window, though no such person was seen to leave the premises by witnesses who passed the house at the time, both at the rear and in the front, and saw the flash of the pistol.

His indifference on the subject of this attempt, and his neglect of every means to detect the perpetrator.

His inviting Blight to come to town, without any allusion whatever to the matter of Goom's bill.

His leaving Blight on (what was proved at the trial to be) a pretence of illness, on the evening of the murder, precisely at the time at which the murder took place.

The fact, that situated as was the door of the back parlor, in which Blight was sitting when shot, none but a left-

handed person could have effectually fired the shot, and that Patch was left-handed.

Further that, considering the short interval that elapsed between the firing of the shot, the closing of the street door by the servant maid, and the knocking of Patch thereat, it was impossible for the assassin to have escaped through the street door (and in no other direction could he have escaped) without having in his flight encountered Patch.

Moreover, the servant maid deposed to the fact of Patch's invariably wearing boots, and that in the forenoon of the day of the murder he was so attired, but that in the afternoon he wore light stockings and shoes.

At his lodgings was found a pair of stockings, kept back from his usual laundry, folded as if clean, and unmarked on the legs by boots, and plainly having been worn with shoes, comparatively clean, save on the soles of the feet, which were crusted with a peculiar mud, similar in every respect to that which was on the ground in front of Mr. Blight's house.

When the urgent necessity which existed for peculiar lightness of tread, on the part of the perpetrator of this crime, is borne in mind, the significance of this circumstance will at once become apparent.

To those circumstances is to be added the evidence of Goom, the party upon whom Patch had drawn the bill for £1,000, and who deposed on the trial that he had never had any pecuniary transactions whatever with Patch, and had never authorized him to draw upon him for £1,000, or any other sum of money.

Motive for the crime, in Patch, was thus abundantly supplied, and his subsequent statements to the widow Blight, that the amount of this bill had been paid and disposed of, greatly strengthened this part of the case against him.

The entire evidence on the trial appears to have been most skilfully formed into a continuous and connected chain, and the whole prosecution conducted with an acuteness and vigilance, which we shall often look for in vain in more modern trials; and though, as we have always thought, and as every reasoning man must think, the direct and positive evidence of a single faith-worthy eye-witness of the commission of the crime, would have been, in every way, more satisfactory in clearing away any lurking doubt, the ver-

dict nevertheless appears to us most fully warranted by the evidence, and that verdict was—guilty.

Patch was executed upon the 8th of April, 1806, and though he refused to the last to confess his guilt, he did not venture expressly to deny it.

In this trial the great, and very frequently cardinal fact, of a powerful motive was clearly proved. Patch was surrounded by the coils of a difficulty, the gordian knot of which he sought to cut by taking away the life of Blight. In the next case to which we shall advert, the proofs do not appear to us quite so forcible, and in particular the motive of the accused for the commission of the crime is rather hinted at than proved—the conviction which followed was nevertheless perfectly just, and its justice was acknowledged by the culprit on the scaffold.

Upon the tenth of March, 1802, Thomas Radcliffe Crawley was placed at the bar of the court in Green-street, Dublin, charged with the wilful murder of Mary Mooney, in the house No. 9 Peter's Row, Dublin, upon the 17th of February, 1802. The presiding judges were Lord Norbury and Baron Smith. The crown was represented by Messrs. W. Ridgeway, John Hamilton, Jonas Green, and Solomon Speer, with Mr. G. Hepenstall as agent; the prisoner was defended by Messrs. J. P. Curran, L. M'Nally, C. K. Bushe, and I. B. Bethel, with Mr. Armstrong Fitzgerald as agent.

The principal facts of the case, and the circumstances under which the murder was committed, appear pretty fully from the evidence of the principal witness, the Rev. Joseph Elwood, and we shall therefore depart a little from the order observed at the trial, and give first some extracts from his testimony with a view of putting the reader in possession of the case.

The Rev. Joseph Elwood examined by Mr. Green:—

Q. Endeavour to speak as loud as you can that their Lordships and the Jury may hear you,—What is your profession?

A. I am a Clergyman of the Church of England.

Q. Do you recollect the 17th of last month?

A. I do, sir.

Q. Where do you lodge?

A. At No. 9, Peter's-row, I have lived there a considerable time.

Q. How long?

A Three years wanting one month.

Q. Who was the lady that owned the house ?

A. Mrs. Davidson.

Q. Who was the servant woman that attended in that house.

A. Mary Mooney.

Q. Where about in Peter's-row is that house situated ?

A. No. 9, rather nearer Bishop-street than Peter-street,—I think so.

Q. Who lodged there at the time you lodged in it ?

A. Lately, sir ?

Q. Yes lately.

A. Mrs Davidson had informed me that Mr. Crawley had taken a lodging in the house about a month before the murder had been committed ; he came up to my room several times, and conversed with me about a week previous to the 17th of February.

Q. Did you hear anything from Crawley himself about his having taken a room ?

A. He told me that he had taken a room there.

Q. Do you recollect having any particular conversation with him ?

A. Yes I do.

Q. Have the goodness to state that conversation ?

A. In the course of that week Mr. Crawley asked me what property Mrs Davidson had, and I said that I supposed she had very little in the house, but that she had about £200, in the hands of a Mr. Waters, a coach-maker.

Q. Allow me to ask you on what day the murder was committed ?

A. On Wednesday the 17th

Q. Did he ask you any question relative to your own property ?

A. He did, and I told him I had 5 per cent debentures, and he asked me whether I received the interest when it became due, and he said that his father did not receive his for a year after it was due, and that I had much the better of him for his were only 3 and half per cents.

Q. Had you frequently seen him before ?

A. I had been before acquainted with his father.

Q. Do you see him in Court ?

A. I am very near-sighted, and cannot see him unless he is very near me.

Q. Get up and turn round and see if you perceive him ?

A. Yes, there he is,—that is certainly young Crawley.

Q. Did you see him the evening the murder was committed ?

A. I did—he come into my room three times on the evening of the 17th when I saw the dead bodies.

Q. Do you recollect the hour when he came into the house particularly ?

A. I believe it was between six and seven o'clock, but I can't be particular, and he told me that he had dined at the Rock, and that his share of the reckoning came to a guinea and an half.

Q. Did you see Mary Mooney that evening ?

A. I did—before it was quite dark she made my bed, and she had sufficient light to do it.

Q. Did he remain any time ?

A. He staid a very short time.

Q. Did he bid you good bye ?

A. He did not.

Q. You say you saw the Prisoner at the bar—did you see him before you saw Mary Mooney making your bed?

A. It was before that time.

Q. Was it in the back or front room?

A. In the front room to Peter's-row—I had on the first floor, a room, a bed-chamber, and closet.

LORD NORBURY—Up one pair of stairs?

A. Yes, my Lord.

Q. Did you hear any disturbance?

A. I did.

Q. What was it?

A. I can't be very particular as to the time, but I heard the servant woman give two violent shrieks and I opened the door, and heard some person give two very heavy moans.

Q. Are you positive it was the maid's shrieks?

A. I am, for I knew her voice, and heard a kind of rustling noise.

Q. Are you positive that you heard those moans and shrieks?

A. I am.

Q. Did you go down stairs?

A. I did not.

Q. Allow me to ask you why you did not go down?

A. I thought the mistress and maid had fallen out, for they were accustomed to do so, and I have heard her scream before on such an occasion though not so loud.

Q. And was that the reason you did not go down?

A. It was.

Q. You said he paid you three visits?

A. He did.

Q. Do you remember the second visit?

A. I do. It was about an hour after.

Q. Do you mean to say that it was an hour after you heard the shrieks that you saw Crawley again?

A. I do.

Q. Do you recollect Doctor what the Prisoner at the Bar did when he entered your room?

A. He walked to and fro seemingly agitated.

Q. Are you positive he came up stairs?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon what grounds do you say that?

A. I can't say positively whether he came from above or below, but I know he came into my room, and said, Doctor, will you give me a drink of water, and I said, I could not, for the girl had forgot to leave water in the kettle, in the back room, where it was usually left; he said, after some time, Doctor, will you lend me a guinea, and I said, I could not, for that I had hardly enough for myself to pay my lodgings, and to pay my curate—and he replied, I was thinking with myself, whether you should lend me a guinea, or I should lend you a shilling.

Q. Had you any money?

A. I had.

Q. Where was it?

A. In the closet—to put a stop to the conversation, I took up a book and pretended to read.

Q. What was your reason for that?

A. I did not like the conversation, and wanted to put a stop to it.

Q. Have the goodness to state what happened after this?

A. Upon my not hearing him walking about the room, I turned about, and he said, Doctor, I have drank some of your milk—and I said Mr. Crawley, you have not treated me well, for you have deprived me of my supper to night and probably of my dinner to morrow, for I cannot take any thing but the milk which I get from a particular man—I said, did you hear two screams—and he said, I did not. Were you below?—I was, sir. Is Mrs. Davidson within?—she is, sir. And I said, go down to the girl and send her for whatever you want, and he returned in about two minutes or less, and said they were both gone out.

Q. Did he do anything when he returned?

A. He sat down by the fire and did not seem disposed to talk and we continued rather silent for two or three minutes and then a rap came to the door, and I said, Mr Crawley you have told me that there is no person below and you had better go down and open the door, and he went down and let in Mr. Howis, a relation of mine, when he came up I said who let you in, and he said it was a man, and I said it must be young Crawley.

Q. How long did he continue with you?

A. An hour precisely.

Q. What o'clock was it when he went away?

A. Precisely 9, it was 8 o'clock when he came.

Q. Did you hear any noise?

A. Not the least, after Mr. Howis went away I continued reading from 9 till half-past 10 o'clock.

Q. Did you let Mr. Howis out?

A. No, he went himself, about an hour and a-half after I heard a rap and lifted up the sash, and perceived it was Mrs. Davidson's nephew, who lived in the house, and I told him that I would go down and let him in, and he said, Doctor what is the meaning of this that there is no one within but you, and I said I do not know, Mr Crawley told me they both went out.

Q. Did you open the door,—was it shut?

A. It was.

Q. Which of you went first?

A. He did. I was immediately after him with a candle, and says he, I will go into the back parlour and see if any body is there; and the first thing that I saw was Mrs. Davidson and her maid lying bloody, and Mrs. Davidson's petticoat was on fire.

Q. Did you see the body of Mary Mooney?

A. I did sir.

Q. Did you mean to say that she was making your bed before Crawley came into the house,—what appearance had she when you saw her in the parlour?

A. She was so disfigured with blood that I could not see her face

Q. The alarm was then given?

A. It was.

Q. Did you understand what room Crawley had taken?

A. I understood it was the room overhead.

Cross Examined by Mr. CURRAN.

Q. Where is Mr. Ferral?

A. I suppose he is out of the kingdom.

I request Doctor you will confine yourself to the simple answers of the questions I shall ask you.

Q. Mr. Crawley you believe lived in Mrs Davidson's house?

A. He did.

Q. You mentioned a circumstance of Mrs. Davidson's having about a couple of hundred pounds in the hands of a Mr. Waters?

A. I did.

Q. Then you can have no doubt that Mr. Crawley after hearing that her poverty was so great that she was obliged to let almost every room in her house, must have thought her to be a very poor woman?

A. I can't answer for him at all.

Q. Did you not give him reason to think so?

A. I did.

Q. Do you believe so yourself?

A. I do.

Q. I don't wish Doctor that you and I should differ on the subject—I wish that we should agree in opinion—his father was an acquaintance of yours?

A. He was.

Q. Did you mention anything about what wealth you had yourself?—I don't mean that you should tell me where it is—No, I don't expect any such thing, but you told him that you had hardly enough for yourself, to pay your lodgings and your curate?

A. I did.

Q. And therefore you could not have entrusted any person with a great sum of money?

A. I could not.

Q. Then your evidence goes to prove that this wealth could be no inducement to commit any crime. There is a back door to this house?

A. There is.

Q. Now, could not any person, who came in at the back door, go out at the street door, and shut it after him?

A. He might.

Q. Was it not a common latch that was to the door?

A. There was a latch to it.

Q. You mentioned, (if I mistake not,) that Mr. Ferral lodged in the house?

A. I did, Sir.

Q. You also mentioned that Mr. Howis called?

A. I did.

Q. Was he not in the habit of calling on you?

Baron SMITH. Are we to understand that Ferral lived in the house when the murder was committed?

A. I will ask him, my Lord.

Q. Did Mr. Ferral live in the house at the time of the perpetration of the murder ?

A. He did, Sir.

Q. Don't you believe now, that any person acquainted with the nature of that house, would naturally expect a number of visitors, to come to the lodgers ?

A. I have no great variety of company coming to me.

Q. I think, I recollect, you said, that it was an hour from the time you heard the shrieks, until the Prisoner came into the room ?

A. It was an hour.

Q. Now, Sir, you said, and very fairly and properly, that you had not been pleased to see Mr. Crawley—you can't tell whether he came up or down stairs ?

A. He might have spent that hour (you were talking of) above stairs.

Q. When he told you that he drank some of your milk, I rather collect from you, that you spoke with some little appearance of displeasure ?

A. I did.

Q. And I think he shewed some kind of sulk, as if he thought there was a little impatience and appearance of anger in you ?

A. He did, Sir, for he told me, that by the same time next night, he would give me as good milk, and more of it.

Q. Well then you will allow, Doctor, that I may fairly say that was the *lex Talionis*.—Mr. Crawley's father was a clergyman too ?

A. Yes he is a clergyman of the Church of England,—I was in a treaty with the prisoner at the Bar and his father, about collecting my Tythes.

Q. Then of course you must have had a respectable opinion of him ?

A. I had,—and his father was a man of property, and said he would go security for him.

Foreman of the Jury. Did you perceive any appearance of blood on Crawley ?

A. I did not mind it.

One of the Jurors. Had the servant maid a cap on her ?

A. I did not take notice of it, for her face was so horrid I could not bear to look at her ?

Q. How long was it from the time Crawley said Mrs. Davidson was below that you saw the bodies ?

A. About an hour.

Lord NORBURY. He had been lodging in the house a week previous to the time the murder was perpetrated ?

A. He had.

Lord NORBURY. He was in your room ?

A. He was two or three times.

Q. You say, you never saw him after that night ?

A. I never saw him after letting in Mr. Howie, until I saw him in Mr. Alexander's office.

Q. Did he absent himself from the house before the murder was committed ?

A. I don't know; except that Ferral told me he was absent for two nights, and I concluded he was still a lodger in the house.

Q. After you saw the woman murdered, did you not go up to Crawley's room?

A. I did not.

Q. Why did you not?

A. Mr. Ferral told me he would go for Mr. Mc. Mahon, to see if they were perfectly dead or not.

Q. Were you ever in Crawley's room since?

A. I was once.

Q. Were any of his goods left behind?

A. There was very little furniture left behind.

Q. You considered him as a lodger, when you admitted him into your room?

A. I certainly did.

Q. Did you know any thing of Ferral?

A. I did not see him that day before, he worked at his brother in law's, and came to eat his dinner, and went out immediately after.

Baron SMITH. You said you were in Crawley's Room, did you see any shelves there?

A. I saw nothing but a bed and some chairs.

Q. Did you hear any thing of his putting up shelves?

A. I did not.

One of the Jurors. What sort of a man is Ferral?

A. A quiet and inoffensive man as ever I saw in my life?

Q. What occasions his absence on this day?

A. I believe he went to England in pursuit of Crawley.

Surgical evidence having been adduced to prove that the wound which had caused the death of the servant, Mary Mooney (for whose murder only, in the first instance, the prisoner was to be tried), had been caused by a heavy, blunt, iron instrument, John M'Culloch was sworn and examined as follows:—

Examined by Mr. GREEN.

Q. Be so good to speak up so that their Lordships and the gentlemen of the Jury may hear you.—What business do you follow?

A. I am a shoemaker.

Q. Do you keep a shop?

A. No, sir, but I keep a room.

Q. Where?

A. At No. 1, Bow-lane.

Q. How far is that from Peter's-row?

A. It is a very short distance, you have only to cross Aungier-street.

Q. How many pair of stairs up is your room?

A. Two, sir.

Q. Do you know Crawley, the Prisoner at the Bar?

A. I do very well, sir.

Q. Do you remember the morning when the news of the murder was reported?

A. I do, sir.

Q. Did you see the Prisoner on that day ?

A. I saw him the evening before, sir.

Q. At what time ?

A. Between 6 and 7 o'Clock, I cannot ascertain it exactly, it was after 6 o'Clock.

Q. Where did you see him ?

A. I saw him in Bow-lane in my room.

Q. What did he say to you on going into your room ?

A. He asked me to lend him a hammer to nail up some shelves.

Q. And what answer did you make ?

A. I said I could not spare it, for that I wanted it for my own work, and I was going to use it, and wanted it every half hour.

Q. Did there anything happen after your refusing to lend your own hammer ?

A. My wife was recollecting of a hammer which had been lent to a neighbouring huxter to break large coals into small pieces.

Q. What did she say ?

A. She said that it might answer Mr. Crawley's purpose ?

Q. What is the huxter's name ?

A. Fitzpatrick.

Q. Did you send for the hammer ?

A. I did, sir ; I sent my son for it, and he returned and brought it with him, and gave it to Mr. Crawley.

Q. To whom did it originally belong ?

A. To one Davis, a gunsmith.

Q. Was that the hammer you lent Crawley ? (*Showing hammer.*)

A. It was a hammer exactly of that description, but I can't say whether it is the very identical hammer because I lent it for some time to the huxter.

Q. For what use did she get it from you ?

A. For the purpose of breaking coals.

Lord Nonsbury. It has just occurred to me, that the Witness has not pointed out the Prisoner at the bar.

Mr. Green. Turn about and try if you can see the Prisoner in Court.

A. That is Crawley.

Q. What connexion had you with the Prisoner ?

A. He employed me for some time, and I mended some boots for him.

Q. Were you present when the hammer was returned ?

A. I was not.

Q. When you returned home, did you perceive the hammer ?

A. I did not.

Q. How soon after did you mention any thing about the hammer ?

A. On the Saturday following, I mentioned it to a Mr. Garty, a Watch-maker.

Mr. Mc. Nally. My Lord, we will not ask this Witness any Question.

William M'Culloch was then examined by Mr. Ridge-way, and deposed as follows :—

You are son to John Mc Cullogh the shoe-maker, that lives in Bow-lane.

A. I am, Sir.

Q. Do you see Mr. Crawley in the Court?

A. Yes, Sir, I do, there he is.

Q. Do you remember his coming to your father's room?

A. I do, Sir.

Q. When?

A. I don't remember the day.

Q. About what time of the day?

A. I judged it to be about seven o'Clock in the evening.

Q. When did you hear of the murder?

A. The next day.

Q. The next day after what?

A. After the murder was committed.

Q. You heard of it the next day?

A. I did.

Q. Were you in the room when Mr. Crawley came there?

A. I was.

Q. What did he say?

A. He asked my father for a loan of an hammer, and my father said he wanted it himself, and could not spare it.

Q. Do you remember your mother saying any thing?

A. No. I do not.

Q. Were you sent for a hammer?

A. I was.

Q. Where?

A. To Mrs. Fitzpatrick's, and I brought it, and gave it into Mr. Crawley's hand.

Q. Did he take the hammer away?

A. He did.

Q. Did you see him again that evening?

A. I did—he came up with the hammer the same evening, and stood on the stairs.

Q. About what time?

A. I judged it to be about nine o'clock.

Q. What do you mean by his standing on the stairs, did he go in?

A. No, he did not—he rapped, and I opened the door, which was locked.

Q. Did you see Mr. Crawley?

A. I did, he was standing on the stairs, he asked me if my father was within, and I said he was not, and he then stretched me the hammer, and said that it fell out of his hand and got wet.

Q. Had you made any observations that it was wet?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Did you perceive it?

A. No, I did not mind whether it was wet or not.

Q. Did he go away or make any longer stay?

A. No, he did not, my mother bid me bring out a candle, and light Mr. Crawley down stairs, and he bid me good night.

Q. Did he say anything more to you?

A. No, nothing, but bid me not mind the light.

Q. Now, my man, how high is your father's room ?

A. Two pair.

Q. Are the stairs straight or winding ?

A. They are winding stairs.

Q. Is that the hammer you brought from Mrs. Fitzpatrick ?

A. It is.

Q. And that is the hammer that you gave to Mr. Crawley ?

A. It is.

Q. And that Mr. Crawley returned ?

A. It is.

With the exception of some evidence, not very valuable, pointing to implied admission of guilt, made by the prisoner after his arrest, this constituted the whole case proved against him.

The only part of the array of proofs brought against the prisoner, in which there appears to us some deficiency, is that of motive for the crime. Doubtless there were technical difficulties in the way of introducing evidence as to the possession of money by Mrs. Davidson, and the corresponding want of it in the prisoner ; but such proofs would certainly have made the case against the accused complete and perfect in every part.

The trite, "*quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*," is well illustrated in the history of this crime. Crawley's conduct appears almost inconsistent with a wish for concealment :—

He borrows from a man, to whom his person was perfectly well known, the instrument with which he commits the crime. He enters the room of a fellow lodger at three different hours on the evening of the murder, at such times and under such circumstances, as strongly to suggest him as the murderer ; at least to show his presence in the house at or very near the precise time of the murder. By flying from Dublin and assuming a false name, he almost points himself out as the assassin, and thus makes his only attempt at misleading and baffling pursuit the certain clue to discovery.

Crawley was found guilty and was hanged at Newgate, upon the 12th March, 1802.

He made no specific public confession of his guilt, but he did not deny it, and his conversation with the Rev. Mr. Gamble in his cell shortly before his execution, amounted to an admission of the justice of his sentence.

He wore at his execution a pair of Hussar, or hessian boots, which were then a fashionable article of dress, but this circumstance brought them into disfavor, and even to the present day the wearer of similar articles would run the risk of being greeted by the street boy with the cry of "Crawley's boots."

Crawley's position in life was respectable. His father was a clergyman, and he had himself been sworn in an attorney the year before the murder, but had to some extent abandoned his profession and obtained a commission in the Boscommon militia.

A passage in the charge of Baron Smith to the jury in this case, is almost an echo of Judge Buller's words, in his charge in the case of Sir Theodius Boughton. He says, "circumstantial evidence, unsupported by direct testimony, should be weighed with caution. But nevertheless, a train of well connected circumstances amounts in many cases to a more certain proof than direct testimony would, because a witness, who swears positively to a fact may be perjured, but in circumstances well connected and plainly proved there is less probability of a mistake."

We have already expressed our opinion of the value of such reasoning as this. Surely if a witness plainly proves the commission of the act, he is as worthy of belief (*ceteris paribus*), as when he proves some circumstance which alone, or combined with others, points to the guilt of the accused. It is as necessary for the "circumstance" to be proved as the actual commission of the act. May not the witnesses who proved the "circumstances," be as open to the imputation of perjury, as those who depose to having actually beheld the crime committed.

The last case which we shall notice, under the first division of our subject, is that of Professor Webster, convicted of the murder of Dr. George Parkman, at Boston, in the United States, on the 23rd of November, 1849.

The recent date of this event renders it unnecessary for us to give any lengthened detail of the evidence adduced on the trial. We shall content ourselves with a short sketch of the case, which owing to the position in life of the parties, and the mysterious nature of the murder, excited a very great sensation, not alone in America, but in these countries.

The accused, John W. Webster, was professor of and lecturer upon chemistry, at the Medical College, Boston.

The murdered man, Dr. George Parkman, resided in Boston, and was a man of some property.

So far back as 1842, Webster had become indebted to Dr. Parkman in money lent by the latter, and in 1847, executed to Dr. Parkman a mortgage of his personal property, to secure the amount due. In 1849, it transpired to Dr. Parkman that Webster had previously mortgaged these same chattels to another creditor, a fact which he had concealed from Dr. Parkman.

Parkman was a man of rigid principles and unbending integrity. Like many men who, possessed themselves of ample means, look upon inability to pay as something criminal, he regarded his debtor, Webster, as an offender against all social laws, and expressed his determination of pursuing him relentlessly.

On the fatal 23rd of November, this determination was made known to Webster, by a third party; on the same day, Webster called at Dr. Parkman's house, and appointed a meeting with the latter at Webster's rooms, at the Medical College.

Dr. Parkman was seen to enter that building between the hours of 1 and 2 o'clock on the day in question, but was never seen to leave it again.

It was proved that Dr. Parkman had on that day purchased a quantity of salad lettuce for his dinner, and had called at a grocer's and purchased sugar and butter, and left there a paper bag containing the salad, stating that he would call for it again.

His agent having occasion to see him, called at the Doctor's house at 3 o'clock, on the same day, expecting with certainty to meet with him at that hour, as the Doctor always dined at half past two o'clock, and was a man of very regular habits. Failing to meet him, Mr. Kingsley, the agent alluded to, called early the next morning and learned that Dr. Parkman had not been home during the night.

Alarmed, Mr. Kingsley commenced and prosecuted an unsuccessful search for the missing man, and in the afternoon of Saturday, the 24th November, rewards for his discovery were offered in the public papers.

From that time to the Friday following, the 30th, no trace whatever was had of the fate which had befallen him.

A search, not very carefully conducted, had been made at the Medical College, but as might have been expected, the body of Dr. Parkman was not found lying on the staircase or in any of the rooms.

The office of janitor, or door-keeper and general caretaker of the Medical College, was filled by a man named Littlefield. He appears to have been a man of some acuteness and intelligence, and to his suspicions of Professor Webster the discovery of the murder and murderer was due.

From the 23rd of November, the day on which Dr. Parkman was last seen alive, and entering the Medical College, Professor Webster had kept his rooms in that building constantly locked, and Littlefield was unable to enter them for the purpose of sweeping them and arranging the fires as usual.

Though Webster had declined the services of Littlefield to make up a fire in his rooms, on the pretence that some of the chemical preparations which he was then employing would not stand heat, the latter in his walks through the house had felt a great heat in the outside of the wall of Webster's room, manifestly caused by an unusually large fire within.

These circumstances, and other minor ones, excited suspicion in the mind of the janitor. He had accompanied the officers and others through the College on the occasion of their hasty examination, and he knew that one part of the building, and that too a part exclusively appropriated to Professor Webster's use, had not been inspected at all.

He determined to examine the vault of this closet, and as he was of course unable to obtain admittance to the closet itself for a sufficient time to prosecute an effectual search unobserved by Webster, or indeed to furnish any pretext for entering it at all, he was obliged to go to the underground floor of the College, and endeavour to force an entrance into the vault through the wall which divided it from the rest of the premises, near the foundations.

This he accomplished on the afternoon of Friday the 30th instant, and on looking through the hole which he had made in the wall into the vault, he saw lying therein a part of a human body, the pelvis and two portions of a leg.

Assistance was procured, and these remains taken out, and they were found to be partly wrapped in two towels bearing Webster's initials. This was considered sufficient to justify

the arrest of Professor Webster, and two officers were dispatched for that purpose to his residence at Cambridge, near Boston.

His laboratory and the furnace in it were then searched, and amongst the ashes in the furnace were found some artificial teeth, some melted gold, and one or two pearl shirt buttons.

The search was resumed the following (Saturday) morning and continued till four o'clock P. M. on that day, when a tea box apparently filled with tan, and having some minerals wrapped in paper on the top, attracted the notice of one of the policemen assisting in the search. He took off these minerals, and after taking out a portion of the tan reached a hunting knife, and, still deeper, the chest or thorax of a human being, and inserted in the thoracic cavity the greater part of a human thigh.

These parts fitted to those found in the vault.

In Webster's laboratory were found three large sized fish hooks tied together so as to form a species of grapple.

Upon Tuesday the 19th of March, 1850, Professor Webster was brought to trial for the murder, at the Supreme Judicial Court for Suffolk.

The presiding Judges were Chief Justice Shaw, and associate Judges, Wilde, Metcalfe, and Davey. The counsel for the Commonwealth (we had almost said for the Crown) were the Attorney General, Mr. Clifford, and George Bemis, Esq.

The prisoner was defended by the Honourable Pliny Merrick, and E. D. Sohier, Esq.

The evidence for the prosecution consisted of proof of the pecuniary transactions between the murdered man and the prisoner, in which the latter was the debtor—the appointment made between them for half past one on Friday the 23rd November, at the Medical College. That Dr. Parkman had entered that building about the appointed time on that day; that he had not returned home to dinner at the usual hour on that day—that he had never been seen subsequently alive—that certain remains had been found wrapped in towels belonging to the prisoner, in the vault of a closet to which the prisoner alone had access—that these remains, together with others found in a tea chest in the laboratory of the prisoner, resembled the corresponding parts of the living Dr. Parkman—that in the furnace of the prisoner's laboratory were found some

mineral teeth which a dentist swore were those which he had manufactured some time previously for Dr. Parkman. That Professor Webster, the prisoner, had remained much later than his usual hour on the 23rd of November in his rooms, and that contrary to his usual custom he had locked the doors of these rooms when leaving the College in the evening. That the doors so continued locked up to the time of the discovery by Littlefield of the remains in the vault. That during the same interval large fires appeared to have been kept up by the prisoner in his rooms.

A good deal of minor evidence was brought forward for the prosecution, but we have stated the strong points.

The defence consisted of proof of the prisoner's good character, and general amiability and humanity, and of Dr. Parkman's having been seen in the streets of Boston so late as 5 o'clock on the 23rd of November—the day on which the prosecutor alleged he had entered the Medical College and Webster's rooms at 1½, and had never been seen to quit.

The jury found the prisoner guilty, and he was subsequently executed.

Unlike Crawley, Webster appears to have adopted every precaution to escape detection, and it is only surprising that in the course of the week which elapsed from the commission of the crime till its discovery, he did not contrive to remove from the building every evidence of his guilt. The grapple formed of fishhooks was doubtless intended to be used in fishing up the remains at a convenient opportunity from the vault, and had they been removed, and had Littlefield thus been unsuccessful in his search in the vault, Webster would have had but little reason to fear the consequences of the discovery of the contents of the tea chest, supposing him, of course, to have removed the contents of the furnace.

These, indeed, formed the damning proof against him; a few teeth which he could have carried away in his hand, and disposed of anywhere, on the first convenient opportunity, were the most formidable witnesses against him, and rendered wholly vain his laborious dismemberment and attempted annihilation of the rest of the body. Not all the sermons that have been preached, not all the treatises that have been written, since sermons first were preached and books were written, have half the power to impress the thinking mind with the idea of a watchful Providence than this single circumstance possesses.

There is a disposition amongst men to view the commission of a crime with more or less horror and indignation according as the perpetrator may appear to have been actuated by motives more or less base.

The man who commits a deliberate and premeditated murder, no matter how horrible, through jealousy, disappointed love, or wounded honor, will never be classed by the generality of his fellow-men with him who kills merely for the sake of money. Human indignation is stirred universally by the infliction of a wrong of the former class, and there is a natural tendency to soften and excuse in another a crime which has been actuated by feelings in which all have a sympathy more or less warm. But to slay a fellow creature solely for the sake of seizing on his wealth, appears an offence of a far deeper dye; for no man likes to part without an equivalent with his gold, and to wrest from the victim not only his gold but his life, appears a vast accumulation of injustice and oppression.

It is not a flattering result to find on examination that nine-tenths of the murders that have been wrought since the time of Cain till this hour have had sordid pelf for their motive. The three cases we have referred to are among the number, and we shall find no exception to the rule amongst the higher and better educated class of criminals. How truly has the poet sung,

"Auri sacra fames! quid non mortalia pectora cogis?"

Patch, a man moving in a more than decent walk of life, deliberately murders the man who had fostered and protected him for the sake of that man's little means. Crawley, a member of an honorable profession and the son of a minister of religion, dashes out the brains of an old woman and her maid servant in the hope of possessing himself of a few guineas, the property of the former; and Webster, a professor of science, a man familiar with the beautiful mysteries of chemistry, butchers his creditor, to escape the payment of a just debt.

We shall not have occasion to dwell very long upon the second division of our subject. We shall but refer to one case in illustration, that of Sir Theodosius Boughton, which we have selected because we have found so many commentators upon it, agreeing in considering the verdict unsatisfactory.

Were we to notice under this head every case of conviction for murder on circumstantial evidence in which many respectable authorities have doubted the justness of the verdict, we

should fill the entire of this volume ; in fact there is none such that would not be open to cavil and dispute, and in which an ingenious reasoner could not establish numerous discrepancies.

The history of this case has become tolerably well known, a result to which Mr. James's familiar novel of "Laurel Water" has largely contributed.

Sir Theodosius Boughton was a young gentleman of position and fortune residing in Warwickshire, and had at the time of those occurrences almost attained his majority. Some of the accounts which we have examined state that he was a young man of delicate health and constitution ; others that his general health was good, though he was suffering at the time of his death from an attack of a particular disorder.

An apothecary named Powell, residing at Rugby, was in attendance on Sir Theodosius for this complaint.

Upon the 29th of August, 1780, Powell sent his patient a draught, composed as he alleged of rhubarb and jalap, spirits of lavender, nutmeg water, simple syrup, and common water. The bottle which held this draught was placed on a shelf in the Baronet's bed-room.

We should have stated that his mother, Lady Boughton, his sister Mrs. Donnellan, and his brother-in-law Captain Donnellan, resided with him, and it appeared further, that in the event of his death before he attained his majority, a large part of his fortune would descend to his sister, and Captain Donnellan would enjoy a life estate in it.

About seven o'clock, in the morning of the 30th of August, Lady Boughton entered his bed room to give him his draught as he had previously requested her to do, and having poured it into a cup she handed it to him to drink.

When he had taken about half of it he complained that it was exceedingly nauseous and smelt unpleasant, and Lady Boughton having smelled what remained in the cup observed to him that it had a strong odour of bitter almonds.

Almost immediately after Sir Theodosius was seized with convulsions and frothing at the mouth, and in about half-an-hour he was a dead man.

While he was yet struggling in the agonies of death Captain Donnellan came into the room, and contrary (as she stated) to the remonstrances of Lady Boughton washed out the bottle which had contained the draught. The body was buried, but whispers of foul play having gone abroad, a

Sir William Wheeler, who had been the deceased Baronet's guardian, insisted on its exhumation, and eight days after its interment it was taken up and opened.

Putrefaction had advanced so far as to render the autopsy of little advantage in investigating the real cause of death; the result, however, was to place Captain Donnellan on his trial for wilful murder.

The case against him consisted of the evidence of Lady Boughton, who detailed the various circumstances we have narrated, and that of some medical men who deposed that the symptoms in Sir Theodosius' case resembled those produced in animals poisoned with laurel water, and proof that Captain Donnellan had a still in his own room, and that there were laurel and bay trees growing in the garden.

For the defence the principal witness was the eminent and celebrated John Hunter, and his evidence went to prove that though the appearances, presented by Sir Theodosius after he had taken the draught were consistent with poisoning by laurel water, yet that they were also consistent with natural death from apoplexy or epilepsy. In other words, that though, if satisfied beyond doubt that Sir Theodosius had partaken of laurel water, he would have ascribed the symptoms to that poison, yet if unaware of any draught having been drunk he would have felt no difficulty in accounting for those symptoms, without any enquiry as to whether any poison could have been administered.

It will be seen that the only evidence of the draught having contained laurel water, was that of Lady Boughton as to its peculiar smell. Her declarations on this point, palpably suggested enquiries as to the particular symptoms, and an endeavour to reconcile those symptoms with poisoning by laurel water.

Dr. Parsons, professor of Anatomy at Oxford, stated that the opinion of the medical men that the deceased had been poisoned with laurel water was grounded on the description of the smell, by Lady Boughton, and on nothing else. It must be owned that even making allowances for the peculiarity of this smell, and the forcible manner in which the idea of bitter almonds struck Lady Boughton, immediately after she had placed the contents of the bottle to her nose, this evidence that the draught had contained laurel water is not very conclusive.

The organ of smell is very various and capricious in different

persons; some consider that odour disgusting which others feel the greatest delight in inhaling. One man will perceive what he calls a smell of bitter almonds, where another will assert with equal confidence that there is one of a totally different character.

Even the same person will at different periods of the same day perceive, or fancy he perceives in the same thing, different smells, and it certainly strikes us as taking too much for granted, to adopt Lady Boughton's testimony, as establishing the fact of the draught having contained laurel water.

Assuming this, as proved, the medical witnesses found no difficulty in ascribing the peculiar symptoms exhibited in Sir Theodosius to poisoning with laurel water, though they were forced to admit, that these same symptoms were consistent with death from apoplexy, and still more from epilepsy. It should, too, be borne in mind that a severe attack of this latter disorder is a constant successor on the complaint, when at all aggravated, from which, confessedly, Sir Theodosius was suffering, previously to his death.

With modern experience to guide us, had Captain Donnellan's trial taken place in these days, it is probable a stricter examination of Dr. Powell, the apothecary, and his assistants would have been instituted, than appears to have been had on the trial. We know by sad experience how frequently life is endangered and lost through the negligence of apothecaries and dispensers of medicines, and as the draught prescribed and mixed for Sir Theodosius Boughton contained a number of ingredients, it is within possibility that some mistake may have been made in the compounding of these ingredients. It was proved against the prisoner that he had a still in his private room, for the real or ostensible purpose of distilling roses, and that he had brought this still, wet with lime, to one of the servants to be cleaned, some days after the death of Sir Theodosius Boughton.

It was further proved that several bay and laurel trees grew in the garden.

On this evidence, coupled with proof of the interest which Captain Donnellan had in the decease of his brother-in-law before the latter should attain his majority, the prisoner was found guilty and subsequently executed.*

There is a deficiency on the proof of the draught having contained laurel water at all. Lady Boughton had never seen

* Mrs. Donnellan was twice married after the execution of her husband; her third husband was the well known Barry O'Mera.

that liquid—she merely perceived as she thought a strong smell of bitter almonds, arising from the remains of the draught—none of the draught was preserved for analysis. It might have been improperly mixed, in some one of its numerous ingredients, by the apothecary or his assistants. Sir Theodosius was ailing—the symptoms he exhibited were consistent with an attack of apoplexy or epilepsy.—Captain Donnellan was not shewn to have ever had any laurel water in his possession—he was not seen in Sir Theodosius' room from the time the draught was placed there till it was administered, nor was the draught itself missed from the shelf at any time during the same interval. The post-mortem appearances of the body shewed, according to Hunter, nothing but the effects of putrefaction.

In fact, though we perhaps will not go the length of saying that Captain Donnellan was manifestly innocent, we are strongly of opinion that he was convicted on evidence of the weakest character, and such as we should regret to see considered sufficient for the condemnation of the meanest of the canine race.

Certainly Mr. Justice Buller appears to us to have been most infelicitous in selecting the occasion of this trial for enlarging on the cogency of circumstantial evidence, and yet his words then spoken have even to the present time their influence on the opinions of many lawyers—and still keep together the rags of a foolish prejudice which common sense daily endeavours to wholly rend and scatter.

We now approach a truly painful portion of our subject, one, however, deeply fraught with instructive warning; with a warning not alone directed to us in our respective offices of judges and jurors, but also to us in our minutest transactions of every-day life. Should each of us be candid enough to admit it, we would be forced to confess how almost every day of our lives we have had reason to regret hasty decisions and assumptions of the guilt of others, in matters more or less important, conclusions grounded on what struck us at the time as irresistible combinations of circumstances, but which an interval of perhaps a day, or even an hour, has scattered into fragments.

To produce two or three cases in which the conviction of the accused was had entirely on circumstantial evidence, and in which the impropriety and injustice of the conviction were subsequently made manifest, would of itself make perhaps no very powerful case against circumstantial evidence, but if it be

borne in mind that the punishment awarded on a conviction for murder is the irrevocable doom of death, the caution with which such convictions should be arrived at will be duly appreciated. In fact the humane, nay more, the conscientious, man will always be slow to find another guilty of a capital crime on purely circumstantial evidence, remembering the numerous cases in which such evidence, or rather the conclusions drawn from it, have subsequently been proved fallacious. Even without this the skilful advocate will not fail to urge this topic in his address for the prisoner, and the more enlightened and intelligent the jury the more fully will the force of his arguments be felt. The result will almost inevitably be wavering and indecision, and a reluctance to condemn, which would not be felt were the punishment following conviction less extreme. It may be argued that this course of conduct is unreasonable and unjust, and that it is as unfair to subject a man to the least punishment as to the greatest on unsatisfactory evidence of his guilt,—this we admit, and we willingly grant that on all occasions the accused should have the benefit of any reasonable doubt; but we speak of cases in which the mind is satisfied, and a moral certainty of the guilt of the accused rests upon it; but in which the recollection of many such cases as those we are about to mention comes across the mind, and causes a man to pause before he commits a fellow-creature to a punishment which, once inflicted, is complete and final, and which no earthly power can subsequently mitigate or cancel.

In the year 1742 a gentleman on his road to Hull, and within a few miles of that town, was waylaid by a masked highwayman, and robbed of a purse containing twenty guineas,

Having accomplished the robbery, the highwayman rode off by a different road, and the gentleman pursued his journey, but being a little shaken by the occurrence he went but two miles further on his road, and then determined to stop for the night at the Bell Inn, which was kept by one James Brunell. Here he related the circumstances of the robbery, and added that as he made a rule when travelling to mark all the gold he carried, he had hopes that through this means a clue would be eventually had to the discovery of the robber.

In the course of the evening, Mr. Brunell, the landlord, entered the traveller's room and having made the usual enquiries after the comfort of his guest, stated his conviction that he should be able to point out the criminal.

He went on to say that his suspicions had fallen on one of his own waiters, who had lately made a considerable show of possessing money, and whom he was about to discharge from a conviction of his dishonesty ; that he had sent this man, John Jennings, out for change of a guinea that evening, and that the latter had returned, subsequent to the arrival of the traveller at the Bell, intoxicated, and stating that he had been unable to procure change. That he, Brunell, had been struck by the idea that the guinea returned to him by Jennings, was not the identical coin which had been given him to get changed, and that having sent Jennings to bed, he took occasion to examine the guinea, and was satisfied, by discovering upon it a peculiar mark, that it was not the same. That this circumstance alone did not at the time occasion him any particular anxiety, as Jennings frequently had gold in his possession, and that shortly after he paid away the marked coin returned to him by Jennings to a person who resided at a distance, and who had since gone home. That having subsequently heard the account of the robbery, as given by the traveller, from some person who was present at the time, which he was not himself, and of the circumstance of all the stolen money being marked, he had thought it but right to mention all that had occurred, and take steps for the discovery of the guilty party.

It was arranged accordingly that the traveller and Brunell should go up softly to Jennings' room, and having done so, and found him fast asleep, they examined his pockets, and drew forth from one of them the identical stolen purse containing exactly nineteen guineas, each marked precisely as described.

Jennings was forthwith roused and given into custody on the charge, which he firmly and positively denied, but without gaining much belief in his innocence in the face of such powerful circumstances.

Being brought to trial, his master deposed to the same facts which he had related to the traveller on the evening of the robbery, and produced the man to whom he had paid away the guinea handed to him by Jennings, and this man in turn produced the same guinea, which the prosecutor identified as forming one of the twenty of which he had been robbed. On this evidence Jennings was convicted, and subsequently executed, declaring his innocence to the last.

Within one year that innocence was established, too late however to repair the injustice done. Brunell, the landlord,

and principal witness against Jennings, was arrested, tried, and convicted, and sentenced to death for robbing one of his guests in his own house.

Smitten at last by remorse, he confessed that he had been guilty of several highway robberies, and amongst the rest that for which the unfortunate Jennings had been hanged.

It appeared from Brunell's confession, that having effected the robbery he reached home by a shorter route than that taken by the traveller, and found on his arrival a person waiting to be paid a trifling account; not having sufficient money in his pocket, he added one of the stolen guineas, and paid and dismissed his creditor, and then went to the stables to groom the horse from which he had just alighted. In the interim the traveller arrived and narrated the circumstances of the robbery, and of the money stolen been marked, all of which was repeated by some of the parties who had been present to Brunell on his return from the stables to the house. Terrified and confounded, and particularly alarmed at having parted with one of the marked coins to a person in his own house, and to whom he could not possibly apply for it again, detection seemed inevitable, and in the midst of his perplexity the nefarious scheme, which he subsequently executed with such lamentable success, suggested itself to his mind.

We cannot blame the jury who convicted Jennings,—Can we approve the law which deprived him of life, and cut off every opportunity of subsequent redress? Of such redress as restoration to liberty, and reputation, and a substantial pecuniary recompense, would have supplied.

We may take this opportunity of noticing an absurd anomaly presented by our criminal code. So jealously does the legislature guard the finality of the verdict of a jury in a criminal case, that a man once convicted, receives upon his innocence being subsequently established, not a reversal of his conviction and sentence, but the gracious favor of a *free pardon*!!

Is it not to heap coals of fire on the head of a victim of injustice, already goaded to madness by a sense of injury, to tell him with the same breath which announces the establishing of his innocence, that his sovereign has been graciously pleased to grant him a free pardon? Really this clumsy contrivance to evade a candid admission of error, and a just expression of regret, is more worthy of a race of savages than of a civilised nation.

What a fierce mockery to tell a man to his face, that he has been the victim of a mistake, (no matter how excusable), that he was presumed and partly punished as guilty, but has been found wholly guiltless, that he has been cruelly wronged on every side, and that therefore—he has been mercifully granted a free pardon !

How much more consistent it would be with our boasted refinement and civilization, nay more, how much more consonant with common sense and common right, to make the declaration of a man's innocence, when thus established, as public and as solemn as was the declaration of his guilt. Would it be more than the barest measure of equity, to send for the man to the gaol in which he had been immured, to appoint a public sitting of the same court that tried him, to have him brought before that court, and publicly, and suitably, and feelingly addressed in the presence of his fellow countrymen, and then and there told how deeply the involuntary injustice done him had wrung the great heart of the guardian law of the land ? Would it be more or otherwise than just to order that a suitable pecuniary recompense, measured according to the rank of life, extent and duration of punishment undergone, and other considerations, should be awarded to him ; a recompense paid out of the public purse, and valuable, not as money worth, but as a public and substantial testimony, that he was then and there restored to that position in the good opinion of his fellow men, of which he had been temporarily and unjustly deprived ? But to return to our illustrations.

There dwelt in Edinburgh in the year 1721, a man named William Shaw, who followed the trade of an upholsterer. He had living with him one daughter, Catherine, who at the time of the occurrences we are about to mention was attached to one John Lawson, a jeweller, but his addresses were discouraged by her father, who alleged that Lawson was dissipated and extravagant, and forbade him the house.

The daughter continued, notwithstanding, to receive the addresses of Lawson clandestinely, until her father discovered her proceedings ; and thenceforth kept her in strict confinement, and under close surveillance.

A young man named Robertson, the son of a neighbour, and friend of Shaw, was the person on whom the latter desired his daughter to bestow her affections, but she could not be in-

duced to look favourably upon his suit, and on one evening in particular, when her father had pressed his wishes upon her with unusual force, she vehemently declared that she would prefer death to becoming the wife of a man she hated.

Her father was enraged at what he considered her undutiful and foolish obstinacy, and made use of several passionate expressions which were replied to with equal warmth, and the words "barbarity," "cruelty," and "death," were frequently pronounced by the daughter, and at last her father in a rage left her, locking the door after him.

The room occupied by Shaw was separated only by a single partition from the next, in which James Morrison, a watch-case maker by trade, dwelt. This man was at home on the evening on which the violent altercation between Shaw and his daughter had occurred, and had heard indistinctly portions of the conversation between them, the words we have particularized, however, which were pronounced forcibly and emphatically, having made a particular impression.

The father, having as we have stated, gone out, nothing was heard for a time, but presently Morrison was alarmed by hearing groans in the room occupied by the Shaws, and calling in his neighbours, they too on listening attentively heard not only the groans but the voice of Catherine Shaw faintly exclaiming twice or thrice, "cruel father, thou art the cause of my death!"

Morrison and his companions at once hastened to the door of Shaw's room, and having knocked thereat several times without receiving any reply, a constable was procured, the door burst open, and Catherine Shaw found lying on the floor steeped in her blood, which issued from a wound evidently made with a knife which lay by her side.

She yet lived, though unable to articulate, but the circumstances, combined with previous suspicions of Shaw, induced those present to ask her if she attributed her death to her father's hand, in reply to which enquiry she was only able to make a motion of her head, which was interpreted into an affirmative, and then gave up the ghost.

Scarcely had she expired ere her father returned and entered the room, and seeing a number of his neighbours with a constable in his apartment, betrayed considerable confusion, which was increased to extreme agitation at the sight of his dead daughter.

Suspicion became certainty when his shirt was observed to be stained with blood, and forthwith he was conveyed before a magistrate, and upon the depositions of the neighbours and constable committed for trial upon the charge of wilful murder.

The evidence against him on his trial consisted in proof of frequent quarrels between himself and daughter, the particularly violent disagreement on the night in question, and the uttering of the words "barbarity," "cruelty," "death," his leaving her in anger, her being heard soon after to groan and exclaim, "cruel father, thou art the cause of my death," her being shortly after found dying of a wound made with a knife which lay beside her, the apparently affirmative motion of her head, and the blood with which his shirt was stained.

Against this array Shaw was unable to oppose more than his bare denial of guilt, and his assertion that the blood on his shirt had flowed from his arm which had been imperfectly tied after the operation of bleeding, which he had undergone some days before; and he was accordingly found guilty, and hanged in chains, at Leith walk, in the month of November, 1721.

In the August of the following year, a person who had become the tenant of Shaw's apartments, was arranging the room in which Catherine Shaw breathed her last, when he lighted on a paper folded like a letter, and which had fallen into a space at one side of the chimney; it contained these words :—

"BARBAROUS FATHER—Your cruelty in having put it out of my power ever to join my fate to that of the only man I could love, and tyrannically insisting upon my marrying one whom I always hated, has made me form a resolution to put an end to my existence, which is become a burthen to me. I doubt not I shall find mercy in another world; for sure no benevolent being can require that I should any longer live in torment to myself in this! My death I lay to your charge: when you read this consider yourself as the inhuman wretch that plunged the murderous knife in the bosom of the unhappy

CATHERINE SHAW."

When we mention the fact that this letter was recognised as the hand-writing of her whose name was affixed to it, we have said enough to show that Shaw was the victim of circumstantial evidence.

Enquiry was made, the authenticity of the letter established,

the body of the unfortunate Shaw, which still swung, "weltering to the parching winds," upon the gibbet on which his life had been ended, was taken down and given to his friends for decent and Christian burial, and in token of his innocence, and as a reparation to his slandered memory, a pair of colors was waved over his grave.

Ample reparation! generous amende! The arm of the law had snatched him from the midst of his projects and his labors, from the realizations of the present and the hopes of the future; had filled his last hours with bitterness and branded his memory with disgrace, and having found at length that it had been too hasty to smite, it atones for all this injustice and precipitation by waving a banner over his senseless clay.

We should certainly run the risk, if we have not already incurred the certainty of fatiguing our readers, by adding many further illustrations; we shall content ourselves therefore with one, as striking as those which we have already submitted.

Lady Mazel was a lady of fashion, who, in the year 1689, lived in a large house in Paris.

Her establishment consisted of a valet, named Le Brun, two footboys, two housemaids, a cook, and a coachman. The Abbé Poulard, her private chaplain, occupied a room in the house, as did also all the servants except the coachman, who slept in the stable.

Lady Mazel herself occupied a room, the innermost of three, opening from the grand stair case, on an upper floor.

Upon Sunday, the 27th November, she went to afternoon service accompanied by Le Brun, her valet, who having escorted her to church went himself to another.

Lady Mazel having supped with the Abbé Poulard, retired to bed at about 11 at night. The key of her bed-room door was usually laid upon a chair within the room near the door, and the servant who might happen to be last with her mistress at bed time was accustomed to lay the key in that place, and on leaving the room to shut the door after her, which, fastening with a spring, could not be opened from the outside. On this night, Le Brun came to the bed-room door to receive his lady's orders for the following day, and the maid having attended her mistress to bed came out of the room, the door of which immediately after was shut close by Le Brun.

In the morning Le Brun went as usual to market, and having returned home, was surprised to find, at eight o'clock, that his

mistress, whose usual hour of rising was seven o'clock, had not yet risen.

He again went out to his wife's lodgings, which were near, told her he was uneasy at not having heard his lady's bell ring, and gave her some gold which he desired her to place in security. Returning once more to his lady's house, he found the servants much alarmed at having heard nothing yet of their mistress, and one of them expressed his fears that she had been struck with apoplexy, or attacked by a bleeding at the nose, to which she was subject.

Le Brun, however, was not satisfied to ascribe the unusual circumstances to either of these causes, but stated his conviction that something worse had happened, for that he had found the street door open the night before, after everyone in the house except himself had retired to rest. The lady's son-in-law was then sent for, and he also expressed his fears that the mistress of the house had been attacked by apoplexy, on which Le Brun repeated the expression of his fears and the fact of his having found the street-door open the preceding night.

A lock-smith was sent for, and the door of the bed-room was forced open. Le Brun entered first, ran to the bed, and after calling once or twice on his mistress, drew back the curtains and cried out, "my mistress has been murdered." He then ran immediately to the wardrobe or recess in the room in which the Lady Mazel was accustomed to keep her money, and having lifted up her strong box and found it heavy, he cried out, "how is this? she has not been robbed!"

A surgeon having arrived the body was examined and found to have received no less than fifty wounds, while numerous gashes upon her hands and arms shewed that she had not been overcome without a considerable struggle.

Upon the bed, which was drenched with blood, were found a fragment of coarse lace belonging to a cravat, and a napkin which had been formed into a night cap, and which was marked with the family arms.

The bell ropes were tied up so as to be out of reach, and in the ashes of the grate, and nearly consumed by the fire, was found a clasp knife, from which every trace of blood, if any had ever been upon it, had disappeared.

Le Brun was examined, and stated that after having received his lady's orders at her bed-room door, he had gone down stairs to the kitchen, and having sat down at the fire to warm himself, he had fallen asleep, and slept, as he thought, for about an

hour, and that then awaking and going to lock the street door he had found it open, had locked it, and taken away the key to his bed chamber. He was searched, and in his pocket was found a new filed key, which fitted the hall-door, and the door of Lady Mazel's chamber.

The bloody night cap was put upon his head and found to be an exact fit, and these circumstances were judged sufficiently strong to warrant his committal to prison on the charge of murdering his mistress.

It appeared to his prosecutors and the public that he must have admitted the actual murderer into the house, a conclusion appearing warranted by his possession of the key, and it was thought that had he himself perpetrated the murder, his clothes would inevitably have been stained with blood, no trace of which was found upon them; the fragment found of the cravat, not corresponding with any worn by the prisoner, favored this presumption.

When we state that Le Brun had no defence to offer to these strong circumstances save a simple protestation of innocence and proof of his having maintained an irreproachable character all his life, the reader will conclude that his defence availed him little. To induce him to disclose the name of his supposed accomplice, he was tortured with such severity that he died under the infliction upon the 23rd of February, 1690.

About a month after a man named Berry, who had been a servant in Lady Mazel's house, and dismissed about two months before the murder, was arrested at Sens, upon suspicion of having been concerned in the murder, and on being searched Lady Mazel's gold watch was found upon him.

On the strength of these and other concurring circumstances he was condemned to death, and then came repentance and confession too late to save the life of an innocent man.

His account was this. Favored by his knowledge of the localities and of the habits of the household, he had got unperceived into the house on the Friday proceeding murder.

He reached one of the lofts at the top of the house, where he remained concealed till Sunday, subsisting upon bread and apples, with which he had previously supplied himself.

About eleven o'clock on the Sunday, knowing that the mistress of the house was accustomed to go to church at that hour, he stole softly down stairs and finding her bedroom door open, he entered, and tried to conceal himself under her bed. Finding that it was too low to admit him with ease, he returned

to the loft, divested himself of his coat and waistcoat, and returned to the room in his shirt, and was this time successful in introducing his person under the bed. There he remained all day, and when Lady Mazel, in the afternoon, had again left the house to go to church, he came forth, threw his hat, which he found inconvenient, under the bed, and formed a nightcap out of a napkin which lay on a chair.

Having tied up the bell-ropes, he sat down by the fire, where he continued until he heard the noise of the lady's carriage wheels in the court-yard below, when he again retreated to his hiding place under the bed, and lay there concealed until Lady Mazel had retired for the night. After she had lain down about an hour, he came from under the bed, and demanded her money, and on her attempting to cry out and ring the bell, he stabbed her repeatedly until she was dead. Having then taken the key of the wardrobe, and also of the strong box, he opened the latter, and abstracted about 600 livres, resumed his hat, leaving his napkin-formed nightcap on the bed, replaced the strong box and keys, and having thrown his knife, the instrument of the murder, into the grate, he returned to the loft, and resumed his clothes. He then descended the stairs, and finding the street door only latched, he went out, leaving the door open after him.

Could the executive have restored Le Brun to life, and given back to his wife and children a husband and a father, rudely torn from them in the prime of life, and full vigor of health, with every disgraceful and contumelious circumstance that could further embitter the bitter pangs of death, no doubt it would have been to them a source of pure delight to have exercised the power: but while we know that this power was denied them, would that we could feel that the example was to them, or ever since to others in a like position, who have heard of this or had personal experience of other cases such as this, a source, as it should be, of temperance and moderation of opinion.

We have not space to give even an abridged account of the celebrated case of *Sieur D'Anglade*, one, however, as instructive as we trust are those which we have related. The offence imputed was not murder but robbery, and never perhaps was there apparently a more convincing combination of circumstances to fasten guilt upon an innocent man. Convicted on the evidence furnished by these circumstances, a man of education, sensibility, and rank, was con-

demned to the galleys for nine years, his wife banished from Paris for a like period, his fortune almost exhausted by heavy fines, and his name and memory loaded with infamy. His life was spared him by the law only to be taken by the ravages of disease, generated by the misery and wretchedness of his position. Some reparation was, doubtless, made in the persons of his widow and daughter after his death and the establishment of his innocence, but he was himself then as far beyond the reach of earthly consolation, as if he had ended his life upon the gibbet, instead of in the dungeon at Marseilles. The case will be found in one of the volumes of the interesting series of French trials, known as *Les Causes Célèbres*, but we are unable just now to indicate the number of the volume.

The story told by Gerald Griffin as an introductory episode in the "Barber of Bantry," is, we believe, founded on fact. Our readers will remember that it was of two men who had been seen fighting in a field, one of whom, shortly afterwards, was found lying dead in the same field, a pitchfork, apparently the instrument with which the murder had been committed, being by his side. The pitchfork was recognized as belonging to the survivor of the two men who had been seen quarrelling, and he was known to have taken it out with him on the morning in question. He was apprehended and brought to trial, and it having been established, in addition to these facts, that an enmity of some standing had existed between him and the deceased, his conviction, in spite of the protestations of innocence which he made, appeared certain. The jury, nevertheless, appeared to hesitate, and after having been absent from court in deliberation for a considerable time, returned and informed the court, that one of their body persisted in acquitting the prisoner. Such an announcement would probably in these days be repressed as irregular, but it appears that on this occasion the judge considered it his duty to remonstrate with the dissentient jury-man; ineffectually, however, and to avoid the probable fate of being kished, the jury agreed in a verdict of acquittal. In Griffin's story we are told that the jury was kished and discharged, but we rather think that they must have found a verdict of acquittal, as there would be nothing otherwise to prevent the prisoner being tried again.

Miss Landon's affecting story of Hester Malpas is doubtless known to many of our readers. A young, innocent, warm-hearted, and beautiful girl whose parents had fallen into poverty, Hester is adopted by an elderly aunt living in London, and takes up her abode with the aunt accordingly. Here

she meets one evening, while taking her accustomed walk, her lover, Frank Horton, from whom she had been separated when she came to live in London. She meets him again and again, until at last her aunt, making the discovery, forbids her to go out as usual, and reproaches her with undue severity for her clandestine conduct. One Sunday evening her aunt harshly desires her to go to church, accompanied by the servant, and Hester leaves home for the purpose, but meeting her lover a sad scene ensues between them, for he declares his regret that he had, by renewing his acquaintance with her, brought upon her her aunt's displeasure, and that he is about to quit England for a time, and to seek his fortune on the shores of America. The interview lasts till the service is nearly concluded, and Hester unwilling to enter the church, returns home, admitting herself and lover through the back-door, of which she has the key. A neighbour, an acquaintance of her aunt's, missing her from church, calls shortly after to remonstrate with the latter on her severity towards Hester, in thus, as he supposes, confining her to the house. He is unable, after knocking, to gain admission, when the servant coming up admits both by means of a latch-key. She opens the parlour-door to shew him in there, and suddenly starts back with a violent scream. Her mistress is lying upon the floor, her skull dreadfully fractured, and life extinct. Hester is called, to come at once to her aunt, but hesitates, and replies, "not yet, not yet, I cannot bear it." The parlour window is open, but there are no traces of footsteps in the flower-plot outside; the more portable articles alone, such as spoons, the old lady's watch, and whatever money may have been in the house, are taken off. Everything combines to fasten suspicion on Hester: her frequent clandestine meetings with Horton in direct opposition to her aunt's injunctions, and her meeting him, in particular on the evening of her aunt's murder, instead of going, as she had been directed, to church; his having been seen on the same evening to quit her aunt's house in apparent haste, and her own hesitation and refusal to come down stairs when summoned by the servant. She is tried and convicted.

Miss Landon's pathos and feeling are required to complete the story in any other words than her own. The crushing intelligence of the horrible fate that had fallen on their young and lovely daughter reaches the parents, when basking in the

first sunshine of prosperity and happiness that had for years gleamed upon their lives; seated in the calm summer eventide at their cottage door, and watching the gambols of their younger children, and thinking with calm complacency of her who was far away, and to whom in a great measure they owed that tranquil happiness, a letter is delivered, this time wanting the well known superscription hailed always with delight. In a moment the sunshine is darkened, and a thick veil of trouble, horror and grief, obscures the souls of the wretched parents.

We will spare the reader the painful recital of the rest of the story. The visit of the mother to her daughter in prison, in the condemned cell; the awful night before her execution; the agony, the despair, the wild horror of the last parting. A twelvemonth after, Hester's parents who rich in worldly goods by the intestacy of Hester's aunt, are seated once again at their cottage door. The sun is flinging his parting rays over the scene, and gilding with a calm and mellow light every spot save those hearts into which neither joy nor sunshine shall ever enter more.

Once again a post packet is delivered to the wretched father, who opens it mechanically. It is a newspaper directed in the handwriting of a friend, a particular paragraph is marked for perusal; slowly and without interest the eyes of the reader are directed towards it, when suddenly his face is lighted up with an unusual brightness, he devours the words with eager and straining eyes, and having concluded, he sinks back upon his seat overcome, handing the newspaper to his wife, and unable to articulate more than "thank God! thank God!"

The newspaper contains an account of the confession of a Jew, a watchmaker, who had just suffered death for a burglary, and who confessed that to his heavy catalogue of crime was to be added the murder of Mrs. Malpas, Hester's aunt. He had, he stated, entered the parlour through the open window by means of a plank, resting on the garden railings, and reaching to the window, and then no traces of footsteps were left to indicate his passage. With one blow he had felled and dispatched the old lady, who was reading her prayer-book according to her custom.

We cannot conclude this part of our subject without alluding to a case, which perhaps beyond all others furnishes the most instructive lesson; it is that of Jonathan Bradford who, in the year 1736, kept an Inn on the road from London to Oxford.

A gentleman named Hayes, of independent means, on his way to visit a relation, stopped at this inn, where he met with two gentlemen, also travellers, with whom he supped, and to whom in the course of conversation he mentioned that he had about him a considerable sum of money.

Supper over, all retired to rest, the two fellow travellers in a double-bedded room, adjoining that in which Mr. Hayes slept.

In the middle of the night one of these gentlemen, being awake, heard as he thought a groan, succeeded by another and the moans of a person in extreme pain, the sounds of which appeared to issue from their neighbour's room. Having left, as was usual with them, a candle burning in the room, the gentleman awakened his companion, and both listening distinctly heard the groans repeated. They rose softly and proceeded towards Mr. Hayes' room, and finding the door ajar, and a light in the room, they entered, and were petrified with horror to see the occupant of the bed weltering in his blood, and a man armed with a knife and holding a dark lantern standing over him. The amazement and horror of the assassin, as he appeared to be, equalled their own, but his terror seemed the result of detected guilt. A moment sufficed to show the gentlemen that the murdered man was Mr. Hayes with whom they had supped, and that the other was Jonathan Bradford, their host. Him they at once seized and charged with the murder, which he strenuously denied, and averred that having been awakened by the groans of the murdered man, he had struck a light, armed himself with the knife for his own defence, and had entered the room but an instant before themselves. These protestations were unheeded, he was charged, committed for trial, tried, convicted, and hanged.

Eighteen months after a man lying on his death bed, and stung by remorse of conscience, confessed that he, and not Bradford, had murdered Mr. Hayes. This man had been Hayes' footman, had stabbed and robbed his master, and returned in safety to his own room which he could have barely reached when Bradford entered that of the murdered man.

Strange as is the story to this point the conclusion is stranger still. Bradford's innocence of the act having been thus established, the clergyman who had attended him after his sentence, considered himself at liberty to disclose that, though not an actual murderer, Bradford was one in design. He had confessed

to the clergyman, that tempted by the money which Mr. Hayes had incautiously mentioned at supper was in his possession, he had gone to the bed room of the deceased with the same wicked purpose as the servant, and thunderstruck to find that bloody purpose anticipated, he had in his terror dropped his knife upon the body, and thus stained his hands and knife with the evidences of guilt.

Cases such as this are startling instances of the far-reaching power of Providence, and the following may be considered as one of the most striking in this point of view that has ever occurred.

In the account which we have met with, fictitious names are used, but the story is a true one; and the trial was had before Lord Mansfield.

Sometime in the year 1700, there lived in a lonely part of one of the counties of England, a gentleman whom we shall call John Smith, who was possessed of some property, and who lived on his own estate. Rumour had once been busy with his fair name, and had described him in early life as a person of dissipated and irregular habits.

One summer evening a stranger was seen passing through the village near Mr. Smith's mansion, and was known to have asked and obtained a night's hospitality there. After a slight refreshment he had retired for the night in apparently perfect health, but in the morning the servant who went to call him found him a corpse. A discovery so awful and an event so sudden and calamitous, naturally excited considerable enquiry and observation, neither of which, however, led to any results. The name and calling of the deceased were alike unknown and he was at last committed to the earth, a nameless example of the uncertainty of life, and according to the verdict of the coroner's jury, of the mysterious visitation of God.

The stranger had not been, however, long laid in his obscure grave, ere rumour once more began to sport with the reputation of Mr. Smith, and hints of foul play, and violated hospitality began to circulate with some freedom. This ended in a warrant being issued for the arrest of Smith on the charge of the murder of Henry Thompson, for that it appeared was his name, the only portion of the researches of the authorities which it was at this time considered prudent to make public.

Smith was brought to trial and then, for the first time, the precise grounds of accusation against him were disclosed.

It appeared that Thompson was a jeweller residing in London, of wealth and respectability, and that he had left London, about a month before his death, to meet a Dutch trader at Hull, from whom he intended to make considerable purchases of jewellery. That he had met this man, concluded his business, and set out on his return home. From that time till his visit to Smith's house nothing was known of him, nor was there any information available as to where he had passed the intervening time. That he had been found dead, as related, in his bed in Smith's house, and that a medical examination of his exhumed remains had ascertained the fact that he had been poisoned by means of a subtle distillation produced by the German chemists from the seeds of the wild cherry-tree. It appeared further that the family of Smith consisted of himself, his housekeeper, and a man-servant, who slept invariably, and on the night of Thompson's death, in an out-house adjoining the stable. That the prisoner, Smith, slept at one end of the house and the housekeeper at the other, and that the deceased Thompson had been put into a room adjoining the housekeeper's. A witness was called who deposed that about three o'clock in the morning of the night of Thompson's death, he had been attracted by seeing lights moving in Smith's house, and on observing intently he had seen a figure holding a lighted candle, leave Smith's room and go along the house to the housekeeper's room; then two figures came out of the housekeeper's room, and disappeared for an instant, but whether into Thompson's room or not the witness could not say, as the window of Thompson's room looked a different way. In an instant the two figures reappeared, returned along the length of the house to Smith's room, which they entered, and after a few moments the light was finally extinguished there, and he saw it no more. He further stated, that during the short time for which the two figures had remained in Smith's room before finally extinguishing the light, he had twice seen a large object interpose between the window and the light, an obstruction which he described as if a door had been placed before the light, or opened so as to throw its shadow on the window. This part of the witness's evidence appeared wholly inexplicable, for on examining the prisoner's house and going through the rooms, as had been described, with a light, nothing appeared to account for the shadow he had mentioned. This constituted the entire evidence against the prisoner, except that in his house was found a bottle stopper of very peculiar kind, such as the medical

men described as being used by chemists to preserve such liquids as are likely to lose their peculiar properties by exposure to the air. There was nothing to show that the stopper had ever been in the prisoner's possession, or to connect him with it in any way. The prisoner's housekeeper had disappeared after his arrest, and no trace of her abode could be had, and this circumstance was looked on as strongly increasing the suspicion against the prisoner.

The counsel for the prosecution plainly felt the weakness of his case, and had but faint expectations of succeeding in convicting the prisoner, and at the conclusion of the evidence the judge intimated that no case had been made out and expressed his opinion to the jury, who concurred, and were about to give in a verdict of not guilty, when the prisoner begged permission to speak a few words. This leave was granted, and he proceeded to state that a mere verdict of acquittal, founded not so much on a conviction of innocence as on a doubt of guilt, would not suffice to clear his name from reproach, or to satisfy his own mind, and he earnestly besought the court to permit the case to continue and witnesses whom he could produce to be called, whose testimony would establish his innocence beyond the shadow of doubt. He went on to say, that he had all his life been subject to sudden attacks of illness at night, and that one of these had forced him to rise on the night in question to call his housekeeper to light a fire in his room. That after he had called her, he retired into the passage, while she dressed, and that thus the temporary disappearance of the light was accounted for, and that after she had lighted his fire and remained for a short time in his room, he recovered from his illness, dismissed his housekeeper and retired to bed, from which he had not risen when the intelligence of Thompson's death was brought him. He proceeded to account for the disappearance of his housekeeper by stating, that finding public prejudice so strong against him, he was fearful of attempts being made to tamper with her, and he had therefore placed her in secure concealment, but would now produce her as a witness to his innocence.

The housekeeper who, in accordance with the then general practice of excluding the witnesses in a criminal case from court during the trial, had not been present, was sent for to an adjoining house where she had been placed by the prisoner's directions at the commencement of the trial.

She was examined by the prisoner's counsel, and her story entirely corresponded with his, and she was then cross-examined by the prosecuting counsel. The latter, it subsequently appeared, had attached in his own mind, considerable importance to the fact deposed to by the witness who beheld the progress of the lights through the prisoner's house on the night of the murder, viz. :— that while the prisoner and his housekeeper were in the room of the former, a shadow like that of an open door had for a short time fallen upon the window, through which the light was visible outside. It had forcibly struck the mind of the lawyer, accustomed to the necessity of accounting for every appearance, that this shadow was that of the door of some secret closet in the prisoner's room which had escaped the vigilance of the officers, and knowing that the housekeeper was acquainted with what had passed in court, he determined to attempt, by treating the point as immaterial, to draw from her some admission with reference to this particular matter. Accordingly, in an unconcerned tone, he asks :—

“ During the time you were in Mr. Smith's room you stated that the candle stood on the table in the centre of the room ? ”
—“ Yes.”

“ Was the closet, or cupboard, or whatever you call it, opened once, or twice, while it stood there ? ”—No reply.

“ I will call it to your recollection : after Mr. Smith had taken the medicine out of the closet, did he shut the door or did it remain open. ”—“ He shut it.”

“ Then it was opened again for the purpose of replacing the bottle, was it ? ”—“ It was.”

“ Do you recollect how long it was open the last time ? ”—
“ Not above a minute.”

“ The door, when open, would be exactly between the light and the window, would it not ? ”—“ It would.”

“ I forget whether you said the closet was at the right or left hand side of the window ? ”—“ The left.”

“ Would the door of the closet make any noise in opening ? ”—“ None.”

“ Can you speak positively to that fact ? Have you ever opened it yourself, or have you only seen Mr. Smith open it ? ”—“ I never opened it myself.”

“ Did you never keep the key ? ”—“ Never.”

“ Who did it ? ”—“ Mr. Smith, always.”

At this juncture, the witness happened to turn her eyes on the prisoner, and one glance sufficed to shew her that her evidence had been crushing him. His appearance was of death; and horrified at the result of her involuntary disclosures, she uttered a wild shriek and fainted away. The court was adjourned, and it was late in the evening, before the housekeeper was in a fit state to undergo further examination, which thus proceeded:—

“I have very few more questions to ask of you, but beware that you answer them truly, for your own life hangs by a thread. Do you know this stopper?”—“I do.”

“To whom does it belong?”—“To Mr. Smith.”

“When did you see it last?”—“On the night of Mr. Thompson’s death.”

Just then the solicitor for the prosecution entered court, carrying upon a tray, a watch, two bags containing money, a pocket-book, and a bottle, similar in manufacture to the stopper, and the contents now secured with a cork. During the interval afforded by the adjournment of the court, the solicitor for the prosecution had set off on horseback, in company with an officer, to the prisoner’s house, and guided by the testimony of the housekeeper, succeeded, after considerable searching, in discovering the closet, the door of which was most ingeniously concealed in the wall.

In this closet were found the watch, money, and pocket-book, which were proved to have belonged to Thompson, and the contents of the bottle, into which the stopper fitted accurately, were found to consist of a deadly poison, similar in every respect to that which, according to the medical evidence, had caused the death of the murdered man. The prisoner’s guilt was thus rendered conclusive by the very instrument used and intended by him to make his innocence clear.

It is difficult to know which to admire and reverence most, the mode in which Providence thus uses the most tortuous and deceitful acts of men as the means of eliciting truth, or the awful solemn silence with which it occasionally regards their crimes, leaving the lifting of the veil to that final hour of judgment, when every secret shall be revealed, and concealment and mystery shall be no more.

So murder will not always out, and so the slayer of William Begbie “slept in spite of thunder,” and carried the secret of his guilt with him to the grave.

In the year 1806, the British Linen Company occupied for

the banking part of their business a large house in the old town of Edinburgh. This house had formerly belonged to the Marquis of Tweeddale, and was situated within a spacious court, which was connected with the street by a narrow covered passage, about forty feet long, and known as Tweeddale's close.

About five o'clock on the evening of the 13th of November, 1806, a little girl, sent by her mother to procure water from a neighbouring well, stumbled in the obscure light over the body of a man lying at the point of death, near the foot of the public stair, which opened into the close. Assistance was procured, and the man raised up, and he proved to be one William Begbie, a porter employed at the bank, and in his heart was found buried deep up to the haft, a long knife, making a wound which caused his death before he was enabled to speak a word, to those who came to his assistance, to account for the catastrophe.

The blow had indeed been struck home, with fatal force and deliberation, and round the handle had been wrapped some soft paper, to prevent, as was conjectured, any sprinkling of blood from reaching the person of the murderer. Begbie had been robbed, it was discovered, of about £4,400, in notes and gold.

All the efforts made, and they were numerous and persevering, to discover the assassin, wholly failed, and though several were arrested on suspicion, sufficient evidence to justify the trial of any one could not be collected.

Nearly a year after, some workmen returning from labor, passing through Bellevue grounds, in the neighbourhood of the city, found in a hole, a parcel containing about £3,000 in large notes, a portion of those stolen from Begbie.

These they restored to the company, who rewarded them with £200, but the circumstance threw no light upon the dark tragedy, nor has the lapse of time since done anything more to clear up the mystery.

In the ordinary course of nature, the murderer of Begbie has probably by this time passed to his account. Fifty-one years, if he still survive, must have bent his form and wrinkled his brow, and stolen from him much of that vigor and strength which filled his arm when with such unerring force he drove the instrument of death into the heart of his victim. Should he still live, with what feelings must he have recently read in the public papers the account of the murder of Mr. Little, in our own city.

Like Begbie, Little was deprived of life in the midst of a populous city at the close of day, and while men were still in motion to and fro upon their affairs.

Like Begbie he was, when murdered, engaged upon the business, and having the custody of the money of a public company. Like Begbie he was deprived of life for the sake of that money, and the same obscurity which enveloped in its friendly shade the person of Begbie's assassin, long shrouded in a like impenetrable gloom the murderer of Little.

Then there are the undiscovered murderers of Lord Norbury and of Mrs. Kelly ; but one day a measure of justice shall be meted to these two ; one day they shall stand together before a Judge who can neither be deceived nor intimidated, and once again they shall, each of them, look on the face of those whom thus ruthlessly and barbarously, without a warning word, they "sent to their account with all their imperfections on their heads."

Till that day come, men must be content to bow to a superior intelligence, and to acknowledge the limited scope of human foresight and knowledge. Would that this acknowledgment were more frequently and sincerely made, to temper the zeal and moderate the haste of public prosecutors ; to cool the judgment and clear the vision of all those in whose hands are placed the awful trust and responsibility of disposing of human life, and to hold up between the accuser and accused the tremendous balance of the scales of justice.

The difficulties of thus balancing the scales may be learned from the following passages of Mr. Commissioner Phillips' essay. He writes :—

"By the law of the anti-abolitionists murder is still a capital offence. Let us see what that very law has done, and then the reader may designate it as it deserves. Let us see whether Mr. Livingstone was justified in asserting that innocent persons had been executed. The details are horrible, but they imperatively demand the solemn consideration of every man in England. We commence at a very distant period, because we would shew how early has been our warning, and how protracted our disregard of it ; but the list shall extend even to the day in which we live.

To begin :—On the 6th day of August, 1660, William Harrison, who was steward to Lady Campden, a person of good estate in Gloucestershire, left his home in order to collect her rents. There happened to reside in the neighbourhood, an humble family of the name of Perry, a mother and two sons,—Joan, John, and Richard,—of whom Joan, the mother, was a reputed witch, and John, one of the sons, was known to be half-witted. It so happened that days and weeks elapsed and yet Harrison returned not, nor were any tidings heard of him. Of course the population of the place became excited,

and rumours were rife that he had been robbed and murdered. From the mission on which he was known to have left his home, and his prolonged absence, the suspicion was not unnatural. The alarm which ensued, and the numberless inventions which were circulated, are supposed to have bewildered what little intellect the poor idiot had; for he actually went before a justice and solemnly deposed to the murder of Harrison, by his brother Richard, while his mother and himself looked on, and afterwards joined in robbing the deceased of £140. On this the whole three were sent to prison, and at the ensuing assizes were doubly indicted for the robbery and murder. The presiding Judge, Sir C. Turner, refused to try them on the murder indictment, as the body had not been found; they were, however, arraigned on the charge of robbery, and pleaded guilty on some vague supposition that their lives would be spared. While in confinement John persisted in the charge, adding that his mother and brother had attempted to poison him, in the gaol, for peaching. When the next assizes came, Sir Robert Hyde, considering the length of time which had elapsed, and the non-appearance of Harrison, tried them for the murder. The depositions of John, and the plea on the indictment for robbery, were given in evidence, and the whole three were forthwith convicted. On the trial John retracted his accusation, declaring that he was mad when he made it, and knew not what he said. They all suffered death; the mother was executed first, it being alleged that having bewitched her sons, they never would confess while she was living; they both died, however, loudly protesting their innocence. But the disappearance of Harrison, the declarations of John, and the plea of "guilty" to the indictment for the robbery, seemed to invest the case with every human certainty. Human certainty! we might as well talk of an incarnate phantom:—the only certainty in the whole transaction being, that three innocent persons—quite as guiltless as the Judge who tried them—or the jury which convicted them—were slaughtered by what they call the sword of justice. This poor, ignorant, deluded family, had for three full years lain in a murderer's grave, when—lo, the murdered Harrison *re-appeared in Gloucester!* He accounted for his absence thus, in a letter to Sir Thomas Overbury:—On returning after the receipt of Lady Campden's rents, he was set upon by a gang, who forced him to the sea-shore, where they hurried him on ship board, and carried him off to Turkey; they there sold him as a slave to a physician, with whom he lived for nearly two years, when, his master dying, he made his escape in a Hamburg vessel to Lisbon, and was thence conveyed to England. Gloucester was thrown into the most painful agitation; no great wonder,—their city had been desecrated. What must have been the feelings of the Jury which convicted, of the Judge who sentenced, of the authorities who executed that hapless family! Yet the blame was not theirs: poor, fallible, benighted creatures, they were not responsible; they were but the blundering administrators of an arrogant and erring legislation. "He," as Sir William Meredith truly told the Parliament of 1777, "he who frames the bloody law, is answerable for the blood which is shed under it." From the grave of the Perrys, a monitory voice should have arisen,

repealing for ever capital punishments in England. We have heard it said in relation to this case, "Oh, the times were unenlightened, and the jury made a mistake; the wisest men may sometimes make a mistake." Unenlightened times! There were men in those days out of each of whom, whether in poetry, philosophy, or statesmanship, half a dozen modern great men might have been carved—Legislation indeed was barbarous, and continued so. Fifty-six years after the slaughter of the Perrys, Judge Powel at Huntingdon, left Mary Hickes, and her little daughter Elizabeth, *eleven years old*, to die for witchcraft, and die for it they did. As to the mistake—on that we found our argument: it is precisely because we may make a mistake that we should revolt at risking one which is irreparable. We have made mistakes enough, and for a time we even fostered them by the promise of reward upon conviction; miscreants tempted by the "pieces of silver," counted their blood-money upon the coffins of their victims. The foulest accusation, supported by perjury as foul, often proved fatally successful, bewildering the juries into the most terrible injustice. For instance:—

A poor man, named Kidden, a porter in the city, was tried, convicted, and executed at the Old Bailey, on a charge of highway robbery; the man was hard-working and honest, and of untainted character, but all could not save him from an untimely death; his life was perjured away by three atrocious wretches, named Macdaniel, Berry, and Jones, who shared £40 amongst them for the murder of poor Kidden; he was hanged, however,—and it must have solaced him,—according to the most approved forms of the law. When this sad tragedy had been enacted, it appeared that the victim was entirely innocent. Then came the glorious opportunity—the grand legal expiatory triumph! As Kidden had been slaughtered by mistake, they determined on giving him perfect satisfaction, by hanging, in return, the three who hanged him—a kind of criminal set-off. The conspirators, however, were tried, convicted, and sentenced for the murder, but executed they were not; a flaw in the indictment let them loose upon society. The murder indictment of those days, which has been consigned by Lord Campbell to the museums of the curious, was a miracle of suicidal ingenuity—never before, nor since, did the spiders of special pleading weave a more complicated or defective cobweb. The liberated felons continued to pursue their dreadful traffic, with what success we know not; they were, however, once more detected, and convicted of a similar conspiracy against human life; exposure on the pillory, and seven years' imprisonment seem to have terminated their career. Kidden was executed in 1755. Notwithstanding this frightful admonition, the reward temptation was still in full play so recently as 1819, about which time it was abolished through the exertion of Sir Matthew Wood, a magistrate than whom the city of London has seldom seen a better. Four poor Irishmen were rescued from certain death by this excellent man, who proved clearly that they were the innocent victims of a cruel conspiracy, at the head of which was one Vaughan, an officer of the city. The case was called "the blood-money case," and is still remembered for its remorseless atrocity."

"We now turn to a most melancholy case which happened in this metropolis, and in our own time. Many remain who, doubtless, recollect it. We refer to it with pain because associated with early days long gone, but never to be forgotten. Who has not heard of poor Eliza Fenning? How often have we hung upon the words of Curran, while he discoursed and dwelt incessantly on her fate! What tears of burning indignation did he shed! With what eloquent wroth did he denounce her condemnation. Thousands upon thousands wept along with him, and a kindred spirit, noble as his own, echoed that indignation.

We transcribe the leading incidents of the trial from a manuscript of Romilly's, too much condensed perhaps, but faithful in its outline, and unquestionably accurate. Eliza Fenning was a servant girl, very young and very beautiful, living in Chancery Lane. She was but seventeen years of age. The charge against her was that of having administered poison to her master and his family. The poison was alleged to have been contained in some dumplings she had cooked for dinner. The evidence was entirely circumstantial, and no adequate motive could be assigned for such a deed. One piece of evidence on the trial should, had it stood alone, have secured her acquittal:—she ate as heartily of the dumplings as any of the party, and was quite as ill as any of those whom she was charged with endeavouring to poison! In addition to this, she had left the dish unwashed, which furnished the only proof of the presence of the arsenic. It remained all night in the kitchen, and was found next day exactly in the same condition in which it had left the parlour. In such a state of things one would have supposed a conviction impossible. "But," says Sir Samuel Romilly, "the Recorder appeared to have conceived a strong prejudice against the prisoner; in summing up the evidence he made some very unjust and unfounded observations to her disadvantage, and she was convicted." Words of dreadful import, falling from such authority! A "strong prejudice against the prisoner,—very unjust and unfounded observations to her disadvantage;" and from a Judge—a British Judge—and this is a case involving human life! It is impossible to convey a more terrible imputation, unless indeed it be another in this very case. Petitions signed not by hundreds but by thousands, besought the throne for mercy. Application was made to the prosecutor for his signature—the Judge dissuaded him!! Can this be possible? Is it in human nature? Could such a man have filled the office with which, filled as it is now, dignity, and justice, and mercy are associated? Of our own knowledge we speak not—we give the statement simply as we find it in the words of Sir Samuel Romilly, published under the authority of his sons. That there may be no mistake we give the very words of Romilly, as we find them reported from his manuscript:—"The master of the girl was requested to sign a petition in her behalf; but, at the instance of the Recorder, he refused to sign it." Sir Samuel calls this "savage conduct," and well indeed he might, if he believed it. All intercession was fruitless, and Eliza Fenning was executed at the age of seventeen. She mildly asserted her innocence to the last, and prayed

to God, some day, to make it manifest. When the religious ceremonies were over, the sad procession moved onwards towards the scaffold ; as the last door was opening which still concealed her from the public gaze, Mr. Cotton, the Ordinary, made a final effort—"Eliza, have you nothing more to say to me?" It was an awful moment, but her last words in this world were—"Before the Just and Almighty God, and by the faith of the holy sacrament I have taken, I am innocent of the offence with which I am charged." The door then opened, and she stood, robed in white, before the people. Two old men were executed with her, "and," says a bystander, "as all three stood under the beam, beneath the sun, she looked serene as an angel." The stormy multitude was hushed at once, and while every eye wept, and every tongue prayed for her, she passed into eternity. Poor Eliza Fenning ! so young, so fair, so innocent, so sacrificed ! cut down even in thy morning, with all life's brightness only in its dawn !—little did it profit thee that a city mourned over thy early grave, and that the most eloquent of men did justice to thy memory !

When the curtain had fallen upon this tragedy, the fury of the people knew no bounds, and the house of the prosecutor was only protected by the presence of a considerable civil force. But her enemies were active also—the sanctity of the grave was not inviolate ; they impeached the purity of her previous life—the life of a girl scarcely seventeen ! and a prison official actually made a solemn affidavit, that in *his presence* ! her father earnestly implored her to deny her guilt when led out to execution ! ! It was hardly necessary to contradict so suicidal an accusation ; but nevertheless, the father did so, also by affidavit. The temper of the times was such that nothing could prevent a popular demonstration at the funeral, and a mournful and striking one it must have been. The broken-hearted parents led the way followed by six young females clad in white, and then by eight chief mourners. At least ten thousand persons accompanied the hearse, and thus, every window filled, and every housetop crowded, they reached the cemetery of St. George the Martyr. There have mouldered ever since, all that remains of the young, and after all, the innocent Eliza Fenning, the victim of erring legislation, and of foul individual injustice. After her conviction, and while the error was reparable, Sir Samuel Romilly states that "an offer was made to prove that there was in the house when the transaction took place, a person who had laboured a short time before under mental derangement, and in that state he had declared his fears that he should destroy himself and his family ; but all this was unavailing, and she was executed." In all probability this scandal might have been avoided, but for the culpable indifference which prevailed ; it was this wretched creature who committed the crime ; stung by remorse and misery he admitted it on his death-bed.

Instances have occurred too of mistaken identity, where honest witnesses, intent on the truth, have sacrificed the innocent. A cele-

brated case of this kind is that of the *Courier of Lyons*.^{*} A gentleman named Joseph Lesurques, who had been an officer in the army, removed from his native province to Paris for the education of his children. His character was irreproachable, and he possessed an income of ten thousand francs a-year, moderate, but sufficient for his simple wants. During his residence in the metropolis, the murder of the courier was planned and perpetrated by six conspirators with whom Lesurques had not even an acquaintance, and yet for whose atrocities he suffered. It so happened that a provincial friend, named Guesno, on repaying Lesurques a previous loan, invited him to breakfast on the next day, and at the same table sat Curiol, one of the assassins, whom Lesurques there saw for the first time, being the only one of them he ever saw at all. Yet this occurrence, happening four days after the murder, was made a prominent feature at the trial! It indeed was true, but it was the only truth proved against the victim. At this time Guesno visited Chateau-Thierry on business, and in the house where he stopped was Curiol, who alarmed at the noise which the murder made in Paris, had retired there for safety. There Curiol, Guesno, and the landlord were arrested, but, on the examination of their papers, were at once released, with the exception of Curiol. Guesno's papers had, however, been remitted to the central office, and thither as ordered, he repaired next day, to receive them. On his way there he met the ill-fated Lesurques, who consented to accompany him. The Juge-de-peace not having arrived, the two friends sat down in the ante-chamber. On his arrival he was thunderstruck with information that two female witnesses from the country declared that two of the actual murderers were in the house. "Impossible! (naturally enough exclaimed the magistrate) guilty men would never voluntarily venture here!" To do this functionary justice, he seems calmly and impartially to have investigated the case. He had the women separately examined. He solemnly warned them that life or death might wait upon their answers. He had the accused brought before their accusers one by one. But the witnesses, consistent and clear, persisted in their statement, and a committal followed. Seven persons were put upon their trial, amongst whom were Curiol, Madeleine Breban, his mistress, Lesurques, and Guesno. Lesurques was sworn to most positively by several, as being one of the party, at different places on the road, on the day of the robbery and murder. It should be borne in mind the case was quite conclusive against Curiol. "I attended them (said one witness) at dinner at Montgeron; this one (Lesurques) wanted to pay the bill in assignats, but the tall, dark one (Curiol,) paid it in silver." A stable-boy at Montgeron also identified him. A woman named Alfroy, a florist at Lieursant, and the innkeeper and his wife at the same place, all recognised him as of the party there.—At neither place Lesurques declared had he been present. But the witnesses were positive, were unimpeached, were believed and were mistaken. Lesurques and Curiol were convicted. Guesno,

^{*} The melo-drama called the *Courier of Lyons*, frequently represented in Dublin at the Queen's Theatre is founded on this case; some of our readers will remember the admirable acting of Mr. Stirling as Dubosq and Lesurques.

though sworn to positively, proved his perfect innocence and was acquitted. Lesurques called fifteen persons of probity to prove an alibi, which was disbelieved in consequence of the folly of one of them, and eighty of all classes declared his character to be irreproachable. When sentence was pronounced, rising from his place, he calmly said—"I am innocent of the crime imputed to me. Ah, citizens! if murder on the highway be atrocious, to execute an innocent man is not less a crime." Madeleine Breban, though compromising herself, wildly exclaimed—"Lesurques is innocent—he is the victim of his faithful likeness to Dubosq." Curiol then addressed the Judges,—"I am guilty—I own my crime—but—Lesurques is innocent." He afterwards wrote to them from his prison—"I never knew Lesurques; the resemblance to Dubosq has deceived the witnesses." Proceeding to the place of execution, over and over again, he cried out to the people—"I am guilty, but Lesurques is innocent." After the sentence had been pronounced, the horror-stricken Madeleine again presented herself before the Judges to reiterate her declaration, and two other witnesses attested to her having told them so *before the trial*. The Judges applied to the Directory for a reprieve; and the Directory applied to the Council of Five Hundred, requesting instructions for their further guidance, and concluding with the emphatic question,—"Ought Lesurques to die on the scaffold because he resembles a criminal?" The answer was prompt—"The jury had legally sentenced the accused, and the right of pardon had been abolished." The enlightened advocates of "Liberty and Equality," while they usurped the prerogative of vengeance, repudiated that of mercy! Left to his fate, poor Lesurques on the morning of his execution thus wrote to his wife—"My dear friend, we cannot avoid our fate. I shall, at any rate, endure it with the courage which becomes a man. I send some locks of my hair. When my children are older, divide it with them. It is the only thing that I can leave them." Curiol had disclosed to Lesurques the history of Dubosq, and the fatal mistake which had been made, and accordingly on the eve of his death, he had the following mournful letter inserted in the journals. "Man, in whose place I am to die, be satisfied with the sacrifice of my life; if you be ever brought to justice, think of my three children covered with shame, and of their mother's despair, and do not prolong the misfortunes of so fatal a resemblance."—This wretch was subsequently arrested, tried, and executed for the murder on the 22d of February, 1802. He had in early years been sentenced to the galleys for life for stealing the plate of the Archbishop of Besançon, but he broke prison and escaped. On four occasions subsequently, apprehended for various robberies, he each time broke prison, and had been free only a few weeks when he aided in the murder of the courier of Lyons. The hardened criminal denied everything, but the jury unanimously convicted him, and the last of the accomplices, executed soon after, confirmed the declarations of Curiol, Breban, and Durochat by the following paper:—"I declare that the man named Lesurques is innocent: but this declaration, which I give to my confessor, is not to be published until six months after my death." The Judge

de Paix also, struck with remorse for having committed Lesurques, (though in so doing he only did his duty,) sparing neither time nor money in the investigation of the facts, thus terminated a memorial to the government for a revision of the sentence:—"The Calases, the Sirvens, and all the others for whom the justice of our sovereigns had ordered a like revision, had none of them had such presumptions in their favour as the unhappy Lesurques." All was in vain. Lesurques—the guiltless Lesurques died on the scaffold, *the victim of a resemblance*. His widow's sorrows terminated in October, 1842, the eldest son having previously fallen in battle, a soldier in the French army.

The case of John Calas, incidentally alluded to in the memorial of the Juge de Paix, was another instance of recorded butchery; but scarcely needs more than the allusion, its narrative having attained a European notoriety through the noble interference of Voltaire. This poor old man, who had brought up his family in credit, and was remarkable for the affection he bestowed on them, was accused of the murder of the son he loved, and who it was subsequently shown had committed suicide. At the age of seventy he was racked with cruel tortures, and broken on the wheel. As he stood writhing on the scaffold, he was thus addressed by a monster, misnamed a magistrate, who exulted in his agonies—"Wretch, *confess your crime*—behold the faggots which are to consume your body." The poor old father had nothing to declare save that he was about being murdered in the name—the two oft desecrated name of justice. When the judicial mockery was over, and the wheel and the stake had done their dreadful work, the sentence was annulled,—*Calas and his family were proclaimed innocent*,—the attorney-general was ordered to indict his prosecutors, and a subscription was set on foot for the survivors. This interference, which cost him time and trouble and money, is creditable to Voltaire:—it was a redeeming deed, and worthy of a purer faith than that which he acknowledged. We subjoin with pleasure the letter appropriately addressed to him on the occasion by the great Sovereign who had abolished the punishment of death throughout her empire.

SIR,—The brightness of the northern star is a mere *Aurora Borealis*—but the private man, who is an advocate for the rights of nature, and a defender of oppressed innocence, will immortalize his name. You have attacked the great enemies of true religion and science—fanaticism, ignorance, and chicane: may your victory be complete. You desire some small relief for the family. I should be better pleased if my enclosed bill of exchange could pass unknown; but, if you think my name, unharmonious as it is, may be of use to the cause, I leave it to your discretion.

CATHERINE.

We have above recorded a case in France of a man losing his life because he was guilty of a likeness! Such cases are not confined to France. Here is one—out of many—taken from our own criminal courts. Thomas Geddeley, was waiter in a public house at York, kept by a Mrs. Williams. Her desk was broken open and rifled, and

Geddeley disappeared. About twelve months after this a man appeared at York of the name of James Crow, who endeavoured to earn a precarious subsistence as a porter. This hapless man so closely resembled the fugitive Geddeley that many accosted him by the name the adoption of which he perseveringly repudiated. This, however, was attributed to his fear of prosecution for the robbery, on which charge he was, at last, formally apprehended. Mrs. Williams selected him from a crowd of others as the person who had robbed her; a maid-servant swore positively to having seen him on the morning of the robbery with a poker in his hand, in the very room in which the desk had been broken open, and several reputable persons deposed without doubt to his identity. To all this he had nothing to oppose but his solemn asseveration that his name was Crow, that he never had been in York before, and that he was not even acquainted with any one of the name of Geddeley. Of course he was disbelieved. How could his defence possibly be true? How could his own mistress be mistaken? how could his fellow-servant be mistaken? how could so many disinterested witnesses who had all known him before, possibly be mistaken? So argued and so still argues man, the very essence of whose nature is its fallibility. And they were all mistaken, and they all went to their graves, mourning the mistake to which innocence was sacrificed.—The real culprit fled from York to Ireland, was executed in Dublin for another crime, and with his last breath confessed the guilt which a guiltless man had expiated. This, say our opponents, in their modern jargon, was “a legal accident”—a mere mistake. No doubt it was so—but how much longer are we to register our mistakes—in blood?

We fear much there are but few circles in which cases are not extant of innocence thus sacrificed. The following communication received since our first edition is from a lady whose name (were we authorised to give it) would be a perfect guarantee for its authenticity. “I have been greatly disturbed all my life by executions which were not preceeded by confession, for when I was but thirteen, I saw a poor woman *with her seven children* fling herself in the snow-covered road of the Minster-close at Lincoln, to intercept the Judge’s carriage, screaming for mercy and protesting the innocence of her husband. He had been convicted of sheep-stealing, and was sentenced to die on the following Monday morning. He was so executed. In the same city, at the spring assizes, a murderer was convicted; and on the eve of his execution, he confessed to the perpetration of the crime for which the father of these helpless children suffered. Not only had he committed it, but with the aid of an accomplice, he had contrived the circumstantial evidence of which a man entirely innocent was made the victim.” Such is the system—a system under which such things are not only possible, but practised—which finds christian advocates!

“A very unhappy case,” (of some coincidence with the preceding) says Mr. O’Sullivan, “occurrrrd within a few years, in which a citizen of this State, a young man of fine talents, character, and attainments, fell a victim to this fatal uncertainty of all human testimony. His name was Boynton, a brother of a clergyman, now a resident in

Ostego county. He had been staying for a few weeks at a tavern on the Mississippi, some distance above New Orleans. He had been much in company with a fellow-boarder, who was one day found murdered on the bank of the river, within a very short period after they had been seen together, very near to the spot where the body was discovered. The evidence presented by all the circumstances of the case was such that Boynton was convicted of the charge notwithstanding the most earnest protestations of his innocence,—protestations to which nobody attached the slightest weight. When placed upon the scaffold he read a very able vindication of himself, again protesting in the name of his God, that innocence which man refused to believe. When informed that his time was come he broke wildly from those by whom he was surrounded on the scaffold, and rushed in among the multitude, in the most piteous manner crying for help and repeating the assurance that he was innocent. He was soon again secured by the sheriff, dragged back to the scaffold, and, in the midst of his piercing shrieks and heart-rending cries, launched into eternity. Not many months after, the keeper of the tavern, on his death bed, confessed himself guilty of the murder for which young Boynton had been hung! having, to shield himself from conviction, directed the circumstances so as to procure the arrest and conviction of the latter.

We will conclude these cases with a soul-harrowing one, vouched by Mr. O'Connell, on his own authority. "I myself (says he) defended three brothers of the name of Cremming within the last ten years. They were indicted for murder. I sat at my window, as they passed by, after sentence had been pronounced. There was a large military guard taking them back to jail, positively forbidden to allow any communication with the three unfortunate youths. But their *mother* was there, and she, armed in the strength of her affection, broke through the guard. I saw her clasp her eldest son, who was but twenty-two years of age; I saw her hang on her second, who was not twenty; I saw her faint, when she clung to the neck of the youngest son, who was but eighteen—and, I ask, what recompense could be made for such agony? *They were executed—and—THEY WERE INNOCENT.*"

We will not mar with any words of ours, the terrible simplicity of this recital. But we do implore of every English mother—by that holy love which links them to each other, even from the sceptered monarch downwards, to that poor, desolate, children-despoiled peasant—by the love of offspring thrilling through them all—we call on them to contemplate this picture—limned with a pencil dipped in human heart's blood."

"So far in reference to those who have been executed, and whose innocence has been subsequently ascertained. To what a frightful length, however, might not this list extend, but for the exertions of humane and worthy men! There was a case, said Mr. Harmer, in his evidence before the Commissioners on Criminal Law, of "a young man who was capitally convicted upon apparently the clearest possible evidence; I conducted the prosecution against him, and could not imagine there was any doubt of his guilt: but the young man pro-

tested his innocence, and he communicated facts to the then Governor of Newgate, which impressed him with the belief that the young man was innocent, and he begged me to see him. I heard the young man's statement, and commenced a minute inquiry into the circumstances, and I was at last fully satisfied that he was innocent. I consequently memorialized the Secretary of State; but it was not without great difficulty I procured his pardon, after he had been in Newgate ten months, under sentence of death." This is a striking case, indeed, from the circumstance that the guiltless convict owed his pardon to the Solicitor employed to prosecute him. But it was every way characteristic of Mr. Harmer, than whom a kinder-hearted man never existed. Doubtless he was stimulated to this exertion, by the recollection of a mournful case in which he had been concerned for the prisoners. He does not specify the offence, but murder it must have been, because in no other did execution follow so soon upon conviction. "I remember," said he, "a case, where, in a little more than forty-eight hours, enough could have been shown to justify a suspension of the judgment, but the *men were executed before I had time to investigate*. Directly I began to make enquiries, fact upon fact was developed, which would not only have justified a suspension of punishment, but would doubtless have obtained *for the unfortunate men a free pardon!!*" How appalling! how horrible is this! This cold-blooded system of speedy execution was at last abolished, through the exertions of the late excellent Mr. Aglionby, in the year 1836. It saved England from a further injustice. In the very first case of murder which was tried after the Act passed, an innocent man was convicted at Exeter. It having being clearly proved, during the protracted interval allowed for investigation, that a mistake had been made as to the man's identity, his life was spared! But well was Mr. Harmer warranted in saying that time for enquiry should be granted; for what says even a more competent authority, at least, during the period of which he speaks?

"I think," said Sheriff Wilde in his examination in 1836, "many innocent persons have suffered; I think that if the documents at the Home Office are examined, many instances will be found, in which, by the exertions of former sheriffs, the lives of many persons ordered for execution have been saved." He was well authorized to say so. This most estimable gentleman is still alive, so we may not speak of him as we sincerely feel; but we shall chronicle his acts—they are his best eulogy. During the seven months of Mr. Wild's shrievalty, he *saved the lives of* six innocent persons who had been actually *ordered for execution!!* The records and the documents are at the Home Office. The first case was that of Anderson and Morris, accused of robbery with violence. The prosecutor stated that he met a woman who took him to a house in Westminster, where he was robbed and brutally treated by the two prisoners. They declared their innocence, and a woman, who with some difficulty made her way into court, fully bore them out. She swore that she cohabited with Morris, and having met the prosecutor, she took him to Morris's house, who returning and finding a man there, he kicked him into the streets, and that was the whole of

the transaction. Knowlys, the Recorder, said Mr. Wilde, took "a strong impression" from what had passed, *against* the prisoners, and after a short address from him, they were convicted, and finally ordered for execution. Providentially for the prisoners, Knowlys' "strong impression" urged him onward; he called the witness Hannah Morris up, told her she was "a bad, corrupt woman," and consigned her to the dock, to be prosecuted for perjury! Now the humane Sheriff, who heard the trial, had "a strong impression" also—he *believed the witness*; when therefore he found that the wretched men were actually ordered for execution, he hastened to Sir Robert Peel, who, as usual, devoted himself to the cause. It appeared the prosecutor, at the police office, only accused the prisoners of a common assault! the robbery—the capital part—was entirely an after-thought; it was, however, a case which gave Mr. Wilde much trouble; need we say, much anxiety also? It was not until the day of their execution was near its dawn that the reprieve was granted. At dark midnight, when on their knees, expecting the fatal approach of the official to warn them that their hour was come, mercy's own messenger appeared with the assurance of their safety—it was as the angel's visit, and their chains fell off and they were free—they were wholly pardoned. The prosecutor never dared even to shew his face on the trial of Hannah Morris. All this was not effected without the greatest difficulty, indeed he generously awards to others a share of his own deserts: "If I had not had the assistance," said he, "of Mr. Wontner, the governor of the prison, and of his deputy, Mr. Barrett, the facts and circumstances establishing the innocence of these prisoners, would never have been made to appear."

The next is a case so monstrous that is difficult of credence; still it is true. At a time when juries, aghast at the frequent executions for forgery, insisted upon such strictness of proof as to make conviction almost impossible, and acquitting, very often where the proof was perfect, a man named Smith pleaded guilty to the charge. All remonstrance was lost on him; his friends in vain advised him; in vain the Judge urged him to take his trial; he persisted in his plea, and sentence of death was passed on him. In due time he was ordered for execution; the condemned sermon was actually preached. In such a crisis the indefatigable Sheriff was appealed to, by a respectable tradesman of Cornhill, the prisoner's relative. He proceeded to the dreadful cell of the condemned, with a heavy heart, because apparently on a hopeless mission. There, however, he heard the explanation of his plea—the frightful explanation! His case was instituted by the Bankers' Committee. Some short time before the sessions, their solicitor authorized Mr. Cope, then city marshal, to assure Smith that if he pleaded guilty, his life should be saved. He did so relying on that promise, and now behold him on his trundle bed, within four days of his execution. The Sheriff, scarcely crediting his senses, hurried to the Home Office, and there, as usual, was met by the prompt humanity of Sir Robert Peel. The Minister, as much astounded as the Sheriff, at once solicited the aid of Lord Lyndhurst, then Lord Chancellor—a rare combination. A

most vigilant investigation instantly ensued; prosecutor, solicitor, city marshal, and others, were summoned to the Lord Chancellor's private room at the House of Lords, and underwent a strict examination. The Sheriff's narrative was true. The life of Smith was saved. This awful detail is on record at the Home Office, and, reader, this occurred in the metropolis of England and in the nineteenth century!

The third case was one of two poor men—humble, destitute Irishmen—convicted, on circumstantial evidence, of a revolting crime. On a patient scrutiny at the Home Office, the prosecution was shewn to have been the result of a conspiracy. This appeared, partly by the improbability of the prosecutor's story, and partly by direct evidence submitted to the Secretary of State. The men's lives were saved, and, says the Sheriff, "I had no doubt of their innocence." The last case was that of a man named Brown, capitally convicted of robbery, and left for execution. He was saved; but not, says the generous Sheriff, ever seeking to despoil himself of the meed of his humanity, "until his master, Mr. Lingham, a wine-merchant, had been exerting himself for many days, to procure a remission of the sentence." Here, then, were the lives of six of his fellow creatures saved, through the instrumentality of one noble-minded man, in little more than the moiety of a shrievalty. Brief, indeed, is the interval between the order for execution and the execution itself; and there can be no doubt whatever, that every one of these unfortunates must have perished ignominiously, had it not been for the incredible efforts of Mr. Wilde, and the facilities afforded to him officially. We call attention to these cases especially, because they are not generally known, and because there can be nothing apocryphal about them. We call attention to them also, for another most important reason, namely, that with all our care, and all our precaution, we are just as likely to be wrong as right.

These facts, black, melancholy facts, are sufficient to prove, if proof were necessary, that juries have been occasionally unconscious murderers. But why should they be murderers at all? Why should life be taken for life?

Men, to enjoy the benefits of society, have deprived themselves of some of their natural privileges and enjoyments, and because social were deemed preferable to natural rights, have they consented to the exchange. On this implied contract governments are instituted, and laws are formed, which deprive transgressors of their estate and liberty. And why is not life surrendered among the other things which make it estimable? We think, for the plainest reason, that the abdication of natural for the enjoyment of social rights, implies a greater good to the surrenderer; and as life is itself the greatest gift of Heaven to man, nothing

can be returned as an equivalent for its forfeiture. Would the parent consent to sacrifice the life of the child that prattles on his knee, or enter into stipulations which would take away his own? It is preposterous to believe it.

As it has never been contended on the authority of Divine revelation that man can kill himself, so we may contend that he cannot delegate that power to another.

The advocates of capital punishment rely upon a text in Genesis which has this language:—"Whosoever shall shed man's blood, his blood shall be shed: for man was made to the image of God."* But to maintain the idea of an *injunction* in the passage, they are driven to the most monstrous contradictions. All who endeavour to sustain this notion, admit the justice of a division in homicide and the propriety of a power to pardon. But should not they who pertinaciously adhere to the text as containing an inflexible *command*, lay aside that squeamish sense of justice with which they charge others, and proclaim "blood for blood," in the sanguinary temper of the *lex talionis*, and of our vindictive aborigines? To obviate the imputation of inconsistency, can they adopt any other sentiments? The text delegates no privilege of creating such offences as manslaughter and murder in the second degree; and as its strict apparent meaning is taken in one part, why not in every part? The prerogative of pardon too, as a prerogative too merciful for the law of God, should be discarded as inimical to its letter and its spirit.

These are the cruel consequences to which such an interpretation of the passage would inevitably conduct us. But, with becoming reverence on this subject, let us rescue the Deity from a charge altogether unworthy His divinity and character.

Fratricide is the horrible species of murder first recorded in the Bible, and under circumstances of the most aggravated description. Cain, from a sentiment of jealousy, slew the pious Abel, in the absence of every thing like personal provocation. Filled with the consciousness of his diabolical turpitude as well as merited vengeance, and in anticipation of certain death, he exclaims, "Behold thou dost cast me out this day from the face of the earth, and I shall be hid-

* 9 Genesis, 6.

den from thy face, and I shall be a vagabond and a fugitive on the earth : every one, therefore, that findeth me, shall kill me.”* But was he hanged, broken, or beheaded ? No, neither ; but vengeance seven-fold was denounced against his murderer ; he was driven from society, and the curse of Heaven blasted his hopes.

Another murder is mentioned in the same book, under circumstances, it would seem, of even greater atrocity. “ And Lamech said to his wives, Ada and Sella : Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, hearken to my speech : for I have slain a man to the wounding of myself, and a stripling to my own bruising. Seven-fold vengeance shall be taken for Cain : but for Lamech seventy times seven-fold.”†

Is it possible that, when such examples as these are presented in holy writ, scepticism will rear her dastardly head—that Providence can be supposed unstable in his dispensations ;—and that Noah and his descendants should be commanded to act in opposition to a promulgated and confirmed decree ?

But it is not a *command* ; nor could it be without interfering with the expressed wishes of the Deity. It is plainly so far from being imperative in the translation, that it amounts to nothing but a prediction. The expression *shall be shed*, being only in the future indicative, cannot *enjoin*, for *will be shed* might be substituted without doing any injury to the original Hebrew. And taken in this light, (as prescience and not an injunction) which is surely correct, the preceding verse will abundantly corroborate the foregoing examples of punishment by the Deity himself, and prove to be a reference to Cain and Abel ; for it is said, “ at the hand of every man’s *brother* will I require the life of man.” It is well known that Noah and his family were the only human beings who survived the general wreck of the world, at the deluge. Eight individuals alone remained of numerous and dense nations ; and immediately after the dispersion of the waters, they were told to be “ fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth.” Then say that heavy denunciations were proclaimed against those who, by the destruction of life, stopped the increase. Say that offended heaven

* 4 Genesis, 14.

† 4 Genesis, 23-24.

would wither the impious hand which was raised against a brother, but say not that the proscription of life was consistent with the population of the world.

But further : in obedience to the law of Moses, the Jews condemned the adulterer, in common with the murderer, to death. For both they had equal authority to kill, as both were heinous offences. But our laws discard the notion, and deny the right, to inflict death for the former transgression of the moral law. And this difference, very probably, is ascribable to the example of Christ, who did not acknowledge the validity of the Mosaic canon when he desired the innocent to throw the first stone at the woman caught in the act of adultery, and eventually pardoned her. Does not his conduct, on this occasion, convey a severe reprehension to those laws of *erring* man which take life ? It is conclusive, too, that his denial of death to the woman who had committed adultery, would have been extended to her, though guilty of murder, from the circumstances, 1st, of their being involved in the same punishment by the Jewish Pentateuch, and, 2nd, that the murderer was similarly treated in the beginning.

Did he distinguish between the municipal regulations of the Israelites, and the commandments given in the infancy and comparative purity of mankind ? He said in reference to the laws of Moses, in almost so many words, the reasons which urged their institution do not remain ; darkness and cruelty then were necessary, which my dispensation will convert into mildness and light. Those rules of action, established in the infancy of the world, shall constitute a part of the system which I have come to form. Are not these comprised in the remarkable words : " He saith to them : Because Moses, by reason of the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives : but from the beginning it was not so ? " *

Talk not of the Messiah's saying to Peter, " Put up again thy sword into its place, for all that take the sword *shall perish* with the sword." This is a *commandment* tantamount to that supposed to be given to Noah ; for the original Greek makes nothing about it obligatory or imperative. It palpably amounts only to a recognition of the

* Matthew, ch. xix., verse 8.

principle of self-preservation, which is the first law of our nature. And his express declaration that he came to save men's lives and not to destroy them, is at once full and to the point as to the divine illegality of Christian governments eprmitting the infliction of death.

Notwithstanding these, and perhaps better reasons that might be given for the want of a delegated right to take existence, with the infatuation of hoary prejudice still we hug the darling delusion which hurries our fellow creatures into the presence of an Omniscient God. Are they unprepared for the transition? How horrible! And the admission that they are fit to join the sacred choir of "angels and the just made perfect," in regions of beatific purity, precipitates us into the strangest absurdity. Will it be said that he, who was too base to live on earth, is qualified for a residence in heaven?

There is a natural unwillingness in juries to convict in very many cases of murder. Years ago, when the statute book was all "one red," juries perjured themselves to save the prisoner: hear Mr. Phillips:—

Bentham, the great and venerable jurist, undervalued by an age of which he was in advance, suggested the results of legislation such as this. "The mildness of the national character," says he, "is in contradiction to the laws, and, as might be expected, it is that which triumphs. The laws are eluded, pardons are multiplied, offences are overlooked, testimony is excluded, and juries, to avoid an excess of severity, often fall into an excess of indulgence." So said a still greater man than Bentham, two hundred years before him.—"Any over-great penalty," says Bacon, "besides the acerbity of it, deadens the execution of the law." Our House of Lords differed from Bentham and from Bacon, and, as might be anticipated, they were wrong. But the consequences of their error were tremendous; no less than the menaced demoralization of an entire people. From that error resulted some of the foulest verdicts that ever defiled a jury-box. Here are a few of them, pronounced on indictments preferred under this statute:—

Elizabeth Parsons, for stealing twenty-three guineas . . . v. Guilty—39s.

Alexander Chambers, for stealing 333 yards of holland linen, 24 yards of printed linen, value £4 4s.; 45 yards of damask, value £16; 26 yards of striped linen, value £3 5s.; in the dwelling-house of Edward White . . . v. Guilty—39s.

T. Radford and *T. Williams*, for stealing one £10 note, three £1 notes, two £5 notes, the property of Thomas Hartshorn, in his dwelling-house . . . v. Guilty—39s.

Joseph Day, stealing a watch, value £20; a gold watch string, value £2; a gold chain, value £10; a pair of diamond ear-rings, value

£20; a silver snuff-box, value £3; six silk gowns, value £12; two pieces of gold and silver brocaded silk, £60; each being, taken separately, above 40s. value . . . v. Guilty—39s.

These are a few, a very few, of these most monstrous verdicts, taken from a multitude; what their sum total must have been may be inferred from a statement made by Lord Suffield, in the House of Lords, on the 2nd of August, 1833. "I hold in my hand," said his Lordship, "a list of 555 perjured verdicts, delivered at the Old Bailey, in fifteen years, for the single offence of stealing from dwelling-houses: the value stolen being, in these cases, sworn above 40s., but the verdicts returned being to the value of 39s. only. If required, I will produce the name of every one of these 555 convicts, and shew the value proved to have been stolen." This became too horrible to be tolerated any longer, and what does the reader think was the remedy? A repeal of the law? No such thing. If that was the result, "the people of England," as Lord Wynford said, on a similar proposal, "could not sleep in safety in their beds." No, but the legislature revised its arithmetic. Man, made in the image of his Maker, rose in the money market. Human life was extravagantly averaged at £5. A rise in the article of no less than sixty shillings a head!

But still, the obstinate juries demurred to the valuation. Perhaps, as for mere blood, they thought the price too low; or, it may be, they remembered that an immortal soul was included in the estimate. Again, therefore, to the scandal and disparagement of public justice, they applied the only remedy in their power. Disregarding the actual amount stolen, they substituted for the old 39s., "Guilty of stealing to the value of £4 19s." Take one single case under the improved system—it is selected merely for its flagrancy.—A man named Robinson, was tried at the Old Bailey, in 1831, for robbing his employers to the amount of £1000. Of this property £300 worth was traced to a man to whom Robinson had sold it; and more of it, to the amount of £200, was found in his own room, thus accounting for £500 out of the £1000; the jury found this man guilty of stealing to the amount of £4 19s. He was again indicted for stealing to the amount of £25, and again convicted of stealing under £5. There were several other indictments against Robinson, who seems to have been a wholesale depredator; but the prosecutors, after such verdicts, allowed him to plead guilty to them all to the extent of £4 19s. The jury remembered that in the previous May, a man had been executed under this very statute, and they shrank from the work of extermination. An ornament of the bench (Blackstone) went far towards justifying such verdicts, which have come down to us, on his high authority, as "pious perjuries."

One instance more, and only one, (before we come to the main subject of our argument,) of the folly as well as flagrancy of legislation such as this. Who can forget the outcry raised on the mere hint of a mitigation of the laws relating to forgery? All England was panic-stricken. The banks must stop, public credit would be a thing of history, commercial confidence would vanish into air! Such were the predictions of bankers, and merchants, and traders,—of every counting-house—of the whole Exchange; and they prevailed, not

unnaturally, for the commercial world were entitled to all deference on the subject ; but they prevailed not long. These cruel laws were repealed—repealed after torrents of blood had been shed—after the Jury-box had been desecrated a thousand times, and the kiss which sealed the gospel invocation, had proved to be the kiss of Judas. They were repealed—and wonderful to relate, on the petition of the bankers of every city and exchange in England, except London. It is painful to be compelled to add, that this petition was prompted, not by the statesman's policy, or the philosopher's convictions, or the christian's humanity, but by the same motive which produced their previous opposition—the money market's motive—mere self-interest. So they state candidly in their document. In 1797, a bill had been passed, enabling the Bank of England to issue notes under the value of £5. The forgery of these notes was, of course, a capital offence. The passing of that bill was Moloch's installation. From that fatal date, in eight years, one hundred and forty-six people, of both sexes, were hanged for the forgery of bank notes alone ! At last the Old Bailey became a human shambles. The perjury tactics were again adopted ; juries would not convict. An expedient was then resorted to by the prosecutors of giving the accused the option of pleading to the minor charge, that of having forged notes in their possession, and so saving their lives. The expedient failed ; in the September sessions of 1818, thirty-eight persons were indicted capitally for forgery or uttering. Harassed and terror-stricken at the alternative before them, of inflicting death or violating their consciences, they implored the legislature to relieve them.

But has this unwillingness on the part of juries to convict become less strong in these latter days ? Mr. Dymond, in his excellent paper, furnishes us with the following proofs in the negative. From the Lords' Report he selects these opinions of four judges :—

MR. BARON ALDERSON.—APPENDIX, p. 45.

Answer to Q. 25.

I wish I could believe that the punishment of death could safely be dispensed with. It is at present practically confined to cases of murder. Whether all cases of murder require it,—as, for instance, duelling, and the like,—is a doubt with me. This is an experiment which, I think, might safely be made. *It is a bad thing to have verdicts continually given in the teeth of the law and the evidence*

MR. JUSTICE WIGHTMAN.—APPENDIX, p. 10.

Q. 25.

Do you think any punishment by transportation would be a sufficient substitute for death, in the cases still left capital ?

There can be little doubt but that secondary punishment may be made so severe as to be a sufficient substitute for the punishment of death, provided such secondary punishment is invariably and inflexibly carried out ; but whatever the substituted punishment may

be, it must be fixed and certain, leaving no discretion to be exercised by the judge who passes sentence.

MR. JUSTICE COLTMAN.—APPENDIX, p. 51.

To the 25th Question, I am disposed to think that imprisonment for life without hope of any remission of the sentence (unless the innocence of the accused should be made to appear), might be substituted, without inconvenience, for capital punishment. *Many guilty persons now escape who would then be convicted*; and though the punishment has little to excite apprehension, in comparison with that of death, to the majority of persons, I do not think that the apprehension of death operates much on the mind of a man who is meditating a great crime; he is, generally, I conceive, under the dominion of some overpowering passion, which leads and enables him to set all consequences at defiance.

MR. JUSTICE PERRIN.—APPENDIX, p. 139.

Answer to Q. 25.

I do, as I have already intimated. I would add, that the increased certainty of conviction, and of some heavy punishment, though short of capital, which in Ireland especially, I think, would much more frequently ensue, must operate strongly. *I am convinced that in many cases when (in murder cases) juries have either acquitted or not agreed in a verdict, the apprehension of taking away life, where a mistake might by any possibility be made, has been the cause, and that if the punishment had been short of death, convictions would have taken place.*

But a further reference to *special cases* will demonstrate the point in question. The history of one woman, alluded to on a recent occasion in the House of Lords, and with which most gentlemen on the home circuit are familiar, is thus referred to in a London newspaper:—"The Lord Chief Justice, agreeing with his noble and learned friend, used a most unfortunate illustration in referring to the doings of 'Sally Arsenic,' executed at Chelmsford in the spring of 1851. He could hardly have been ignorant that this woman's history is one of the best facts that can be brought forward, by those who differ from his Lordship, in proof of the inexpediency of attaching a capital penalty to the crime of murder. Had not the law been capital, she would have been convicted of poisoning two of her children in 1847. It is a notorious fact that she escaped on that occasion, in the teeth of the most conclusive evidence, through the tact of her counsel, who, by repeated challenges, at last secured on the jury certain parties well known, in Chelmsford, for their strong objection to the capital penalty. Learning her lesson in the dock (as described by Lord Campbell), she went forth skilled in her craft, to practise it with professional accuracy, thus proving the oft-asserted fact, that capital laws grant impunity to crime."

It is well known, in the county of Northumberland, that certain persons, charged with an atrocious murder of an aged woman, whose house they afterwards robbed, escaped from a determination

on the part of their jury not to convict on a capital charge, and afterwards boasted of their escape, and made indirect admissions of their guilt. A young man recently tried at Taunton for administering arsenic to his father, escaped from a similar cause. The case being one of "*attempt to murder*," only the jury were under the impression that some other sentence than death would be awarded; but the presiding judge, in his charge, expressed an intention, if the verdict were one of "*guilty*," to leave the prisoner for execution; and the jury, who had at first fully determined to pronounce an adverse verdict, immediately *acquitted* the culprit. In cases of *infanticide* the practice of acquitting on the capital charge is almost universal. Lord Chief Baron Pollock, in his charge to the grand jury in Shropshire (summer assize, 1855), described it as being, in his experience, *invariable*. A woman named Boucher, tried at the spring assizes at Exeter last year, was found pressing the body of a new-born infant in a tub,—the child's neck bore marks of strangulation,—the mother had been once before charged with a similar crime (but having partially burnt the body, could only be found guilty of concealment of birth),—yet the jury acquitted her, in the language of Mr. Baron Alderson as above given, "in the teeth of the law and of evidence." Still more recently a young woman was tried for child-murder at Carlisle. She had stuffed a rag down the child's throat; that it could have been there by accident was an utter impossibility. The jury found her guilty of *concealment of birth*, the verdict extracting from Mr. Baron Martin the exclamation of, "*Not guilty of murder! gentlemen!*"

Now let Mr. Phillips plead:—

Oaths, as administered in our courts of justice, are meant as the links to bind men's souls to heaven; these links once severed, the sanctity of social life is gone, and with its sanctity, its safety. We are not theorizing! the most flagrant verdicts have been already cited, returned by juries, rather than hazard a capital conviction; so flagrant and so frequent, that, as we have seen, law and property could not co-exist—witness the forgery code. Is there no danger that murder may come to be included in the category? Lamentable to say, such things are in progress. In 1847, a woman of the name of Sarah Chesham was indicted at Chelmsford for the crime of poisoning; all considered the case proved against her, but she was acquitted. The rumour was, that an influential juryman felt scruples about taking away life. Again in 1848, the very next year, she was indicted for the murder, by poison, of her own children, and she was a second time let loose upon society. Encouraged by this conflict between law and conscience, she tried a third experiment and poisoned her husband—for this she was executed. It was said that fourteen victims were sacrificed by this fiend; society would have been rid of her at the first trial, save as a show and a scarecrow, had the punishment been secondary.

"Two criminals," says Mr. Ewart, "Battersby and Wilkinson, were tried at York, in 1851; the proof of murder was, to all common apprehension, clear. The Judge told the Jury that it was

difficult to believe that the death was caused by manslaughter ; yet the Jury returned a verdict of manslaughter.

"In January, 1852, Thomas Bare was proved, by the strongest evidence, to have murdered his own wife ; he even acknowledged that he deserved to be executed—yet he was acquitted by the Jury. The *Times* of that date thus concludes a leading article:—' If there be such a crime as murder, this is murder, and murder of no common atrocity.' It adds, ' that in cases involving capital punishments, the Judge, Jury, Home Secretary, and Public, contend to mitigate the crime of murder.'

"Last year, 1855, at Maidstone, during the spring assizes, Elizabeth Avis Dawes was tried for murder ; her guilt was clear—she afterwards confessed it—yet she was acquitted. 'A memorable example,' says the *South-Eastern Gazette*, 'of the impunity afforded to murderers.'

"In the case of the Matfen murder, tried on the 27th of March 1856, at Durham, the guilt of one prisoner appeared certain. A jurymen, however, told a person who can be produced, that they all agreed on a verdict of acquittal, '*rather than the man should hang.*' "I can," said the Honourable Member, in conclusion, "produce instances of jurors having stated that they would have found prisoners guilty, as they were bound to do ; but, when they learned from the Judge that the penalty would be death, they resolved on an acquittal."

But is hanging (death) really a deterrent. Hear Mr. Dymond :—

When Dr. Dodd was hanged for forgery, his execution was speedily followed by that of one of his jurors upon the same scaffold, and for the same crime. Fauntleroy admitted that he conceived the idea of committing that offence after seeing an execution for forgery. Coiners were taken into custody plying their trade whilst the dead body of an executed comrade lay before them. A minister of the Gospel, the Rev. Mr. Roberts, of Bristol, states that of 167 persons whom he had visited under sentence of death 164 had *seen* executions ; and Dr. Ford, an ordinary of Newgate, gives equally strong testimony. Thus, too, it is with *murder*. Even when the terrible example is brought before our eyes, it seems but to harden and deprave. When the law has been administered most inexorably, murder has been most rife.

From a Parliamentary Return (No. 618, 1843) I extract the comparative results of two periods of sixteen years each. During the first sixteen years all who were convicted of murder (in London and Middlesex), thirty-four in number, were executed. During that period 188 persons were committed for trial for that crime. During the next sixteen years some clemency was shown by the Executive. Out of twenty-seven convictions only seventeen were hanged, and yet there were but ninety committals. With only 63 per cent. of executions the crime diminished more than one half. Of very recent date murders have been committed and attempted by persons who have just before witnessed executions. This was the case with

Wicks, executed at Newgate in 1846; and Connor, executed in 1845. A man named Samuel Quennell was hanged in London in January, 1846. Some weeks since his cousin was taken up for a murderous assault, during which he informed his victim "he would do for him, *and be hanged for it* as his cousin had been." A similar offence was committed by a drunken tailor, immediately after the execution of Nathaniel Mobbs in 1854, the culprit alluding to the fate of Mobbs as one he would be willing to emulate. The execution of Cumming at Edinburgh, in 1854, was followed (as stated by the *Scotsman* newspaper), by a great increase of brutal assaults upon women, a crime for which—issuing in murder—Cumming was hanged. A man named Heywood was hanged last January at Liverpool, for cutting the throat of a woman with whom he cohabited. Three weeks after one Ferguson was arrested in Liverpool for a similar crime. A few days after Heywood's execution at Liverpool, a young man named Abraham Baker was hanged at Winchester for shooting a girl who refused his offers of marriage. After the previous Summer Assizes a man named Meadows had been executed at Worcester for committing that very crime,—for the same reason and in the same manner. After the late Spring Assizes two executions took place. John Fowkes was hanged at Leicester for *shooting his nephew*. During the last few days two similar crimes—one *of murder* and another *of attempt to murder*—have been perpetrated *with fire-arms in the county of Leicester*. Charles Jones, a convict at Portsmouth, was executed at Winchester for the murder by stabbing of the assistant-surgeon on board the *Stirling Castle* hulk. A writer in the *Times*, signed "Howard, Jun.," now tells us that another convict is in custody on board the same vessel, for stabbing one of the officers in the neck, evidently with murderous intent. I could multiply cases almost *ad libitum* were more proofs needed.

Now let Mr. Phillips speak :—

Lord Nugent mentions, that in May, 1840, a man named Thomas Templeman, was executed at Glasgow for the murder of his wife, and that pickpockets plied their trade under the gallows; at that time to be sure, a boy could not be hanged for stealing a pocket-handkerchief—a humane amendment had substituted transportation for life, and scores have been so transported; but, Barrington, the *facile princeps* of the profession, declares, that even when the offence was capital, the thieves selected the moment when the strangled man was swinging above them, as their happiest opportunity, because, they shrewdly argued, "everybody's eyes were on one person, and all were looking up." The late excellent Basil Montagu used to relate, that through the interest of the Duke of Portland, he obtained the respite of two unhappy men who were sentenced to death, at Huntingdon, in 1801, for sheep-stealing. By dint of great exertion he reached the place a short time before the hour appointed for the execution;—the streets were thronged with crowds who came to see *the show*, and, to his utter horror, the High Sheriff advised him to leave the town as speedily and as *privately* as he could, to avoid ill-treatment, from the disappointment he had occasioned!

On one occasion, when forgery was capital, a criminal had been executed at the Old Bailey, and his body had been placed at the disposal of his friends: his widow pursued his trade of forging £1 notes, and a young man sought her house, to purchase some; the police were hard in pursuit, and, to prevent discovery, she crammed the notes into the mouth of the corpse, and there the police officers found them.

The Venerable Archdeacon Bickersteth thus states that which passed under his own eyes, in the town of Shrewsbury, during the execution of Josiah Misters, convicted of an attempt to murder. "There was an unusually large attendance, not only of the inhabitants of the town, but of the country round. The whole scene was new to me, and very unexpected; the town was converted for the day into a fair—the country people flocked in, in their holiday dresses, and the whole town was a scene of drunkenness and debauchery of every kind. I had an opportunity of inquiring from some of the most respectable inhabitants, what was their own impression, and their opinion entirely coincided with my own, that the whole exhibition was calculated to be injurious to good morals, rather than otherwise. It was particularly remarked upon that occasion, that a very large number of children were present; children and females constituted the larger proportion of the attendance. The impression left by the execution was not one of seriousness, and it was impossible to make it so. I was anxious, before the day came, if possible, to use it as a day upon which some moral effects might be produced, but I found it quite in vain."

Respecting another case, the same reverend dignitary stated that, in answer to a letter which he had written to a respectable inhabitant of Shrewsbury, he was informed that the mining districts generally furnished the larger proportion of spectators: "They come out just as they would to *bull-baiting* or a *cock-fight*; and after the solemn scene is over, the day is invariably one of drunkenness, oaths, and disorder. About thirty years ago, a man, who had been a local sectarian preacher, was executed at Shrewsbury—he had been convicted of the crime of murder on the most clear and undoubted evidence, yet, at the time of his execution, he was permitted to speak to the people, several thousands of whom were present, as usual. Having a powerful voice, which he exerted to the utmost, he was heard at a great distance, even as far as the gardens on the north side of the Abbey Foregate. In the course of his harangue he called out several times, 'I am going to glory, what shall I do for you? tell me what I shall do for you?' He then gave out a hymn, two lines at a time, which was sung by a portion of the throng, himself leading the singing; and at the conclusion the executioner performed his office. Surely such a scene could only have had one or other of two effects on the minds of the persons present—it must either have diminished their respect for the laws of man, or have weakened their fear of God."

Of the moral effect of executions on the young inmates of the prison, who, of course are secluded from the contamination of the spectacle, we have authentic and most unquestionable authority. "Let the schoolmaster of Newgate be examined, and he will prove

that for some days after every execution, a common amusement of the boys, is, to play the scene over again, one boy acting the constable, another the ordinary, a third the sheriff, and a fourth the hangman. I have seen this done many times, and on one occasion before the bodies of the men just hanged had been removed from the scaffold." This has been witnessed by Mr Wakefield, within the prison. But what has not all London seen outside of it? Have we not had the foulest murders dramatised and enacted? Have we not seen, night after night, the metropolitan theatres crowded to suffocation, and christian audiences cheering the mockeries of suffering crime! Who can forget the Thurtell tragedy, with its carefully authenticated accessories—the very car from which the victim fell, paraded on the stage! Even within these two months we find in the journals, the fac-simile of a play-bill as issued at Oldbury:—

**"AN UNEQUALLED COMBINATION OF ATTRACTION AND NOVELTY!
THE RUGELY TRAGEDY,**

OR THE

LIFE AND DEATH OF WILLIAM PALMER!!

*First scene—RUGELY. Second scene—SHERWSBURY. Third scene—
LONDON.*

TO CONCLUDE WITH

MUSIC AND DANCING, AND A LAUGHABLE FARCE!"

The punishment which Mr. Phillips would substitute for hanging, and his reasons for the abolition of it, may be thus stated. It should be abolished,—

Because—The giving and the taking away of life appertain exclusively to God.

Because—Being fallible, we should not punish, when, if wrong, we have no power of reparation.

Because—The crimes in respect of which it has been repealed, have not increased, notwithstanding a progressing population.

Because—Executions, by hardening and brutalising the human heart, produce the evil they are intended to restrain.

Because—By inducing juries to evade their oaths, it defeats the end, and degrades the dignity, of justice.

Because—While its severity deters prosecution, the uncertainty of its infliction gives encouragement to crime.

Because—Our abhorrence of bloodshed often gives immunity to guilt, and our proneness to err but too often sacrifices the innocent; and

Because—Its discontinuance, in some portions of Europe and America, has been adopted with advantage to their respective communities.

"Even in the States where, though not as yet totally abolished, it has been comparatively circumscribed in its application, no evil consequences have ensued." "Massachusetts," says the tenth annual report of the Prison Discipline Society of Boston, where seven

crimes are punished with death, is no more secure in person and life than Pennsylvania, were only one, and New Hampshire, where only two crimes are so punished ! ”

The advocates of abolition have frequently, and not unreasonably, been asked what substitute they would propose for the punishment of death. Our substitute is based on the principle of Beccaria : “ It is not the intenseness of the pain that has the greatest effect on the mind, but its continuance. The death of a criminal is a terrible, but momentary spectacle, and therefore a less efficacious mode of deterring others than the continued example of a man deprived of his liberty, condemned as a beast of burden, to repair by his labour the injury he has done to society.” We would propose, therefore, as a substitute :—

Perpetual Imprisonment—*Certain and Incommutable.*

Hard Labour for Life, its produce being for the public benefit

The Silent System one day in each month.

A Strict Exclusion from the External World in every way.

The most Frugal Fare compatible with health.

The Prison to be appropriated exclusively to the Convicts for Murder throughout the United Kingdom, to be built on an elevation, visible, but secluded, to have a black flag waving from its summit, and on its front inscribed—

THE GRAVE OF THE MURDERERS.

The following is the punishment for murder prescribed by Mr. Livingstone's code for the State of Louisiana. It has been now in force for nearly thirty years, and has been found quite efficient.

“ MURDERERS shall be strictly confined to their respective cells and adjoining courts ; in which last they may be permitted to labour except for two months consecutively in every year, commencing on the anniversary of their crime, during which period they shall only come into the court during the time necessary to cleanse the cell ; and, on the anniversary of the commission of their crime, the convict shall have no allowance of food for twenty-four hours, during which fast he shall receive the visit of the chaplain, who shall endeavour by exhortation and prayer to bring him to repentance.

“ Murderers shall receive no visits, except from the inspectors, the wardens, officers, and attendants of the prison, and from those who are constituted visitors of the prison. They shall have no books, but selections from the Bible, and such other books of religion and morality as the chaplain shall deem proper to produce repentance and fix their reliance on a future state.

“ The fast shall not be suffered when the physician shall certify that it will be dangerous to the health of the convict.

“ The convicts who have not learned to read may be instructed by the teacher.

“ No murderers shall have any communication with other persons out of the prison than the inspectors and visitors : they are considered dead to the rest of the world.

“ The cells of murderers shall be painted black within and with-

out, and on the outside there shall be inscribed, in large letters, the following sentence—

“In this cell is confined, to pass his life in solitude and sorrow, A.B., convicted of the murder of C.D. His food is bread of the coarsest ; his drink is water, mingled with his tears ; he is dead to the world : this cell is his grave ; his existence is prolonged that he may remember his crime, and repent it, and that the continuance of his punishment may deter others from the indulgence of avarice, hatred, sensuality, and the passions which lead to the crime he has committed. When the Almighty, in his due time, shall exercise towards him that dispensation which he himself arrogantly and wickedly usurped towards another, his body is to be dissected, and his soul will abide that judgment which Divine justice shall decree.”

What is there in the national character to require the continuance of capital punishment ? It is proved to be undeterrent, it is proved to be demoralizing in its results on others, it presupposes the incorrigibility of the criminal. We know, upon the authority of Lowndes, the friend of Edward Livingstone, that “some old offenders have rather chosen to run the risk of being hanged in other states than encounter the certainty of being confined in the Penitentiary cells in Pennsylvania.” The chance of escape from the conviction, the chance of punishment less than capital, lures the criminal onward ; all these lures would vanish, and the wild lust of adventure in crime would be stifled, when hope of liberty should be crushed, even though life should certainly be spared.

The chances of escape at present are numerous. Ingenious counsel impress the minds of the jury with the awful weight of responsibility which they incur by dooming a fellow creature to the gallows, and they, alarmed at the greatness of the penalty, though his guilt is irrefragably established, by a kind of “*pious perjury*,” falter an acquittal, or call it an offence foreign to the evidence. And though the sympathies and religious opinions of jurors should form no obstacle to the faithful administration of the law, yet the pernicious influence of public executions more than countervails the terror which they excite. They are pernicious, because, if they do not render the heart callous to tender sentiments, by familiarising the eye to scenes of death, they are so by the invocation of pity. The murderer, on whom is passed the sentence of death, has the gratification of knowing that he fills a large space in the eye of a sympathising public—that dreams, whether he has had

them or not, will be recorded to heighten commiseration—that confessions which he never wrote or dictated, will be bandied among the mob, with all the effrontery of falsehood, in extenuation or denial—that, though he ends his days disgracefully on the gallows, as the guerdon of his deeds, his name will be repeated with a sigh, the recollection of his civic and social *virtues* will live after his death, and the praises of the people will follow him as a saint! These are sad truths, which reference to instances is not required to elucidate and establish; and these, if not the mistaken tenderness of the jury, if not the exercise of ill-judged executive clemency, rob this penalty of the effects which it was intended to inspire.

ART. V.—OYSTERS.

The Closet of Cookery. By Sir Kenelm Digby. London: 1669.

“Happy the man who, void of cares and strife,
In silken or in leathern purse retains
A Splendid Shilling: he nor hears with pain,
New Oysters cried.”

So sang John Philips, laureate of Cider, of Tobacco, of the Splendid Shilling, and of the Duke of Marlborough. So he sang, and so sing we as we read over and over again, the seducing advertisements of Hynes of Dame-street, and of Burton Bindon's successor in D'Olier-street. We sing, but we sigh whilst we sing, for the words come over us like the memory of a dead joy, and we wander back in fancy to twenty years ago, when, after applauding “pretty little Hudart,” as she was called, we used to go, full of admiration and appetite, to a supper at Killeen's, and finish a quarter of a hundred Red Banks, with two tumblers of John Jameson. But poor Hudart is gone, our appetite has vanished, the roaring boys who waked the night with the jovial songs have passed away, and as we stroll through the well-known haunts of happier times, before we thought of gout, or colchicum, and could sing, *I saw from the Beach*, with an undimmed eye, we think of the past and sigh with George Morris—

“For many a lad I liked is dead
And many a lass grown old;
And as the lesson strikes my head
My weary heart feels cold.”

O! youth! youth! oh! friends of our youth grown into grave lawyers, judges, doctors, have ye forgotten Malahide, Carlingford, Lissadill, and Burren? Do ye recollect how the Carlingford boats were moored above Carlisle Bridge, and the boat-men were commanded to step into Killeen's, or the Carlingford, (the taverns being exactly opposite, the boat lying between them), and were told to continue opening the Oysters, until we could swallow no more? Do ye recall the O'Hara emporium in French-street, and O'Hara's stories of the former proprietor, “Ould Smith”? Have ye forgotten O'Bryan's

in Trinity-street, and its glorious natives from Burren? Do ye ever take a sly look at "The O'Donohoe," in Abbey-street, as ye pass through Sackville-street? It is changed now: or is it that we are changed, and no longer able to feel with Lodovico Dolce, that though the pearl is the Oyster's heart, yet that he is himself a pearl without his heart?

How the old time comes back upon us as we write; and as we recall the knowledge which at that period we had gathered upon the history of our favorite fish, we are impelled by that failing of age, the wish to hear ourselves talk, or to see our thoughts on paper, to write our once cherished facts and gleanings, and we shall tell the reader how Oysters were honored by the choice of Emperors; what oysters are; how they should be eaten; in fact we shall show him how great a ranting fool mad Antony was, when he sent that famous "orient pearl" to Cleopatra, and called it with that kiss of "many double kisses," the "treasure of an oyster." Had he been a sane man and not a raving lover, he would have sent her not the pearl, to dissolve in vinegar, but the Oyster of which it was the heart, that floating in vinegar she might taste it, and tasting should cry, "my salad days when I was green in judgement" are past,—“My man of men,” send me a hundred such as these.

The Irish are the only people on earth who treat the Oyster with respect, and who do sufficient honor to his merits. It is true that in England they have a superstition that whoever eats Oysters on St. James's day can never want; it is true that the little boys and girls ask you on Oyster day, for "something for the Grotto?" But in Ireland we usher in the Oysters with a procession, and along the winding road from Malahide there may be seen, on the first day of the Oyster season—

Shouting Friends.

Oyster Men.
Carts.
Oyster Men.
Carts.
Fiddlers.
Oyster Men.
Carts.
Pipers.
Oyster Men.
Carts.
Shouting Friends.

Shouting Friends.

Can we forget how the lovers of Oysters throng the shops, shelling the fish and floating them in Pale Ale and punch, until the happy Oyster opener cries with *Pistol*,
 "— then, the world's mine oyster."

Did not Robert Boyle write of the proper manner of eating oysters? Did not O'Connell enter into a match of abusing with, and find himself all but worsted by, an oyster-woman; and did not our old friend, Billy Hurley, the post-master of Lismore, drive, in the year 1821, being in his ninety-seventh year, from Fermoy to Dungarvan, in an oyster-tub, drawn by a pig, a badger, two cats, a goose, and a hedgehog? Do we not remember Billy rolling into Dungarvan, sounding a cow's-horn, and flourishing a pig-driver's whip, his jolly old head surmounted by a bright red woollen night-cap? Thus have our people shewn their respect for the Oyster, and the Oyster has shewn itself grateful for the homage, and has grown up in our national "Beds," with a delicacy of flavor, throwing all other beds into unquestionable inferiority.

It must be remembered that in making this statement we are not ignorant of the great antiquity of Oysters. If we can credit Pliny, the Naturalist,* Sergius Orata was the first who formed the idea of constructing Oyster Beds. This gastronomer caused immense reservoirs of water to be erected at Baiae in which were collected several thousands of these mollusca. A palace was built adjacent to these inclosures, and there the wealthy Roman every week invited his chosen friends to pass the day and night in enjoying good cheer. Oysters maintained the place of honor at the festive board of Sergius Orata, where each guest swallowed several thousands. Filled to repletion, but not satisfied, these savage gourmands retired to an adjoining room where they excited themselves to disgorge all they had previously partaken, and returned again to indulge their insatiable passion for Oysters.

How we shall shock the sensibilities of our fair readers of the present day, when we inform them that this singular custom was adopted by the Roman ladies also, but, instead of using their finger for this base purpose, they employed the feathers of the peacock, and other rare birds, with which they gently tickled their throats. It was at Baiae, near Pouzzol,

* Lib. ix, c. 54

not far from lake Lucrinus, on the confines of the Tyrrhenian Sea, in an enchanting site, under a transparent sky, in the middle of a perfumed atmosphere, that the voluptuous Romans erected their country residences. It was there, apart from business, far from the noise and tumult of the Forum, that they delivered themselves, like true disciples of Epicurus, without thought or care, to the most refined luxuries of the table; there they enjoyed with a keener relish this light shell-fish, the Oyster, partaking of it with the same zest as Martial,

Levi cortice, concha brevis,
after collecting them on the beach some hours before they were placed on the table. The annals of gluttony mention some gastronomers whose stomachs became so plastic as to enable them to swallow from one to several hundred Oysters: but Vitellius surpassed them all on this point. If we can place any faith in the historians of that time, this Emperor partook of them four times a day, eating, at each repast, neither more nor less than twelve hundred. Seneca himself, who extolled so admirably the charms of poverty, and who died possessing thirty-three millions of our money, Seneca, the wise Seneca, eat some hundreds of dozens of them weekly.

"Oyster, dear to the gourmand," cried he, "which excites instead of satiating the appetite, which never causes illness, even when eaten to excess, so easy art thou of digestion!" *Ostrea non cibi, sed oblectamenta sunt ad edendum saturos cogentia, quod gratissimum est edacibus, et si ultrà quàm capiunt farcientibus facile descensura, facile reditura.*

Cicero did not disguise his extreme partiality for this species of shell-fish, but he adds that he could abstain from it without any sense of privation. *Ego qui me ostreis et murænis facile abstinebam.** We prefer Horace boasting every instant of his taste for the Oyster, swallowing it with the same delight with which he extolled it, and carefully noting the name of the slave who served him with it; he cries—

Nos, inquam, cœnamus aves, conchylia, pisces.

We like that Montanus, famous gourmet, who could ascertain by the first touch of his teeth, whether the Oyster was from Circeii, lake Lucrinus, or from the city Rutupino:—

*Circæis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
Ostrea callebat primo dependere morsu.**

* Juvenal, Sat. 4.

We have long commentaries on this Rutupino, which some have regarded as a City of Brittany, whilst others take it as a promontory. This is to us but of little moment, we shall merely allude here to these expressions—

Primo dependere morsu.

The Romans, our masters in all the arts, and probably in gluttony likewise, did not swallow the Oyster; they chewed it. We swallow it at the present day. Is this right or is it wrong? We will not take it on ourselves to decide the question. These Romans did not require to use their teeth, in order to decide whether the Oyster belonged to this or that lake; a single glance was with them sufficient to enable them to resolve the question, as may be seen in these lines of Lucilius:

Quid? ego si cerno ostrea

Cognorim fluvium, limum, ac cœnum sapere ipsum.

We, who write this paper, have eaten, during our life, many hundreds of baskets of Oysters; we dare not, however, affirm that we have as sufficiently practised a glance as the gourmand, Lucilius, who sang thus. At Rome, as in England, they disputed on the extraction of the best Oysters.

Lake Lucrinus was first in fashion:—

Lucrinus

Eruta littoribus vendunt conchyliâ cœnis,

Ut renovent per damna famem.*

Then we have Martial:—

Ebria baiano veni modo concha lucrino,

Nobile nunc sitio luxuriosa garum.

Pliny preferred those of *Circæii*:—

“According to my opinion,” said this gastronomic naturalist, “there are none sweeter, nor more tender than those of *Circæii*.”

Circensibus nec dulciora neque teneriora ulla esse compertum est.

Finally, they preferred the Oysters that were brought from the Atlantic Ocean, whether they were really better, or that patrician opulence distained this species of shell-fish when procured without trouble, and almost without expense, on the strands in the immediate vicinity of Rome. Be that as it may, some thousands of slaves were employed in transporting these mollusca to Rome, where they were worth their weight in gold.

* Petronius.

The expense attending this mode of conveyance was so excessive, that the censors were obliged to issue a mandate prohibiting their frequent importation. They were thus enabled to bring but few from those distant parts, these were preserved in ice, in order to render them fresher and more agreeable to the palates of the gourmand. It is from Pliny also we have learned this refinement of sensuality.

We are not aware what means were adopted by the ancients in order to preserve the freshness of the Oysters during long voyages, through very hot countries, and in all seasons of the year. This is a secret of which we are unhappily ignorant.

Apicius, one of the greatest cooks that ever existed, the same, as is related, to whom we are indebted for the treatise *De Re Culinari*, sent some of them to Trajan, when this Emperor was in the country of the Parthians, where they arrived as fresh as those that were eaten on the Rocher de Cancale.

Strange circumstance! Pliny considered a voyage as useful to Oysters as to certain wines. These Oysters bore no resemblance to those of Havre or Cancale. In France, the Oysters most prized are those which come from the neighborhood of Brittany, Normandy produces the largest. The gourments, however, prefer the English Oysters.

The Oyster, *Ostrea L.*, fifth class of the animal kingdom (mollusca) fourth order of this class (acephalous) genus of shell-fish of the species bivalve, having one of the valves flat, and the other more or less convex, irregular, adherent, veiny, opening in an oblong form, and jointed at the back, furrowed crosswise by which means it is connected with the ligament of the animal. It possesses but one muscular impress in each valve.

On examining the Oyster, there may be observed a covering divided in two lobes furnishing the larger portion of the valves, the edges of which are ciliated; then four membranous leaves, crossed and striated, acting as capillary funnels open at the farthest extremities. These leafy coverings or gills, are spread unequally over the sides of the body, performing the functions of the lungs, and, separating from the water, the air necessary to support the fish's life. The mouth is a sort of proboscis or trunk, with a slit sufficiently large, edged with four lips equal to the gills, but six or eight times shorter.

Behind the gills may be found a large fatty part, whitish

and cylindric, which turns on a central abductor muscle, and encloses the stomach and intestines. This part is like the feet of other fish of the testaceous species, but they are not susceptible of extension or of contraction; the intestinal pipe is placed on the back of the muscle.

Oysters have circulatory vessels, at the base of which may be seen muscular cavities which perform the duties of the heart, and which disperse the humours they contain over the membranes, when put in contact with the water or the air.

The naturalist Poli, has given the name *Péloris* to the creature, Oyster, and has proved by his observations, that they are completely hermaphrodite, viviparous, and have no appearance of feet.

Oysters cast at the commencement of spring a spawn of a greenish colour which resembles a drop of fat, in which may be observed, through the aid of a microscope, an infinite number of little Oysters already quite formed and furnished with their valves, by which they attach themselves to the rocks, to stones, and other solid bodies dispersed in the sea. They attain quickly the power of re-producing others, and from the fourth month after their birth they can increase anew.

At this period this species of mollusca become weak, lean and spent, nor do they regain their size, quality, or flavour till towards the month of September.

Some ancient authors were under the impression that the Moon exercised a species of influence at certain periods during its course on the increase of the flesh of the Oyster and other shell-fish; but this was an error which time and increased knowledge have helped to refute.

Sometimes the floods occasioned by heavy rain and high tides drift the spawn to a great distance, and it frequently happens that trees are completely covered with Oysters; this must be the reason that Horace expresses himself thus—

Piscium et summâ genus hæsit ulmo,

Nota quæ sedes fuerat columbis.

The shell is formed of a mixture of two substances closely blended, one of which is entirely animal, and the other purely calcareous. This animal matter which forms part of a new shell, is to be found blended with the cretaceous molecules which constitute the solid part of the shell; without this reunion neither fibres nor membranes could be formed, as it has been proved that it is the external surface of the body of

the animal which secretes the calcareous matter which forms, increases, and repairs the shells, by means of glands or cryptas solely adapted for this duty. The secreted fluid is viscous, and contains calcareous molecules which draw closer and agglomerate on losing their humidity.

There are local circumstances which determine the mode of their position: they attach themselves to rocks, to the roots of trees, and sometimes to each other; and in this case form banks which increase daily, and in certain latitudes extend several leagues in length and are of considerable width. They fasten themselves by their convex valves in such a manner as to render themselves unable to change their places.

The Abbé Diquemare who has closely observed the habits of Oysters, assures us, that when free, they have the facility of transporting themselves from one place to another, of causing the sea water to enter, and emerge suddenly from between their valves, that they can in effect open and close them with such extreme quickness and force as to produce a remarkable sound. It is by these means they are enabled to defend themselves from other small animals, especially crabs, who try to get into their valves when half open. Some go as far as to accord to them a certain degree of foresight; a very strange fact is certainly observable of which the Oysters on the sea side furnish a proof. These Oysters, exposed to the daily alternations of high and low tides, appear to be aware that they are likely to be exposed to dryness during a certain period, and preserve water in their shells. This peculiarity renders them more easy of transportation to remote distances than the Oysters caught off shore, which, wanting in this particular, cast out all the water they contain, and then remain exposed to the heat of the sun, to cold, and to the attacks of their enemies.

Crabs and mud are the most dangerous enemies to the Oysters. We have no doubt of the advantages possessed by the sea crab over the other enemies of this mollusca. To their hostile character they unite a singular intelligence regarding their mode of attack; the principal arms used by them are their claws; for we can give no other name for their two legs or vices which are formed precisely like those of the common crab but much stronger and larger; they use them for the purpose of seizing their prey, and of digging in the mud, and even in the ground.

These fish possess the facility of being able to live out of the water for some time. In general this amphibious species has an organisation and covering similar to the crab, with the exception that its body is flat, its shape square and about three inches in width, where the animal has arrived at its full growth.

When the spring-tides cast the waters of the sea on the coast, the sea-crab is driven by the tide into the shallow water and if unable to enter in consequence of the extent of water, they cower or squat in some cavity or perhaps make a hole in the soft sand around the rocks, in order to be able now and then to pass through and through to come at the Oysters, or it may be await the next spring tide, in order to further their designs. This is the reason that guardians of the Oyster beds are so careful in examining all quarters, after the ebbing of the tide, lest the crabs should have made any havoc in the beds. If they did not observe, and at once repair any damage, the surrounding water would destroy the enclosures, and the Oysters would be thus exposed to a thousand accidents.

Once introduced into an Oyster bed the sea crabs lay all sorts of snares to entrap the Oysters. Sometimes they mount up on them and endeavour by pressure to prevent them opening their valves ; the mollusca thus kept in durance have not power either to draw in water or breathe, and are obliged finally to yield, and become the prey of their enemies. Occasionally they dig a hole under them, or beside them, retiring in order that they may fall into it, they are by this means smothered, and then eaten. Finally, the crab is so fond of the flesh of the Oyster, that he employs all manner of artifices to take away his life, and the moment the Oyster dies his valves open, and the aggressor is thus enabled to make a good repast.

The mud or mire is an enemy even more to be dreaded than the crab ; this substance is more baneful, attacking them in shoals, and overpowering them in the fish-ponds ; a real poison from which they are in danger of perishing, if the caretakers do not come promptly to their assistance, by flooding the water, or by draining off the water so that they may be able to discern the fish.

Oysters are eaten by gourmets before or after soup : common people eat them at any time, some strew over them a very

fine species of ground pepper, called mignonnette ; great care, however, should be observed in not using this condiment too abundantly, as it is likely to cause a violent heat at the neck of the bladder which is rather dangerous ; others prefer pouring a few drops of citron, verjuice, or even vinegar over them. Real gourmets, however, eat them naturally off the shell without any mixture whatsoever, and this we believe to be by far the better way.

Milk is considered a remedy against the indigestion consequent on a too great deglutition of Oysters, this is however an error, a table-spoonful of vinegar, according to our notion, would be a far better remedy against such a mishap.

In 1745, a physician named Pourfor-Dupetit, maintained this strange proposition :—" An inter edendum Ostrea meri potus " ? We should not drink wine whilst eating oysters.

The learned disciple of Hippocrates cites the Greeks and the Romans, prohibiting the use of all kinds of wine.

He piles argument on argument to prove his doctrine, and brings to his assistance Celsus and Galen, Boerhaave and others, according to whom wine hardens the Oyster, rendering it tough and difficult of digestion.

No one undertook the defence of wine, they did better, they drank it and eat the oysters, nor did they find them less easy to digest; this was the best reply to make the doctor, giving a practical denial to his proposition, by doing quite the contrary to what his theory recommended.

It is possible that certain wines which contain too much of the alcoholic principle would be injurious to drink with oysters, wine should consequently be selected in which acid principles predominate.

White wines under these circumstances must be preferred, as it is generally the practice whilst eating oysters to drink a great deal. Those who swallow fifteen, twenty, or thirty dozen Oysters, run a great risk of being very soon intoxicated, if the liquor of the Oysters did not act on the stomach and cause almost immediate digestion.

After having found the Oyster possessed of great alimentary resource and vast powers of nutriment, we shall now examine what are its virtues as a medicament.

We shall begin by recording the cure of a quartian ague under which Henry the Fourth, of France, labored, resisting the skill of all his physicians, and which was effected by eating an abund-

ance of Oysters and drinking hippocras. Without attributing this success exclusively to the Oysters and wine, we must take into account, that, at the period to which we allude, the most simple intermittent fevers became violent owing to the weakness of the treatment by which they were opposed.

Oribasius, physician to Julian, did not, as we learn from his *Εξομασπονταβελος* consider Oysters very nourishing food, but he advised the use of them for relaxing the stomach.

Aetius in his *Βιβλίο 'Ιατρικῆς Ἐκκαίδου*, was of the same opinion, and Horace acknowledges in them this quality—

“Si dura morabitur alvus,

Mytilus et viles pellent obstantia conchæ.”

Physicians who have written on this mollusca, agree in prescribing it in the same case, “Emolliunt ventrem, et reconvalescentes faciunt appetere cibos.”

This is very nearly the language held by all.

The principal quality of the Oyster was to furnish a nutritive substance easily assimilated, and a saline water as a necessary stimulant, from which, however, one should abstain in all inflammatory diseases, whilst the use of it was salutary and useful in several chronic affections. Thus, in diarrhœa which has resisted all other species of treatment, the Oyster has proved to be the best medicine, and has caused a cessation, as if by enchantment, of an illness which threatened to prove fatal.

These good effects appear to be altogether owing to the osmazome contained in Oysters.

The Oyster is also an invaluable resource against scurvy; acting both as a medicament and an aliment. It makes excellent soup which yields osmazome, in much greater quantity than beef, and which is both wholesome and agreeable, and when united with fresh vegetables and some acids, effects a cure as prompt as it is unailing.

Oysters have been prescribed with much benefit in chronic phthisis, at the end of catarrhs, and in general it is an excellent means of putting a stop to these colds which are so indefinitely prolonged. The excitation produced by their liquor facilitates expectoration, and helps to restore to the organs which are the seat of the malady the tone they have lost.

Several gouty persons have derived benefit from using Oysters, and Doctor Pasquier does not hesitate, after some happy results which he experienced, to prescribe them in certain circumstances during this malady.

Paulus Aegineta,* recommends Oysters crushed in pieces, with their liquor, as an application to ulcers. They are at the present day used with advantage in cases of certain atonic ulcers which require to be excited and cleansed; the tent of lint with which the surface of the ulcer is to be covered is dipped into the plain liquor of the Oysters. These means are generally employed, and are for the most part successful when the disease is in the legs.

Ambrose Paré † recommends also the application of pounded Oysters, and their shells, to the pestilential tumours. These fish when thus applied assuage the pain, cool the great heat and inflammation, and draw wonderfully the malignant venom. It is not useless to remark that Oyster shells possess also economic properties; when the shells have been a sufficient time in the mould to become decayed and communicate their alkali to the mould, and are stirred up and mixed together, they produce a most useful manure for vegetation.

Oysters are destroyed by the plan of serving them open. We should take them fresh from the newly opened shell; eaten as we too often see them, they are no more the genuine Oyster than is Champagne which has had the cork out for an hour, like the bubbling, laughing tippie, with its bouncing beady kisses, sent gushing and sparkling from the loud popped flask, just ravished from the ice pail.

Then we kill the fish by hacking it in the opening. The Oyster is a gentle creature; he likes us to coax him open, not to murder him with a knife like a rolling pin. Gay knew this when in the third book of his *Trivia* he wrote:—

“If where Fleet-ditch with muddy current flows,
You chance to roam, where Oyster-tubs in rows
Are rang’d beside the posts; there stay thy haste,
And with the savoury fish indulge thy taste:
The damsel’s knife the gaping shell commands,
While the salt liquor streams between her hands.”

Just so, they bleed their juice out, but they are not mangled. Gay continues:—

“The man had sure a palate cover’d o’er
With brass or steel, that on the rocky shore
First broke the oozy Oyster’s pearly coat,
And risqu’d the living morsel down his throat.”

* Lib. iv, cap. xi.
Book xxii. p. 874, Paris edition.

Of course he had, if he broke the Oyster, and he deserved, but for his ignorance, to be choaked with the shells: yet how that man must have felt when he swallowed that first Oyster, and a new pleasure was given to his happy, unsophisticated palate. He had no vinegar, he had no pepper, but he was wiser than those who use them, and above all he had the Oyster, snatched from his "bed," and floating in his "native element." He was not like the idiot whom we met this season at the Red Bank Tavern: we had gone in after hearing Bosio, to drown our thirst and excitement, when suddenly there entered a tall, bucolic man who said, "Waither, some Oysthers;" "yis, sir," says the waiter, and the Oysters were brought. Down sat the long man, and forthwith he began to feed. We saw him look anxiously over the little table, when suddenly he roared "Waither." Up came the waiter, with an interrogative hand-rubbing peculiar to his class, and the long man said—"Waither, I want the salt." "Salt, sir," asked the waiter, "is it with Oysthers?" "Yis," replied the long man, "I can't ayt Oysthers without salt." We started from our seat (first paying our bill) and fancied that we had seen the last of the old Irish who dwelt inland, but certainly no descendant of those who fought with Briau at Cloutarf.

Here, for the present, we end our dissertation upon Oysters; on an other occasion we may be able to tell the reader something of Cockles, and possibly to induce him to adopt genial, clever, Valentine Vousden's advice, and on *Larry Doolin's* car to take a pleasant jolt towards Raheny, or to Sandymount, "to pick cockles on the strand." There is nothing in Ireland like Sandymount strand on a fine evening when the sun is sinking low, or when in noon day the bright light is falling far out upon the Pidgeon House. The whole scene is bathed in light, or gilded in sunset, and the lines of golden glory or of silver beauty light up all the long swelling strand, with its dimpling pools or its broad brown bosom; beauties unknown to those who will first suffocate themselves with a ride to the Park, through Dublin, and then roast themselves during a gallop in the green, but burning savannas of the Fifteen Acres.

Thus, reader, we leave you; but before we close we desire that you try our teaching. Order, therefore, a quarter of a hundred Oysters, have them opened before you, and bolt them as they are opened; and then, as each dying fish sinks below your palate, say, with open mouth, and up-turned, extatic eyes, **HAPPY BE HE WHO WROTE, IN THE IRISH QUARTERLY, THE PAPER—OYSTERS.**

ART. VI.—M'CARTHY'S POEMS.

The Bell Founder and Other Poems, new edition. By Denis Florence M'Carthy. London : Bogue, 1857.

Underglances and Other Poems. By Denis Florence M'Carthy. London : Bogue, 1857.

We essayed in a former number * to awaken the spirit of poesy which we felt lay dormant within the depths of Mr. M'Carthy's fertile imagination ; it was to us a source of regret to behold genius frittered away, and a vivid and glowing fancy such as we believed, and believe, him possessed of, tempering itself to the tastes of the crude and prosaic readers of any provincial, monthly magazine, however respectful ; fitful flashes of poetry gleaming forth to illumine such pages will not suffice to weave a fit garland for the poet's brow.

But is Mr. M'Carthy a GREAT POET ? This is a question we have before asked ourselves and to which we are, in justice to truth and our common reason, obliged to answer with an emphatic negative ; yet, we accord him all the merit of high poetic feeling, united with a sweet and just conception of all that is pure and beautiful in nature ; and we hail with pleasure his volumes of sweet and genuine melody which tends to purify and elevate the heart, bearing it aloft from all that is of this earth, earthy.

So far we award Mr. M'Carthy our highest meed of praise, but we still hold that the talismanic name of a great poet should be bestowed on him alone who has attained the summit of Parnassus, and not on any or every aspirant who essays to ascend the classic mount. Bold indeed must that man be, who could venture to enter the lists in competition with Byron, Moore, Wordsworth, or even Scott, for the poet's bays ; alas ! that those bright lights are fled, they are now amongst the past, and the present with all its dulness is before us. Thus it is that we hail with pleasure the germ of poetry, and as we ever considered exaggerated praise the keenest satire, our appreciation of the volumes before us may be considered as a genuine tribute to the poetic fancy of one who certainly possesses very many of the attributes that help to create that Heaven-born genius, a true poet.

* See IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. IV., No. 14.p. 257

All are more or less imbued with poetic feeling, but the Celtic nature is entirely pervaded with it; it is indigenous to the soil. There is much, however, in the historic character both of the country and its people to induce this: the national wrongs to which Ireland has been subjected for so many centuries burning deeply into the heart's core of her sons, have engendered much of that poetic fire with which orator and bard have thrilled the hearts of their listeners. Let us, in imagination, follow the impassioned and burning eloquence of the orator pourtraying the woes of his dearly loved land. Now! uttering a fierce and withering denunciation against his tyrant persecutors, thundering forth the scathing invective with all the force of his bold and indomitable nature, wounding with keen satire the tenderest points of his opponent's nature, awakening the nation to a sense of its position, and filling the minds of the people with a proud consciousness of their pristine glory, and creating within them the unconquerable resolve to achieve, if possible, the object of their patriotic ambition. Again, with all the wild beauty of metaphor, with which his imaginative nature is imbued, picturing the varied charms of his own dear native home. Through all and every phase of his impassioned oratory may be observed the poetic tendency of the Celtic nature. There is much also to engender this feeling in the historic character of the country, its traditionary lore, and the romantic legends with which every round tower, mountain-cairn, and fairy rath are associated in the minds of even the peasantry; when this is united with the scenic beauty of the country, the varied charms of which are calculated to inspire the muse,—its lofty mountains either enveloped in a mystic haze, or refulgent with the golden glories of the setting sun, its glorious lakes and estuaries, the emerald verdure of its glowing meads, the undulating beauties of hill and dale, with which its lovely landscapes are diversified,—all those external and internal advantages combined with the imaginative talent so peculiar to the Irish character, engender a poetic feeling, and a keen perception of the beautiful in nature.

Strange, that notwithstanding all those advantages both from nature and temperament, how few Irishmen have wooed the muse, or sought the poet's wreath, in aught save a few and fitful flashes of genius which flit before our mental vision, emitting a bright momentary brilliancy, and then are out for ever.

Such has been the fate, with but very few exceptions, of the many, who, from time to time, have merely sipped at the perennial spring, not quaffing deeply of the inspiring draught. We could name several of this class, whose early effusions gave hope of brighter promise, but whose poetic fire burned out before the genuine spark had had time to enkindle.

A few were called early from the scene of their labours, and Ireland had to mourn over the departed genius of her most gifted sons. Amongst these we may class Davis, Callanan, and Gerald Griffin. First in this triple garland of poets stands Davis, whose inspiring lyrics made the heart beat high with patriotic emotion, infusing into the mind that pure and high-souled love of country, with which all his effusions were tinged, tempering his ardour with that calm philosophy, by which he taught his disciples that the goal of national independence was only to be reached through the iron portals of unwearied perseverance, untiring labour, and true self-reliance; such were the truths that Davis wrote and sung, and though differing in some points from him in his mode of obtaining Nationality, we believe him to have been a pure patriot, as we know him to have possessed a highly imaginative mind, combined with the strongest poetic feeling, by which he was enabled to soar to the loftiest flights of fancy, or to tune his lyre to the tender melody of an Irish Love Song.

Callanan's muse seems to have taken a different tone, the wild mysticism of his poetic temperament, shadowed forth the legends of his country, in that dreamy spiritual phraseology, half mysterious, half melancholy, so peculiarly adapted to traditionary lore.

There was a simplicity in his ballad poetry, which makes us regret how few of those touching and tender strains he has left to soothe us with their deep-hearted melody. Though the character of Callanan's poetry was such as we have described, it lacked not of vigour, which, at times, even amounted to dramatic power, and took the impress of a refined and elevated imagination.

Gerald Griffin, though not ranking as high in poetic as in prosaic, or dramatic literature, still merits a niche amongst the lyric poets of his native land; his patriotic verses have a tenderness, which, it may be, appeal to the heart as forcibly as the most vigorous effusions of Davis. Tender pathos seems to have

been the characteristic of Griffin's poetry; a kind of holy calm pervades all that his muse has effected; the same devotional feeling which caused him to end his days in religious repose tinges his poetry with a like character, and sheds a halo round his simple and touching lyrics.

We return, at length, with much pleasure, to our living bard, and place his name in the van, considering him possessed of as fervid and glowing enthusiasm in his national lyrics as Davis, whilst he is superior to him in that pure conception of nature's simplest and choicest beauties, whilst to both the others, Callanan and Griffin, he is manifestly superior; of the truth of this we leave our readers to judge, by presenting to them a few extracts from the volumes before us, which will, we trust, induce them to explore farther, and discover in this poetic mine many sparks of brilliant ore, which, though not unobserved by us, would, nevertheless, extend our criticism over too many pages. Seek therefore, reader, and find for yourself a fresh nugget, and we promise you much pleasure in the search.

As *The Bell Founder* ranks first in our appreciation, we give it precedence, and shall present to our readers a very short sketch of this beautiful legend. We should not think it necessary to do so, were it not for our English friends, who are not, we presume, as conversant with the simple tale of this charming poem as ourselves. We run the risk, therefore, of being considered tedious whilst catering to the tastes of our friends of the sister Kingdom, to whom that debt of courtsey is due, from the uniform kindness with which they have ever appreciated the Irish literary labors of to-day. Without further apology, therefore, we shall merely premise that the story opens in Florence, where *Paolo*, the young *Campanaro*,* dwells: he is betrothed to *Francesca*, and in order to be enabled to claim his loved one as his bride, he pursues his toilsome labours with a zest of which the wealthy idler is profoundly ignorant; the two beautiful stanzas following faithfully pourtray the poet's meaning:

Ah! little they know of true happiness, they whom satiety fills,
Who, flung on the rich breast of luxury, eat of the rankness that kills.
Ah! little they know of the blessedness toil-purchased slumber enjoys,
Who, stretched on the hard rack of indolence, taste of the sleep that destroys;
Nothing to hope for, or labour for; nothing to sigh for, or gain;
Nothing to light in its vividness, lightning-like, bosom and brain;
Nothing to break life's monotony, rippling it o'er with its breath:
Nothing but dulness and lethargy, weariness, sorrow, and death!

* "Bellfounder."

But blessed that child of humanity, happiest man among men,
 Who, with hammer, or chisel, or pencil, with rudder, or ploughshare, or pen,
 Labourerth ever and ever with hope through the morning of life,
 Winning home and its darling divinities—love-worshipped children and wife.
 Round swings the hammer of industry, quickly the sharp chisel rings,
 And the heart of the toiler has throbbings that stir not the bosom of kings—
 He the true ruler and conquerer, he the true king of his race,
 Who nerveth his arm for life's combat, and looks the strong world in the face.

The truthful eloquence of these lines finds a responsive echo in every heart : whether read by the toilsome labourer in life's weary chase, or perused in listless ease by "*those whom satiety fills,*" to each and all it brings conviction, and strikes a chord in every bosom, proving that pure and unalloyed happiness is attainable only by those who work for it, by turning the gifts with which God has blessed them to account. *Paolo* wins the hand of *Francesca*, and years of peace and happiness glide by till youth melts into age with that happy unconsciousness by which a life of labour well-rewarded passes over. *The Campanaro*, now grown old, is blessed with affluence and a happy progeny. In gratitude to God, for all those blessings, *Paolo* determines to offer a peal of bells to the Shrine of the Blessed Virgin, and having wrought them himself, hears them chime for the first time with a feeling of the deepest pleasure. We give here a couple of stanzas illustrative of the sensation of happiness, experienced by the *Campanaro*, on first hearing the chimes of the bells, those children of his own creation :—

Toll, toll ! with a rapid vibration, with a melody silv'ry and strong,
 The bells from the sound-shaken belfry are singing their first maiden song ;
 Not now for the dead or the living, or the triumphs of peace or of strife,
 But a quick joyous outburst of jubilee full of their newly felt life ;
 Rapid, more rapid, the clapper rebounds from the round of the bells—
 Far and more far through the valley the intertwined melody swells—
 Quivering and broken the atmosphere trembles and twinkles around,
 Like the eyes and the hearts of the hearers that glisten and beat to the sound.

But how to express all his rapture when echo the deep cadence bore
 To the old *Campanaro* reclining in the shade of his vine-covered door,
 How to tell of the bliss that came o'er him as he gazed on the fair evening star,
 And heard the faint toll of the vesper bell steal o'er the vale from afar—
 Ah ! it was not alone the brief ecstasy music doth ever impart
 When Sorrow and Joy at its bidding come together, and dwell in the heart ;
 But it was that delicious sensation with which the young Mother is blest,
 As she lists to the laugh of her child as it falleth asleep on her breast.

For some time *Paolo* enjoys all the happiness of which his soul is capable ; he is blessed in the possession of wife, children, and bells, whose melodious charms gladden his heart. But the hour of trial is at hand, Florence becomes the seat of a deadly war, his wife and children perish in the fray, and his beloved bells are borne he knows not whither ; wearied in heart and spirit by the loss of those whom he so dearly loved, the care-worn old man determines, now that he has lost all, to search the

world for his bells, the sounds of which were so familiar to his ear. After traversing various countries he arrives in Ireland, and whilst sailing down the Shannon, and within view of the city of Limerick, hears the Vesper Bell pealed forth, and immediately recognises the chimes he loved and had lost. The effect on the old *Campanaro*, when for the first time after his long search, he discovers those lost creations of his, and to which his heart had clung so fondly, was so overpowering that in his joy he breathes forth his spirit as the first peal chimes on his entranced ear. We give here the concluding stanzas :—

A bark bound for Erin lay waiting, he entered like one in a dream;
Fair winds in the full purple sails led him soon to the Shannon's broad stream.
'Twas an evening that Florence might envy, so rich was the lemon-hued air,
As it lay on lone Scattery's island, or lit the green mountains of Clare;
The wide-spreading old giant river rolled his waters as smooth and as still
As if Oonagh, with all her bright nymphs, had come down from the far fairy hill
To fling her enchantments around on the mountains, the air, and the tide,
And to soothe the worn heart of the old man who looked from the dark vessel's side.

Borne on the current, the vessel glides smoothly but swiftly away,
By Carrigaholt, and by many a green sloping headland and bay,
'Twixt Cratloe's blue hills and green woods, and the soft sunny shores of Tervoe,
And now the fair city of Limerick spreads out on the broad bank below;
Still nearer and nearer approaching, the mariners look o'er the town,
The old man sees nought but St. Mary's square tower, with its battlements brown.
He listens—as yet all is silent, but now, with a sudden surprise,
A rich peal of melody rings from that tower through the clear evening skies !

One note is enough—his eye moistens, his heart, long so wither'd, outswells,
He has found them—the sons of his labours—his musical, magical bells!
At each stroke all the bright past returneth, around him the sweet Arno shines,
His children—his darling Francesca—his purple-clad trellis of vines !
Leaning forward, he listens—he gases—he hears in that wonderful strain
The long-silent voices that murmur, " Oh ! leave us not, father, again !"
'Tis granted—he smiles—his eye closes—the breath from his white lips hath fled—
The father has gone to his children—the old Campanaro is dead !

Amongst the smaller poems, there are some admirable pieces. *The Lament*, though bearing the impress of a rather desponding and saddened mind, is, nevertheless, very beautiful. We are tempted, by its beauty, to give it in extenso :—

A LAMENT.

The dream is over,
The vision has flown;
Dead leaves are lying
Where roses have blown;
Wither'd and strown
Are the hopes I cherished,—
All hath perished
But grief alone.

My heart was a garden
Where fresh leaves grew;
Flowers there were many,
And weeds a few;
Cold winds blew,
And the frosts came thither,

For flowers will wither,
And weeds renew !

Youth's bright palace
Is overthrown,
With its diamond sceptre
And golden throne;
As a time-worn stone
Its turrets are humbled,—
All hath crumbled
But grief alone !

Whither, oh ! whither
Have fled away
The dreams and hopes
Of my early day?
Ruined and gray

Are the towers I builded ;
And the beams that guided—
Ah ! where are they ?

Once this world
Was fresh and bright,
With its golden noon
And its starry night ;
Glad and light,
By mountain and river,
Have I bless'd the Giver
With hushed delight.

These were the days
Of story and song,
When Hope had a meaning
And Faith was strong.
" Life will be long,
And fit with Love's gleamings : "
Such were my dreamings,
But, ah ! how wrong !

Youth's illusions,
One by one,
Have passed like clouds
That the sun looked on.
White morning shone,
How purple their fringes !
How ashy their tinges
When that was gone !

Darkness that cometh
Ere morn has fled—
Boughs that wither
Ere fruits are shed—
Death-bells instead
Of a bridal's pealings—
Such are my feelings,
Since Hope is dead !

Sad is the knowledge
That cometh with years—
Bitter the tree
That is watered with tears ;
Truth appears,
With his wise predictions,
Then vanish the fictions
Of boyhood's years.

As fire-flies fade
When the nights are damp—

As meteors are quenched
In a stagnant swamp—
Thus Charlemagne's camp,
Where the Paladins rally,
And the Diamond Valley,
And Wonderful Lamp,

And all the wonders
Of Genoa and Nile,
And Haroun's rambles,
And Crusoe's isle,
And Princes who smile
On the Gani's daughters
'Neath the Orient waters
Full many a mile,

And all that the pen
Of Fancy can write,
Must vanish
In manhood's misty night—
Squire and knight,
And damoel's glances,
Sunny romances
So pure and bright !

These have vanished,
And what remains ?
Life's budding garlands
Have turned to chains—
Its beams and rains
Feed but docks and thistles,
And sorrow whistles
O'er desert plains !

The dove will fly
From a ruined nest—
Love will not dwell
In a troubled breast—
The heart has no rest
To sweeten life's dolor—
If Love, the Consoler,
Be not its guest !

The dream is over,
The vision has flown ;
Dead leaves are lying
Where roses have blown ;
Wither'd and strown
Are the hopes I cherished, —
All hath perished
But grief alone !

The Vale of Shanganagh, and The Pillar Towers of Ireland, are replete with beauty, but readers of poetry are so conversant with them that they would be impertinent here ; we merely call attention to these poems as faithful delineations of Ireland's pristine glory, and the calm sweet beauty of her scenery, as the charming Vale of Shanganagh, fully bears out the poet's conception. *The Voice and Pen* is full of vigour ; it tells its own tale with a truthful and irresistible force that brings conviction to the most sceptical. We, of course, never doubted the potent efficacy of those engines of power, by whose mighty influence the destinies of Nations are swayed, and through whose magnetic charm victories are achieved often vainly sought by

force of arms. We will, however, allow it to speak for itself, and present *The Voice and Pen* :—

THE VOICE AND PEN.

Oh ! the Orator's voice is a mighty power,
As it echoes from shore to shore,
And the fearless Pen has more sway o'er
men

Than the murderous cannon's roar !
What burst the chain far over the main,
And brighten'd the captive's den ?
'Twas the fearless Pen and the voice of
power,
Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !

Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !
Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !

The tyrant knaves who deny Man's rights,
And the cowards who blanch with fear,
Exclaim with glee—"No arms have ye,
Nor cannon, nor sword, nor spear !
Your hills are ours, with our forts and towers
We are masters of mount and glen !"
Tyrants beware ! for the arms we bare
Are the Voice and the fearless Pen !
Hurrah !
Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !

Though your horsemen stand with their
bridles in hand,
And your sentinels walk around !
Though your matches flare in the mid-
night air,
And your brazen trumpets sound !

Oh ! the Orator's tongue shall be heard
among
These listening warrior men :
And they'll quickly say—"Why should
we slay
Our friends of the Voice and Pen ?"
Hurrah !
Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !

When the Lord created the earth and sea,
The stars and the glorious sun,
The Godhead spoke, and the universe woke
And the mighty work was done !
Let a word be flung from the Orator's
tongue,
Or a drop from the fearless pen,
And the chains accursed asunder burst
That fettered the minds of men !
Hurrah !
Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !

Oh ! these are the swords with which we
fight,
The arms in which we trust
Which no tyrant hand will dare to brand,
Which time cannot dim or rust !
When these we bore we triumphed before,
With these we'll triumph again !
And the world will say no power can stay
The Voice and the fearless Pen !
Hurrah !
Hurrah ! for the Voice and Pen !

Rome at the Epiphany is very good, but as the Eternal City has formed the theme of so many bards, and its description by Byron is so replete with power and beauty as to add another gem to that poet's immortal crown, we will forbear giving more than a few stanzas, which we consider as appropriate, bearing reference to Ireland, and some of her sons, justly dear to every Irish heart :—

O Rome, the Eternal ! Rome, the ever young !
Shrine of the saint, and shelter of the sage,
Balm of bruised hearts, and nerve to souls unstrung,
And golden euthanasia to age :—
Amid the countless crowd whose pilgrimage
Ended within thy loving arms divine,
Let me read *three* from out the immortal page,
Tyrconnell's Lord, Tirowen's Earl, and thine,
Whose troubled heart now rests in Agatha's lone shrine.

Familiar names—dear names, whose sounds recall
The distant Isle, that 'mid the northern lands,
Like the lone palm-tree on the Viminal
(Speaking of Jordan's shores and Judah's sands
Unto the colder pines), serenely stands,
The type and symbol of the warmer creed
With which the southern Celtic heart expands ;
Long the sole type, but now its saving seed
Floats to the neighbouring isles, and fructifies with speed.

Island of Saints ! when Gaul, and Goth, and Hun
 Profaned the relics of departed Rome ;
 Island of Saints : when perished one by one
 Arts, laws, and letters, temple, tower, and dome ;
 Island of Saints ! the only sheltered home
 Where learning, faith, and piety found rest ;
 Still dost thou stand above the Atlantic's foam,
 Faith's foremost Pharos to the benighted West,
 Lighting the surest track that leadeth to the blest.

The *Voyage of St. Brendan* is exquisite, full of beautiful imagery, and teeming with descriptions of external scenery, and all that can charm in nature. The following stanzas from the latter portion of this poem, *The Paradise of Birds*, strikes us as of surprising beauty :—

There dwells the bird that to the farther west
 Bears the sweet message of the coming spring ;
 June's blushing roses paint his prophet breast,
 And summer skies gleam from his azure wing.
 While winter prowls around the neighbouring seas,
 The happy bird dwells in his cedar nest,
 Then flies away, and leaves his favourite tree
 Unto his brother of the graceful crest.

Birds that with us are clothed in modest brown
 There wear a splendour words cannot express.
 The sweet-voiced thrush beareth a golden crown,
 And even the sparrow boasts a scarlet dress.
 There partial Nature fondles and illumines
 The plainest offspring that her bosom bears ;
 The golden robin flies on fiery plumes,
 And the small wren a purple ruby wears.

Birds, too, that, even in our sunniest hours,
 Ne'er to this cloudy land one moment stray,
 Whose brilliant plumes, fleeting and fair as flowers,
 Come with the flowers, and with the flowers decay.
 The Indian bird, with hundred eyes, that throws
 From his blue neck the azure of the skies,
 And his pale brother of the northern snows,
 Bearing white plumes, mirrored with brilliant eyes.

Of, in the sunny mornings, have I seen
 Bright-yellow birds, of a rich lemon hue,
 Meeting in crowds upon the branches green,
 And sweetly singing all the morning through ;
 And others, with their heads grayish and dark,
 Pressing their cinnamon cheeks to the old trees,
 And striking on the hard, rough, shrivelled bark,
 Like conscience on a bosom ill at ease.

And diamond birds chirping their single notes,
 Now mid the trumpet-flower's deep blossoms seen,
 Now floating brightly on with fiery throats,
 Small-winged emeralds of golden green ;
 And other larger birds with orange cheeks,
 A many-colour-painted chattering crowd,
 Prattling for ever with their curved beaks,
 And through the silent woods screaming aloud.

The *Foray of Con O'Donnell* is a fine dashing poem, full of fire and energy ; there is a vigour about it which proves that the writer can soar beyond sweet poetry. The noble magnanimity with which he endows his hero, when crowned with

victory he generously restores to his enemy the three prizes for which he had fought and conquered, is a pure and happy conception; would that it were true, Ireland would not have to regret the disunion of her sons, if all were possessed of the true nobility of Con O'Donnell; we merely offer a few stanzas explanatory of this happy termination to a chieftain's feud.

"Thou'st bravely won an Irish bride—
An Irish bride of grace and worth—
Oh! let the Irish nature glide
Into thy heart from this hour forth;
An Irish home thy sword has won,
A new-found mother blessed the strife;
Oh! be that mother's fondest son,
And love the land that gives you life."

"Love the dear land in which you live,
Live in the land you ought to love;
Take root, and let thy branches give
Fruits to the soil they wave above;
No matter for thy foreign name,
No matter what thy sires have done,
No matter whence or when you came,
The land shall claim you as a son!"

Thus o'er the face of John Mac John
A thousand varying shades have gone;
Jéalousy, anger, rage, disdain,
Sweep o'er his brow—a dusky train;
But Nature, like the beam of spring,
Chaseth the crowd on sunny wing;
Joy warms his heart, hope lights his eye,
And the dark passions routed fly!

The hands are clasped—the bound is freed,
Gone is Mac John with wife and steed,
He meets his spearmen some few miles,
And turns their scowling frowns to smiles;—
At morn the crowded march begins
Of steeds and cattle for the Glynn—
Well for poor Erin's wrongs and griefs,
If thus would join her severed chiefs!

May, sweet May, that vernal joyous season which has inspired the lays of all poets, both ancient and modern, appears to have a peculiar charm in wooing Mr. MacCarthy's muse to indite various sweet melodies in honor of that poetry-inspiring month. We must, however, hope the charming May, he apostrophises so mellifluously, has not got the chill on, which we have had to encounter for the last few seasons, or, as poetry is uniformly reckoned fabulous, we will look on its praise as merely a poet's license, fancied or real. We shall give a few selections, which we regard as just and beautiful conceptions of what May, that "bridal of the earth and sky," ought to be:—

THE SEARCH FOR MAY.

1.
Let us seek the modest May,
She is down in the glen
Hiding
And abiding
From the common gaze of men.
Where the silver streamlet crosses
O'er the smooth stones green with
mosses,
And glancing
And dancing,
Goes singing on its way—
We will find the modest maiden there to-
day.

2.
Let us seek the merry May,
She is up on the hill,
Laughing,
And quaffing
From the fountain and the rill.
Where the southern sephyr sprinkles,
Like bright smiles on age's wrinkles,
O'er the edges
And ledges
Of the rocks, the wild flowers gay—
We will find the merry maiden there to-
day.

3.
 Let us seek the musing May,
 She is deep in the wood,
 Viewing
 And pursuing
 The beautiful and good.
 Where the grassy banks receding,
 Spreads its quiet couch for reading
 The pages
 Of the sages,
 And the poet's lyric lay—
 We will find the musing maiden there to-day.

4
 Let us seek the mirthful May,
 She is out on the strand
 Racing
 And chasing
 The ripples o'er the sand.
 Where the warming waves discover
 All the treasures that they cover,
 Whitening
 And brightening
 The pebbles for her play—
 We will find the mirthful maiden there to-day

5.
 Let us seek the wandering May,
 She is off to the plain,
 Finding
 The winding
 Of the labyrinthian lane.

She is passing through its mazes
 While the hawthorn, as it gases,
 With grief, lets
 Its leaflets
 Whiten all the way—
 We will find the wandering maiden there to-day.

6.
 Let us seek her in the ray—
 Let us track her by the rill—
 Wending
 Ascending
 The slopes of the hill.
 Where the robin from the copses
 Breathes a love-note, and then drops his
 Trilling,
 Till, willing,
 His mate responds his lay—
 We will find the listening maiden there to-day.

7.
 But why seek her far away?
 Like a young bird in its nest,
 She is warming
 And forming
 Her dwelling in our breast.
 While the heart she doth repose on,
 Like the down the sunwind blows on,
 Gloweth,
 Yet showeth
 The trembling of the ray—
 We will find the happy maiden there to-day.

The metre of this charming poem has a peculiar trickling melody, which attunes sweetly to the ear, and pleases us much; before, however, bidding farewell to the merry month, we present a few stanzas from *The Tidings*, and also from *The Awakening of the Flowers*, which bears a close affinity to the foregoing:—

THE TIDINGS.

A bright beam came to my window frame,
 This sweet May morn,
 And it said to the cold, hard glass—
 Oh! let me pass,
 For I have good news to tell,
 The queen of the dewy dell,
 The beautiful May is born!

The bright beam glanced and the soft wind
 danced,
 This sweet May morn,
 Over my cheek and over my eyes;
 And I said with a glad surprise—
 Oh, lead me forth, ye blessed twain,
 Over the hill and over the plain,
 Where the beautiful May is born.

My guide so bright and my guide so light,
 This sweet May morn,
 Led me along o'er the grassy ground,
 And I knew by each joyous sight and
 sound,
 The fields so green and the skies so gay,
 That heaven and earth kept holiday,
 That the beautiful May was born.

The winged flame to the rose-bud came,
 This sweet May morn,
 And it said to the flower—Prepare!
 Lay thy nectarine bosom bare;
 Full soon, full soon, thou must rock to rest
 And nurse and feed on thy glowing breast,
 The beautiful May now born.

Under the eaves and through the leaves,
 This sweet May morn,
 The soft wind whispering flew :
 And it said to the listening birds—O you,
 Sweet choristers of the skies,
 Awaken your tenderest lullabies,
 For the beautiful May now born.

The white cloud flew to the uttermost blue,
 This sweet May morn,
 It bore, like a gentle carrier-dove,
 The blessed news to the realms above ;
 While its sister coo'd in the midst of the
 grove,
 And within my heart the spirit of love,
 That the beautiful May was born.

THE AWAKING.

1.
 A Lady came to a snow-white bier,
 Where a youth lay pale and dead ;
 She took the veil from her widowed head
 And, bending low, in his ear she said—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

2.
 She pass'd with a smile to a wild wood near,
 Where the boughs were barren and bare ;
 She tapp'd on the bark with her fingers
 fair,
 And call'd to the leaves that were buried
 there—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

3.
 The birds beheld her without a fear
 As she walk'd through the dank-moss'd
 dells ;
 She breathed on their downy citadels,
 And whisper'd the young in their ivory
 shells—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

4.
 On the graves of the flowers she dropp'd a
 tear,
 But with hope and with joy, like us ;
 And even as the Lord to Lazarus,
 She call'd to the slumbering sweet flowers
 thus—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

5.
 To the lilies that lay in the silver mere,
 To the reeds by the golden pond ;
 To the moss by the rounded marge beyond
 She spoke, with her voice so soft and
 fond—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

6.
 The violet peep'd, with its blue eye clear,
 From under its own gravestone ;
 For the blessed tidings around had flown,
 And before she spoke, the impulse was
 known—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

7.
 The pale grass lay with its long locks sere,
 On the breast of the open plain ;
 She loosened the matted hair of the slain
 And cried, as she filled each juicy vein—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

8.
 The rush rose up, with its pointed spear ;
 The flag, with its falchion broad ;
 The dock uplifted its shield unawed,
 As her voice ran clear through the
 quickening sod—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

9.
 The red blood ran through the clover near,
 And the heath on the hills o'erhead ;
 The daisy's fingers were tapp'd with red
 As she started to life, when the lady
 said—
 Awaken ! for I am here.

10.
 And the young Year rose from his snow-
 white bier,
 And the flowers from their green retreat ;
 And they came and knelt at the Lady's
 feet,
 Saying all, with their mingled voices
 sweet—
 O Lady ! behold us here.

The *Ode on the Death of the Earl of Belfast*, though exquisite, is but a just tribute to the memory of one, too early alas ! removed from a world he was calculated to adorn. Seldom indeed do we behold one of his order throwing himself into the flowery though arduous field of literature, and devoting the best energies of a gifted and highly cultivated mind to pursuits enobling both to his head and heart ; heartily, right heartily do we therefore concur in the well-merited eulogy bestowed by one talented countryman on another. Language is weak, even though clothed in poetic garb, to pourtray the heartfelt sorrow which we, in common with

all of our countrymen, capable of appreciating genuine worth and talent, felt on learning the sudden and early demise of this lamented *and truly noble* young nobleman. Our sorrow for his loss has tempted us into a digression; we shall, however, return to our beaten track, and as an amende present to our readers, not the Ode, which, though worthy its subject, (and we could bestow no higher praise) is nevertheless too long for insertion here, but the Proem which is in itself a requiem:—

PROEM.

MAIDENS of Italy,
Napoli's daughters,
Send the sad requiem
Over the waters;—
Over the waters,
Solemnly, slowly,
Sing the sad requiem,
Mournfully, lowly;—
Sing the sad requiem,
Chant the low ditty,
Maids of the golden-shored
Heaven-cinctured city,
Ye who beheld him last,
Fair with life's youthfulness
Heart-warm with nobleness,
Soul-proud with truthfulness,

Stricken down instantly,
Wrapped in death's gloominess—
While 'neath his window rose
Living and luminous
Azure-hued golden waves
Parthenopean,
Up to the Lord of Life
Singing their psalm.
Borrow their musical
Murmur, ye maidens,
Weak words of elegy
Borrow their cadence.
Wall him beside the blue
Lazulite waters,
Maidens of Italy,
Napoli's daughters.

The Flowers of the Tropics possesses a rare beauty and deserves particular mention. We recommend it to our readers as a gem. *The Bath of the Streams* afforded us such pleasure in its perusal, that though rather long for insertion, we cannot resist the temptation of giving it in full. The metre has a peculiar melody which tingles in the ear like the notes of some favourite air; this style of poetry appears especially adapted to Mr. MacCarthy's muse, and with this opinion we are sure our readers will coincide.

THE BATH OF THE STREAMS.

1.
Down unto the ocean,
Trembling with emotion,
Panting at the notion,
See the rivers run—
In the golden weather,
Tripping o'er the heather,
Laughing all together—
Madcaps every one.

2.
Like a troop of girls
In their loosen'd curls,
See the concourse whirls
Onward wild with glee;
List their tuneful tattle,
Hear their pretty prattle,
How they'll love to battle
With the assailing sea.

3.
See, the winds pursue them,
See, the willows woo them,
See, the lakelets view them
Wistfully afar,
With a wistful wonder
Down the green slopes under,
Wishing, too, to thunder
O'er their prison bar.

4.
Wishing, too, to wander
By the sea-waves yonder,
There awhile to squander
All their silvery stores,
There awhile forgetting
All their vain regretting
When their foam went fretting
Round the rippling shores.

5.
Round the rocky region,
Whence their prison'd legion,
Oft and oft besieging,
Vainly sought to break,
Vainly sought to throw them
O'er the vales below them,
Through the clefts that show them
Paths they dare not take.

6.
But the swift streams speed them
In the might of freedom,
Down the paths that lead them
Joyously along.
Blinding green recesses
With their floating tresses,
Charming wildernesses
With their murmuring song.

7.
Now the streams are gliding
With a sweet abiding—
Now the streams are hiding
'Mid the whispering reeds—
Now the streams outglancing
With a shy advancing
Naiad-like go dancing
Down the golden meads.

8.
Down the golden meadows,
Chasing their own shadows—
Down the golden meadows,
Playing as they run ;
Playing with the sedges,
By the water's edges,
Leaping o'er the ledges,
Glist'ning in the sun.

9.
Streams and streamlets blending.
Each on each attending,
All together wending,
Seek the silver sands ;
Like to sisters holding
With a fond enfolding—
Like to sisters holding
One another's hands.

10.
Now with foreheads blushing
With a rapturous flushing—
Now the streams are rushing
In among the waves.
Now in shy confusion,
With a pale suffusion,
Seek the wild seclusion
Of sequestered caves.

11.
All the summer hours
Hiding in the bowers,
Scattering allver showers
Out upon the strand ;
O'er the pebbles crashing,
Through the ripples splashing,
Liquid pearl-wreaths dashing
From each other's hand.

12.
By yon mossy boulder,
See an ivory shoulder—
Dazzling the beholder—
Rises o'er the blue ;
But a moment's thinking
Sends the Naiad sinking
With a modest shrinking,
From the gazer's view.

13.
Now the wave compresses
All their golden tresses—
Now their sea-green dresses
Float them o'er the tide ;
Now with elf-locks dripping,
From the brine they're sipping
With a fairy tripping,
Down the green waves glide.

14.
Some that scarce have tarried
By the shore, are carried
Sea-ward to be married
To the glad gods there—
Triton's horn is playing,
Neptune's steeds are neighing,
Restless with delaying
For a bride so fair.

15.
See at first the river
How its pale lips quiver,
How its white waves shiver
With a fond unrest ;
List how low it sigheth,
See how swift it flieth
Till at length it lieth
On the ocean's breast.

16.
Such is Youth's admiring,
Such is Love's desiring,
Such is Hope's aspiring
For the higher goal ;
Such is man's condition,
Till in heaven's fruition
Ends the mystic mission
Of the eternal soul.

There is a charm for the poet in every season, and he who whilome seemed basking amid flowers and streams, is now singing his song in favour of the snow, and so charmingly has he depicted its silver flakes, that you would fain forget all the discomforts of a snow shower, and resigning the real for the ideal, feel enraptured with the spirit of the snow ; here are a few stanzas which we think calculated to produce the effects we have described :—

THE SPIRIT OF THE SNOW.

The night brings forth the morn—
Of the cloud is lightening born;
From out the darkest earth the brightest rees grow.
Bright sparks from black flints fly,
And from out a leaden sky
Comes the silvery-footed Spirit of the Snow.

At the contact of her tread,
The mountain's festal head,
As with chaplets of white rees, seems to glow;
And its furrowed cheek grows white
With a feeling of delight,
At the presence of the Spirit of the Snow.

Now she climbs the mighty mast
When the sailor boy at last
Dreams of home in his hammock down below,
There she watches in his stead,
Till the morning sun shines red,
Then vanishes the Spirit of the Snow.

Or crowning with white fire
The minster's topmost spire
With a glory such as sainted foreheads show;
She teaches fanes are given
Thus to lift the heart to Heaven,
There to melt like the Spirit of the Snow.

In her spotless linen hood,
Like the other sisterhood,
She braves the open cloister when the psalm sounds sweet and low;
When some sister's bier doth pass
From the minster and the mass,
Soon to sink into the earth, like the Spirit of the Snow.

We cannot conclude our critique on Mr. MacCarthy, the Dublin poet, better than by the insertion of his own beautiful and patriotic address to the Bay of Dublin, in which he so graphically describes the alternate emotions of love and fear with which he regarded his native Bay,—love for all the scenic beauty which he knew it possessed, and fear lest that beauty should be outrivalled; his proud joy when after traversing other and more favoured lands he returns and finds his own the fairest, is well and feelingly expressed.

HOME SICKNESS.

TO THE BAY OF DUBLIN.

My native Bay, for many a year
I've loved thee with a trembling fear,
Less then, though dear and very dear
And beauteous as a vision,
Shouldst have some rival far away—
Some matchless wonder of a bay—
Whose sparkling waters ever play
Neath azure skies elysian.

'Tis Love, methought, blind Love that pours
The rippling magic round these shores—
For whatsoever Love adores
Becomes what Love desireth:
'Tis ignorance of aught beside
That throws enchantment o'er the tide
And makes my heart respond with pride.
To what mine eye admireth.

3.
And thus, unto our mutual loss,
Where'er I paced the sloping moss
Of green Killiney, or across
The intervening waters—
UpHowth's brown sides my feet would wend
To see thy sinuous bosom bend,
Or view thine outstretch'd arms extend
To clasp thine islet daughters;

4.
Then would this spectre of my fear
Beside me stand—How calm and clear
Slept underneath, the green waves, near
The tide-worn rocks' recesses;
Or when they woke, and leapt from land,
Like startled sea-nymphs, hand in hand
Seeking the southern silver strand
With floating emerald tresses:

5.
It lay o'er all, a moral mist,
Even on the hills, when evening kissed
The granite peaks to amethyst,
I felt its fatal shadow:

It darkened o'er the brightest rills,
It lowered upon the sunniest hills,
And hid the winged song that fills
The moorland and the meadow.

6.
But now that I have been to view
All even Nature's self can do,
And from Gaeta's arch of blue
Borne many a fond memento;
And from each fair and famous scene,
Where Beauty is, and Power hath been,
Along the golden shores between
Misenum and Sorrento:

7.
I can look proudly in thy face,
Fair daughter of a hardier race,
And feel thy winning, well-known grace,
Without my old misgiving;
And as I kneel upon thy strand,
And kiss thy once unvalued hand,
Proclaim earth holds no lovelier land,
Where life is worth the living.

We have, at the commencement of this paper, claimed for Mr. MacCarthy the title of poet, though not in its most elevated rank; few indeed can aspire to that; great poets are not the creation of every day, nay, nor of every century, and the three bards of the sister countries, Byron, Moore, and Burns, must we opine suffice to satisfy the cravings of the present generation. Still we have poets, and poetry too, of which we may be justly proud; we think we have afforded a fair specimen of the truth of our axiom, and presented to our readers a garland of as sweet smelling poesy as we have seen culled for many years. Praise, when merited, is wholesome, yet it is not at all times that the reviewer can bestow unqualified praise; his criticisms must at times be harsh, caustic, and wounding to self-love; his pen must act the part of a pruning knife, lopping off all the withered and unsightly branches, and permitting those only to remain that are calculated to add strength to the parent stem, and thus impart to all breathing its atmosphere a healthy tone: right glad are we that on this occasion we have no unsightly branches to lop away. All here is pure and elevating, and the only regret we feel is, that Mr. MacCarthy should have permitted so many golden hours to have passed away without presenting to the world more, much more than he has done. We have already observed, and again repeat, that one so gifted as Mr. MacCarthy should have striven for a fame as wide and general as his genius merits. It is not, however, too late to enter the lists; he has made a good beginning, let him not

be content with the laurels he has won, but aim at a higher position; he has the capabilities of so doing, and if by supine negligence he permits the talents with which God has endowed him to be either frittered away, or to sink in oblivion, he will have much to answer for. We tell him to be up and doing, and, with this friendly advice, we say—God speed him.

ART. VII.—THE HAIR.

1. *Hygiène Complète des Cheveux et de la Barbe : Basée sur des Récentes Découvertes Physiologiques et Médicales, indiquant les meilleurs formules pour conserver la Chevelure, arrêter la Chute, retarder le Grisonnement, Régénérer les Cheveux Perdus depuis long-temps, et combattre enfin toutes les Affections du cuir Chevelu.* Par A. Debay. Paris, 1851.
2. *La Pogonotomie, ou L'Art D'Apprendre A Se Raser Soi-Même, avec la manière de connoître toutes sortes de Pierres propres à affiler tous les outils ou instrumens ; et les moyens de préparer les cuirs pour repasser les Rasoirs, la manière d'enfaire de très-bons ; suivi d'une Observation importante sur la Saignée.* Par, J. J. Perret, Maître et Marchand Coutelier, Ancien Juré-Garde. A Paris, Chez Dufour, Libraire, Rue de la Vieille Draperie, vis-à-vis L'Eglise Sainte-Croix, au Bon Pasteur, MDCCLXIX.

We are not A. Rowland and Son, of the "incomparable oil, Macassar." We are not Beetham, of the "Capillary Fluid," offering thousands to any body able to produce a better article, and thus drive us out of the market, and the money out of our pockets. We are not Ross, of "the real head of hair, or invisible pe-ruke." We are not the odoriferous Mr. Atkinson whose perfumes make Bond-street smell Garden-of-Edenish. And yet although we have not the honor to be any of these sweet smelling personages, devoting their energies and genius to the beautifying of the hair, yet we are interested in the subject before us. We love to hang around the windows of the Burlington Arcade ; we delight to examine the chef-d'œuvres of the workers in ornaments of hair, and we respect them as the Benvenuto Cellinis of the craft. We think with Berkeley and Johnson that *The Rape of the Lock* is a most exquisite gem, and with Addison that it is a "delicious little thing." And who can deny that the Poet was right when he sang—

"With hairy springes we the birds betray,
Slight lines of hair surprise the finny prey,
Fair tresses man's imperial race insnare,
And beauty draws us with a single hair."

But after all, are we singular in our interest in the subject—Hair? If, reader, you are a man, think how the first faint

trace of whisker was watched for, and how it was cherished when it sprouted ; if you are past the lamb and salad days, do you not grow grave as hair and whisker show traces of that rascal, Time's, "effacing finger ?" And if, sweetest of your sex, *you* will only recall how frequently you have gazed through your glass in the pride of your gentle heart, upon the reflected wavy tresses,

" well conspir'd to deck

With shining ringlets the smooth ivory neck,"

you will discover that you are as interested as ourselves, for you know, dear charming tyrant, that those ringlets are snares ; you know well that

" Love in these labyrinths his slaves detains,

And mighty hearts are held in slender chains."

Or if you prefer the band or the roll, have you never thought how bright and riant you looked as the full light came down upon the shining head, until it seemed that you could rival *Uua*, and " make a sunshine in a shady place." And if, madam, *you* have passed beyond the " fat, fair, and forty" epoch, and are, with " beauty making beautiful" the world about you, have you never watched the long tresses regretfully as, falling over the white dressing gown, they showed a streak of silver, that soon alas ! might become " a silver lining" to your prized black cloud.

And then you, red haired, and fair haired men, who will wear light blue scarfs, have you never longed for less of carrot, and more of Day and Martin. And you, dear charmers, sweet blondes, have you never contrasted your Beatrice Cenci heads with Haidée's auburn, or the dark one of Nourmahal, which Jehan-Guire, " the magnificent son of Aobar," loved so deeply that according to Tom Moore, who had a " Bacchus head," he

" ——— preferr'd in his heart the least ringled that curl'd
Down her exquisite neck to the throne of the world."

Of course, dark and fair, young and old, we are all enthusiasts about our hair, and " dash my wig" is the last imprecation we are willing seriously to utter.

Horace and Ovid have sung that they loved all women, short, tall, fat or thin ; so, we admire all colors of hair, dark, fair, brown, auburn, every color, and above all we respect grey and white when the age, dress, and deportment of the wearer are in keeping with the colors.

Thus, being general admirers of our subject, we have studied it in all its phases and tints, and we propose to lay before the reader the results of our enquiries.

If the world were *polled* by hair, the dark ones would have it by an overwhelming majority, for although in Europe light-colored hair is very general, yet to Europe it is almost exclusively confined, and even in Europe it is confined to certain portions of the continent. Fair-haired the early invaders from Sweden and Norway doubtless were, and advancing into Northern Germany they became the population, and thence rolling irresistibly into these islands, the Celts and Cimbri, the black-haired race, were ousted from their old country and took refuge in the mountain districts of Wales and Scotland. Then came the Danes, and they too were fair-haired, and the conquering Normans, with their fierce dark eyes, and jetty hair, were never sufficiently numerous to obliterate the fair type impressed by the earlier and blonde invaders from the north. All these, if we may so call them, ethnological changes, may be considered as having taken place before the close of the year of our era, 930.

Doubtless many circumstances have shaded off the races, yet we think that the tint of race may be considered as confined within certain degrees of latitude. As far as we have been able to discover, the fairest section of the world are north of the forty-eighth parallel, and this will exclude a large portion of Russia, Belgium, all northern Germany, and England. Between the forty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels we find a mixture of hues, from black, to a predominating tint of dark brown; and in these parallels we include Russian Georgia and Circassia, Switzerland, part of Piedmont, France, Austria and Bohemia. Next, below these countries on the map, we have Turkey, Naples and Spain, they are regular "darkies," and if we take Europe from north to south we have all colors of hair from the blonde of the north, to the deep blue black of the south.

There are, however, exceptions to this arrangement; and we find jet black hair in our own islands, and even in Venice we have frequently seen that golden hair which shines like a glory around the heads of Titian's Saints and Venuses.

Climate, food, and mode of life have unquestionably much influence in altering the color of the hair. Most of our readers who have seen a friend after a residence of ten years in South America, or in the West Indies, must have observed this effect

of climate, and upon children the effects are still more plain, and remind one of Moore's lines—

About fifty years since, in the days of our daddies,
That plan was commenc'd, which the wise now applaud,
Of shipping off Ireland's most turbulent Paddies,
As good raw materials for settlers abroad.

Some West-Indian island, whose name I forget,
Was the region then chosen for this scheme so romantic ;
And such the success the first colony met,
That a second, soon after, set sail o'er the Atlantic.

Behold them now safe at the long-looked for shore,
Sailing in between banks that the Shannon might greet,
And thinking of friends whom, but two years before,
They had sorrow'd to lose, but would soon again meet.

And hark ! from the shore a glad welcome there came—
" Arrah, Paddy from Cork, is it you, my sweet boy ? "
While Pat stood astounded, to hear his own name
Thus hailed by black devils, who asper'd for joy ! "

Can it possibly be ?—half amazement—half doubt,
Pat listens again—rubs his eyes and looks steady ;
Then heaves a deep sigh, and in horror yells out,
" Good Lord ! only think—black and curly already ! "

Deceiv'd by that well mimic'd brogue in his ears,
Pat read his own doom in these wool-headed figures,
And thought, what a climate, in less than two years,
To turn a whole cargo of Pats into niggers !

In stating that race, climate, and food, determine or modify the colour of the hair, we have stated all that ethnological science teaches or can teach.

What is hair ? Long, thin skins, growing *from* the body in place of on it, and filled with coloring matter, just as the skin is colored. The hair is made up of three sections : the tubular depression in the skin, into which the hair is inserted ; the root of the hair ; and the stalk filled with the coloring matter. A hair might be compared to a hyacinth, in its glass, remembering that all the nourishment of the hair is from the root, none from the air ; in fact, the coloring matter comes from the blood through the cutaneous tissues of the head. The hair is not a smooth tube like a quill, but has its regular divisions or joinings, and it has been declared that the best resemblance to the hair, in its mode of growth, will be found in a series of thimbles placed one on another, the thimbles being added from the base.

The cells containing the coloring matter vary in constitution according to the color of the hair. Liebig thus states the results of his examination :—

	Fair Hair.	Brown Hair.	Black Hair.
Carbon - - -	49.345	50.622	49.935
Hydrogen - - -	6.576	6.613	6.631
Nitrogen - - -	17.936	17.936	17.936
Oxygen and Sulphur -	26.143	24.829	25.478

Thus it appears that golden hair has its glory because, whilst there is an excess of sulphur and oxygen, there is a deficiency of carbon; black hair owes its colour to the excess of carbon, and the deficiency of sulphur and oxygen. Vauquelin states that he discovered oxide of iron in black hair, and also in red hair.

Withof, according to Haller, undertook the labor of counting the number of hairs in heads of four different colors. In a red head he found the number of hairs to be 88,740; in a black, 102,962; in a brown, 109,440; and in a blonde, 140,400. The black and red heads, although possessed of less hairs than the blonde and brown, were fully as dense in covering, owing to the greater bulk of the individual hairs.

Withof states that the length of the hair ranges from twenty inches to a yard. He calculates that the hair of the beard grows at the rate of one line and a half in a week, and this in a year would give a length of six inches and a half. Therefore if a man shave regularly he will, in his eightieth year, have cut off twenty-seven feet of beard. It is stated upon good authority that in the prince's court at Eidam, there is a full-length painting of a carpenter whose beard was nine feet long, so that when engaged at work he was obliged to carry it in a bag. It is also stated that the good burgomeister, Hans Steingen, of Brunn, in Upper Austria, having, on the 28th of September, 1567, forgotten to fold up his beard, as he ascended the staircase leading to the Council Chamber, it became entangled with his feet, and falling upon the stairs he was so much injured that he died upon the spot. A portrait of Steingen was painted in 1807, taken from the bas-relievo which decorates his tomb, by the side door of the parish church of Brunn. In this picture he is represented as about six feet high, with a beard extending from his chin to about two inches below his feet.

The most remarkable beard of modern times was that of Martin van Butchell. Like the celebrated Lord Rokeby, Van Butchell was a decided enemy to the razor, which was not allowed to touch his chin for sixteen years. His allusions to this ornament, in the eccentric compositions, are frequent and amusing. He was fond of using the following quotation from Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature* :—

“Beards the delight of ancient beauties. When the fair

were accustomed to behold their lovers with beards, the sight of a shaved chin excited sentiments of horror and aversion.

"To obey the injunctions of his bishops, Louis the Seventh of France, cropped his hair and shaved his beard. Eleanor of Aquitaine, his consort, found him, with this uncommon appearance, very ridiculous and very contemptible. She revenged herself by becoming something more than a coquette. The king obtained a divorce. She then married the Count of Anjou, who shortly after ascended the English throne. She gave him for her marriage dower the rich provinces of Poitou and Guienne; and this was the origin of those wars which for three hundred years ravaged France, and which cost the French nation three millions of men, all which, probably, had never taken place if Louis the Seventh had not been so rash as to crop his hair and shave his beard, by which he became so disgusting in the eyes of the fair Eleanor."

In another of his advertisements he says :

"Girls are fond of hair; (and love *comforters*), see their *bosom friends* :—large waists, *muffs*, *tippets*.—^{Let} your beards grow long, that ye may be strong in mind and body; Jesus did not shave, for he knew better, Had ~~it~~ been proper our chins should be bare, would hair be put there by wise Jehovah, who made all things good."

But the most extraordinary, and perhaps the reader may conceive the most unintelligible of Van Butchell's effusions on this subject, is the following : "Am not I the first healer (at this day) of bad fistula? With a handsome beard, like Hippocrates! The combing I sell one guinea each hair. (Of use to the fair that want fine children :—I can tell them how; it is a secret). Some are quite auburn; others silver-white :—full half-a-quarter long, growing (day and night) only fifteen months." This appears, from the concluding words, to have been written only a year and a quarter after he first began to cherish the excrescence, and when it had attained the length of half-a-quarter of a yard, or four inches and a half. About two years afterwards he describes himself as "a British Christian man, with a comely beard full eight inches long."

It is worthy of note that, although in all the textures of the body, woman is finer than man, yet that her hair is thicker. This fact we learn from Erasmus Wilson, who also states that the practice of cutting the hair to make it thick is a mistake, as it has no such effect. With regard to the fineness of male

and female hair he writes, "the range of thickness of the hair in thirty-six persons of different sexes, is stated in the accompanying table—

	No. of heads.	No. of hairs.	Range of thickness.	
Man -	18	1016	$\frac{1}{323}$	$\frac{1}{300}$
Woman	18	940	$\frac{1}{300}$	$\frac{1}{230}$

Observing upon the color of the hair Mr. Wilson writes:—

It is a question to what extent the hair, after its growth is susceptible of influence proceeding from its formative element, the skin. In other words, whether it is capable of imbibing fluids derived from the blood vessels, and if so, whether this power of imbibition extends to the entire length of the shaft, or is limited to that portion of the hair which is contained within the hair-tube. I have already stated my conviction that a transmission of fluids from the bloodvessels of the skin into the substance of the hair really occurs; the quantity of such fluid and its nature being modified by the peculiarity of constitution or state of health of the individual. Hence, in a state of perfect health, the hair may be full, glossy, and rich in its hues, in consequence of the absorption from the blood of a nutritive juice, containing its proper proportion of oily and albuminous elements. In persons out of health, it may lose its brilliancy of hue, and become lank and straight from the imbibition of juices imperfect in composition and ill elaborated; while, in a third group, there may be a total absence of such nutritive juice, and the hair, as a consequence, look dry, faded, and, as indeed is the case, dead. That these phenomena do take place in the hair, I have satisfied myself by frequent observations, and I feel also satisfied that the juices penetrate to the extreme point of the hair. That there may be circumstances which may cause a limitation in the distance to which the fluids proceed, is quite obvious; but these must be regarded in the light of modifying conditions.

Now, if it be established that the hair is susceptible of permeation by fluids derived from the blood, it follows that such fluids, being altered in their chemical qualities, may possess the power of impressing new conditions on the structure into which they enter. Thus, if they contain an excess of salts of lime, they may deposit lime in the tissue of the hair, and so produce a change in its appearance from dark to grey. But the mysteries of vital chemistry are unknown to man, and other and more extraordinary changes may be produced in the juices of the blood by sufficient causes, and then such phenomena may result as the sudden conversion of a part, or, indeed, of the whole of the hair of the head, from a dark colour to one of snowy whiteness. I was an unbeliever in the possibility of this change until within the last year, when an instance, which I shall presently narrate, and which I cannot doubt, unexpectedly came under my notice.

But, besides the sudden or speedy conversion of the entire head of hair from a dark tint to white, the change may be slow and partial, and having taken place, may either continue or return, on a

change of health, to its natural hue. This latter circumstance points to a curative indication, and, acting upon the suggestion, I have in several instances succeeded in restoring the original colour to grey hair by medical means. The following quotation from the letter of a medical friend will illustrate the kind of alteration to which I am now referring. He says:—"I have observed my own hair to be more grey in the spring than in the beginning of winter, and that for several years past. I think that the hair which shoots out during the winter is white, and that in the summer dark, and the white hair becomes dark as it grows up in the summer." Another instance, now before me, is that of a lady who had her head shaved in consequence of disease of the scalp. When the hair grew, it was very grey, but by degrees resumed its natural colour. I may refer also to the case of a literary friend, who, having had his head shaved while residing in Egypt, found, at the end of four months, when he allowed it to grow, that it was quite white. As growth advanced, some of the natural colour of the hair re-appeared, but it has since gone back, and is at present perfectly white.

The history of the case of sudden blanching of the hair, to which I have above alluded, is as follows: A lady, now in her sixty-second year, had an early and long attachment for a gentleman to whom she was affianced, and who, at the period to which I refer, was on his voyage from Hull to London, to complete his marriage engagement. On the morning of November 19, 1823, a few days after the time when he had promised to return, a letter was put into her hands, which conveyed the news of his shipwreck and death. She instantly fell to the ground insensible, and remained in that state for five hours. On the following evening, her hair, which had previously been of a deep brown colour, was observed by her sister to have become as white as a "cambric handkerchief." Her eyebrows and eyelashes retained their natural colour.

The distress into which this poor lady was thrown by the sad news above related was such that she was unable to quit the house for six months. Her whole system underwent convulsion; the fountain of life seemed for a time to be dried up, and the very colour of her blood exhausted. Subsequently, the whole of the white hair fell off, and when another crop appeared, it was grey, as it still remains. These details, corroborated by the sister who first perceived the change, were told to me, even at this distance of time, with a quivering lip and moistened eye. Her heart has beaten irregularly ever since.

Lord Byron has recorded, in words more durable than brass, an instance of the gradual conversion of the hair to grey:—

"My hair is grey, though not with years;
Nor grew it white
In a single night,
As men's have grown from sudden fears."

Prisoner of Chillon.

A lady of some literary eminence, to whom I related the foregoing instance of sudden blanching of the hair, informed me that an aunt

of her own had become grey in a few days, in consequence of the shock occasioned to her nervous system by finding, on waking in the morning, a beloved sister lying dead by her side. Mary Queen of Scots and Marie Antoinette both became grey in a short period from grief. Sir Thomas More, we are told, turned grey during the night preceding his execution. According to Borellus, two gentlemen, the one a native of Languedoc, the other a Spaniard, were so violently affected, the first, by the announcement of his condemnation to death, the latter, by the bare thought of having incurred a serious punishment, that both became blanched in the course of a single night. The gravity with which Daniel Turner relates the following case, which he attributes to Schenknius, is amusing:—"Don Diego Osorius, a Spaniard of a noble family, being in love with a young lady of the court, had prevailed with her for a private conference, under the shady boughs of a tree, within the garden of the King of Spain, but by the unfortunate barking of a little dog, their privacy was betrayed, the young gentleman seized by some of the king's guard, and imprisoned: it was capital to be found in that place, and therefore he was condemned to die. He was so terrified at the hearing of his sentence, that one and the same night saw the same person young and old, being turned grey as in those stricken in years. The jailor, moved at the sight, related the accident to King Ferdinand, as a prodigy, who thereupon pardoned him, saying, he had been sufficiently punished for his fault." And again, this, from the same author:—"A young nobleman "was cast in prison, and on the morrow after, ordered to lose his head; he passed the night in such fearful apprehensions of death, that, the next day, Cæsar sitting on the tribunal, he appeared so unlike himself, that he was known to none that were present—no, not to Cæsar himself; the comeliness and beauty of his face being vanished, his countenance like a dead man's, his hair and beard turned grey, and in all respects so changed, that the emperor at first suspected some counterfeit was substituted in his room. He caused him, therefore, to be examined if he were the same, and trial to be made if his hair and beard were not thus changed by art; but finding nothing counterfeit, astonished at the countenance and strange visage of the man, he was moved to pity, and mercifully gave him pardon for the crime he committed." Dr. Cassan records the case of a woman, thirty years of age, who, on being summoned before the chamber of Peers to give evidence upon the trial of Lovel, underwent so powerful a revulsion, that in the course of one night the hair was completely blanched, and a furfuraceous eruption appeared all over her head, upon her chest, and upon her back. Henry of Navarre, on hearing that the edict of Nemours was conceded, was so exceedingly grieved, that in the course of a few hours a part of one of his mustachios whitened. In one person, some of the eyelashes became blanched from mental agitation. The writer of the article, Zoology, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, "has known one instance of a banker whose hair became grey in the course of three days, when under much anxiety during the great panic of 1825; and also another gentleman, who at his marriage,

when about forty years old, had a dark head of hair, but on his return from his wedding trip, had become so completely snow-white, even to his eyebrows, that his friends almost doubted his identity." Moreau narrates, that he once knew an aged man, for whom snow-white hair and a countenance deeply marked by the furrows of care, inspired the respect which we owe to age and misfortune. "My hair," said he, "was as thou seest it now, long before the latter season of my life. More energetic in their effects than assiduous toil and lingering years, grief and despair, at the loss of a wife most tenderly loved, whitened my locks in a single night. I was not thirty years of age. Judge, then, the force of my sufferings; I still bear them in frightful remembrance."

I am little disposed to speculate on the "modus operandi" of this change of colour of the hair, but am content, for the present, to give a fitting place to the fact as it stands. The phenomenon may be the result of electrical action; it may be the consequence of a chemical alteration wrought in the very blood itself; or it may be a conversion for which the tissue of the hair is chiefly responsible. In any case, the following explanation, offered by an eminent French chemist, Vauquelin, I should feel inclined to discard, as partaking too largely of the coarser operations of the laboratory. "We must suppose," says the author in question, "to explain the sudden change of the hair, that at the critical moment when Nature is in revolution, and when, consequently, the natural functions are suspended or changed in nature, that an agent is developed in the animal economy, and passing into the hair, decomposes the colouring matter. This agent must be an acid."

The rapid blanching of the hair derives an important illustration from the animal kingdom. Several of the animals which inhabit the polar regions are known to become white during the winter season, and among the most remarkable of these is the lemming. Sir John Ross remarks that, finding the lemming, like the polar hares which had been tamed and kept in confinement, preserve its usual colour during the winter, he placed one in the open air, on the first of February, when the thermometer stood at 30° below zero. The next morning, the fur of the cheeks, and a spot upon each shoulder, had become perfectly white. On the following day the hinder part of the body, and the flanks were of a dirty white hue, and at the end of the week, the animal was entirely white, with the exception of a saddle-shaped patch on the middle of the back. No other change ensued, although the poor animal was kept exposed to the cold until it perished. When the skin was examined, the white hairs were found to be much longer than those of the unchanged patch, the blanching being confined to that portion which exceeded in length the natural hairs. So that, when the white ends were cut off, the animal appeared to have regained, with very little alteration, its summer coat, and without any reduction in the length of its fur.

It is by no means uncommon to find instances of a gradual change of color of the hair referrible to a particular period of suffering, as was the case with the greyness of Mary Queen of Scots and

Marie Antoinette. Alibert records, that after severe illness, a head of brown hair was exchanged for one of bright red, and in another person, from having been previously brown, the hair became deeply black. Several instances are narrated in which brown hair became fair, and in an old person the white hair fell off, and was replaced by brown. John Weeks, who lived to the age of 114, recovered the brown hue of his hair some years before his death; and Sir John Sinclair reports that a Scotchman, who died in his 110th year, had his hair restored to its original colour in the latter years of his life. Susan Edmonds, in the 95th year of her age, had her hair changed to black; it again became grey previously to her death at 105. Dr. Isoard, detailing the constitutional peculiarities of a particular family, observes, with regard to one of its members, a young lady of seventeen, deaf and dumb from birth, that each time she is attacked by a fever peculiar to herself, she undergoes a change in the colour of her hair, from a pleasing blonde to a dusky red; but that so soon as the febrile symptoms diminish, the natural colour returns. A more perplexing case is the following, communicated by Dr. Bruley, a physician of Fontainebleau, to the Academy of Medicine in Paris, in 1798:—A woman, sixty-six years of age, afflicted with consumption, had fair hair, transparent as glass; four days before her death, this hair became jet-black. On examining the roots of the hair, Dr. Bruley found the bulbs distended to an unusual size, and gorged with a black pigment, while the roots of those of the fair hairs which yet remained, were pale and shrivelled. The case, however, is imperfect, from the circumstance of the length of the hair being unmentioned.

We sometimes meet with cases in which the blanching of the hair has resulted from disorganization of the skin produced by inflammation or accident. I have had occasion to remark upon the growth of white hair upon the scars left by certain of the diseases of the scalp. According to Pepys, Prynne, the antiquary, amused the guests assembled around a dinner-table on one occasion by citing the example of "one Damford, that, being a black man, did scald his beard with mince pie, and it came up again all white in that place, and continued to his dying day." Of a similar nature are the white patches upon the backs of horses which have been galled by the saddle.

In all ages the hair has been considered an embellishment, and has been carefully attended to by every people of the earth, each according to the national taste. On the statues of Nineveh, and in the temple of Thebes we have it recorded; in the poems of the Greeks, and in the lyrics of the Romans we find it described.

Böttiger has, in his *Sabina*, given us a life-like sketch of the art bestowed upon the hair of a Roman belle in the days of Rome's greatness.

The smoothened, polished, painted Sabina, with her new-

born teeth and eyebrows, summons her circle of hair-dressing girls, who to-day must exert, to the utmost, every art of adorning that lies within their province. To-day is the 15th of July—to-day is the solemn mustering of the Roman knights; and every Roman lady that pretends to any admiration, either of horses or horsemen, has secured a place in the balcony of some of her friends that live in the holy street (*via sacra*) where the procession is to pass. The young Saturninus, long the faithful dangler of Sabina, her beau at every promenade and every assembly, is to ride in the front of this festal parade of Castor and Pollux (the tutelaries of the day), and is no doubt to “witch, with noble horsemanship,” the eyes and hearts of all the window-gazers around him. What a spur does all this give to the toilette-slaves of Sabina! How fervently does the Domina wish that she may look so beautiful in her balcony, as to disgrace the choice of her lover neither in his own eyes nor in those of her rivals.

Gold-yellow hair, with a tendency to the fire-red, has been, ever since the conquests in Gaul and Germany (where hair of that sort was then universal),* the rage among the Roman ladies—the *sine quâ non* of beauty. She who has not received such hair from nature, must thank art for the boon; and so is it with our Sabina. In vain has she as yet tried every outlandish pomade, and caustic-soap, for the colouring of her locks.† Their dark brown has indeed become lighter in its

* All the authorities, for this fact, may be seen most diligently collected, for the honour of his country, by the Dutch philologist Joannes Arnzen, in his learned treatise de *Capillorum Coloribus et Tinctura*. • The red or yellow-staining pomatum is by the way, called in Martial (vii. 38.) *Spuma Batava*. Luveau in his *Historie de France avant Clovis*, gives, as the causes of the change which has taken place in the colour of French hair, the use of mustard and the mixture of Italian blood. He might perhaps have added, the increased use of wine, and other changes in the mode of living.

† How strange are the variations of fashion! At present, every lady in France or England, who has any tinge of the red in her hair, is sure to employ means for altering it. Exactly the reverse was the case with the ancient Roman ladies. The caustic soap—the *spuma caustica* of Martial, (xiv. 26), the mode of preparing which is justly described by Pliny, xxviii. 12. Compare Wesseling on Diodorus, t. i. p. 351)—which was sent for from France for the purpose of reddening the hair, when it was applied to any other part of the body, producing a most unhealthy and bloating effect. Read the history of a certain heroic Roman in Plutarch (t. ii. p. 771, ed. Frank), and compare it with some passages in Beck-

die, but they still want the high golden lustre, the exquisite reddish. Already had she almost made up her mind to take the bold step recommended by some, but strenuously condemned by others of her advisers, of cutting off, mercilessly, her stubborn locks, and buying, in their stead, a beautiful blonde periwig, from an old woman by the temple of Hercules who had just received a supply of the genuine Sicambrian yellow from the banks of the Rhine. But, in these days, a peruke was considered as the *dernier resort*, a thing never to be used unless every means of avoiding it failed; because one who wore a periwig could not hope to conceal her trick from the company she met with in the Public Baths. How much does Horace laugh over the ill luck of the witch, Sagana, who in her panic parted with her wig! * Sabina, therefore, would fain avoid having recourse to this anchor of necessity. Luckily Nape, † the eldest and most confidential of her hair attendants, has received the *recipé* for a totally new gold salve, from a Gal-

man's History of Inventions, vol. iv. S. 5. The burning effect of the application is mentioned in a fragment of Cato's *Origines*, preserved by Servius—"Mulieres nostras cinere capillum ungitabant ut rutilus esset erinis." Isaac Vossius (in *Catullum*, p. 142) deduces, from the use of this soap, the name *Cinerarius*, which occurs as applied to one of the attendants of the Roman lady's toilette.

* Sermon. I. 8. 48, *altum Saganæ Caliendrum*, &c.

But we must not forget that there is a great difference between the different periods of Roman fashion, and perhaps in the text, this is a little overlooked. It is true, that the earlier Roman poets do speak about crines *emptæ*, bought hair, &c. but it is always with disgust and in derision. When Messalina, for example, wishes to assume the appearance of a *Mulier perdita*, she covers her black hair with a yellow wig (*nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero*.) The careful historiographer of perukes, Nicolai (*uber d. gebrauch der falschen haare und perucken in alten und neuen zeiten mit 66 kupfern* Berlin 1801), has distinguished, with great accuracy, between the early period when periwigs were worn only from the last necessity, or by courtezans, and the later, in which the use of false hair was as universal at Rome as it has ever been in Paris. The bald marble busts at Potsdam, from which one can remove the marble periwigs, are a sufficient proof of the universality of the mode at one time. But indeed, with regard to these, Visconti has made a very delicate observation, viz. that the statues might have been made bald by the order of their vain originals, simply that they might be, from time to time, altered so as not to disgrace their fashion, or, perhaps, betray their age.—See *Museum Pio-Clementinum*, t. ii. t. 51. p. 91.

† The name of a hair-dressing girl in Ovid.

lic perfumer who has his booth near the Circus Maximus. The hair must be carefully washed over and over with this new water of deceit, and then suffered to dry and crisp in the sun.* Sabina, in order that she may have perfect leisure to try the effect of this new remedy, has passed some days in the country, at a celebrated bath.—Yesterday morning she had her hair completely saturated for the last time with a dry golden powder and this far-famed salve, curled with a hot iron, and then packed up into a sort of cap, which is again covered with a species of bladder.† In this attire has she been into the city—in this has she spent the whole night; and now is come the important moment, when the bandages are to be removed by Nape, and the efficacy or inefficacy of the spell to be ascertained. “Oh! how red!” “Aurora herself is not more golden-haired!” Such are the unanimous exclamations of the attendants, and Sabina, between her own wishes and their assurances, is persuaded, when she looks into her mirror, that her hair is red! She smiles with joyful satisfaction, and seats herself loftily in the Cathedra, where four attendants are to finish the last and most costly part of her coiffure, while Kalamis applies the iron which she has made hot in a little silver basin of charcoal, and crimps the hair in the front into small curls and ringlets (*meches et crochets*.) Pscecas, with a dexterity which only long practice could produce, tinctures the long floating locks that are to be bound upon the summit with costly nard-oil and oriental essences, in order that for the whole day they may exhale the breath of Ambrosia. What the comical Lucian says, that “they lavish the whole substance

* Bartolinus asserts, that the modern Italian ladies make use of the sun's rays for colouring their hair.—See Reinesius Inscript, class. ii. 89.

† The iron with which the hair was curled was called *καλαμῖς* or *calamistrum*. The slaves who applied it were called by the very singular name of *Ciniflones*. The cap for covering the hair was called properly *Calantica*. The use of the bladder is mentioned by Martial (viii. 33).

Fortiter intortos servat vesica capillos,
The hair was sometimes put into a net-cap or *redesilla*; the proper Greek name for this was *κεντράλος* which is rendered by Heysius *σαβανάλιον* or *ισμοστρίχον*. The Greek ladies used this kind of cap as commonly as the Spanish or Italian ladies do at this day their *redesillas*.

substance of their husbands upon the hair, so that all Arabia seems to breathe from the locks of one of them," is now proved to be no exaggeration. The Greek historians inform us, that the Queens of Persia had the revenues of great cities and provinces set apart for their salve-money; and perhaps our Sabina is scarcely less extravagant in her ideas. It is true, that she is ignorant of so many sweet smelling powders and extracts afterwards known by the names of Pompadour, Kingston, Portland, &c. but what are all these when compared with the apparatus of salve-flasks and Narthekia, possessed by a Roman lady of the first rank? The perfume dealers of Antioch and Alexandria had, with wonderful inventiveness, subdivided these articles of luxury, and enhanced their price. Two articles of Indian produce, the root of the plant kostum,* and the leaf of the spikenard, were in general the principal and the most costly ingredients in those salve-oils. But these perfumes were so varied by their minor refinements, that in the work of an ancient physician upon the art of the toilette, five and twenty different species are enumerated.† So soon as Psoccas has finished her work, Kypassis begins hers,—a negress slave, active, cunning, flattering, the best of all go-betweens, the confidante and favourite of Sabina.‡ The principal management of this department of the toilette falls to her share. It is hers to arrange the locks already combed and perfumed by the others—it is hers to form them into that high and swelling shape which, in the language of the Roman fair, was called generally Nodus, the knot, but of which there were a thousand varieties, and a thousand minor appellations. The dark Kypasses now selects from the casket of her mistress

* The first of these was called (par excellence) radix, the root; the second folium, the leaf. Our first accurate information concerning the nature of each has been derived from the English writers who have visited Calcutta; as, Sir W. Jones in the Asiatic Miscellanies, and Gilbert Blanc in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. cxxx. p. 2. The great consumption of these articles in the cosmetic art was one principal cause of the enormous traffic in the spices of India, which was then to the gold what China is now to the silver of Europe. See Dr. Robinson's Historical Disquisition, s. II. p. 54. &c.

† Crito, physician to the Empress Plotina. See his list of these essences and salves in Fabricus Bibl. Græc. vol. xii. p. 690.

‡ Negress slaves practised the same arts, and attained the same favour among the Roman ladies as they do now among the lazy Creole, or European Ladies in the West India Islands and Brazil.

the large and sculptured dressing-pin, which is to bind together the whole mass of locks; nor is her choice without its difficulties. The object is to select that whose ornaments may express, by the happiest allusion, something of the secret wishes of the wearer. The first she pulled out was one, the head of which represented a rich Corinthian capital, sustaining a statue of Psyche, with Cupid in her arms. But a luckier thought at last recalled to Kypassis a pin which bore on its summit a goddess of plenty (*Abundantia*) with a dolphin on her left, and in her right hand the cornucopia; on her head the two high horns, the well-known symbols of *Isis*. Sabina had been wont to wear this pin when she attended the worship of *Isis* by the side of *Tiber*; and on one of these occasions her *Saturninus* had of late attended her by the appointment of *Kypassis*. The pin itself, moreover, was a new year's gift of the youth, and Sabina well understood the meaning of *Kypassis* in selecting it. It was at that time the custom for Roman gallants to send such articles of dress to their mistresses, wrapped up in little pieces of parchment, containing love mottos. Of these the poet of fashion and gallantry, *Martial*, had composed an innumerable variety for every possible occasion and every possible ornament. The golden pin of *Saturninus* was unfolded from a covering which bore on it these words: *

"*Tenuia ne madidi violent Bombycina crines,
Figat acus tortas sustineatque comas!*"†

Nape, the superintendent of the whole band, herself a scientific mistress of hair-dressing, now terminates the labour of her inferiors. Her lady has taken care to have her educa-

* The same thing which was called by the Greeks *κρομμύς* or *κροβύλος* was, in Latin, *Nodus*. The pin or needle which fastened this was the *acus discriminialis*. This pin, which was of many inches in length, was at times hollow, and might be made to contain poison, like the ring of Hannibal. This use seems to have been made of it by the celebrated poisoning woman *Martina* (see *Tacitus*, *Annal* III. 7.); and indeed it has been thought by many, that *Cleopatra* terminated her existence by means of a poison-pin of the same kind, fashioned in the shape of an asp. See *Dio Cassius*, s. 644. 24. with the note of *Reinardus*. In countries where the excise is very strictly attended to, we sometimes hear of modern ladies smuggling lace under their periwigs. The ancient dames concealed in the same way the instrument of death. Who need wonder, after this, at the naïf and heroic style of the Antique?

† *Martial*, xiv. 24.

ted in the theory as well as the practice of the art, so that she can pronounce a skilful judgment concerning every variety of coiffure, and tell with the precision of an artist, what suits and what does not suit every particular shape of head, every form of countenance, every species of hair, every variety of costume.* Even to-day there is room for no small doubt and discussion, whether Sabina should have her front locks fastened with a diadem, and leave the others to float in careless ringlets, or whether she ought to have the whole of her hair bundled into one toupée over her forehead. The diadem was originally the same with that worn by kings, and on the busts of Apotheized heroes, a narrow ligature around the whole head, which suffered only a few small ringlets to escape and cluster on the front; but it has now become a broad bandeau above the eyes, rising up to a considerable elevation in the shape of a segment of a circle. This appearance was produced at times by a plate of beaten gold fastened above the bandeau, more frequently the bandeau itself was covered with plate work and set with pearls. But this head-dress was of too majestic and Junonian a character for this day. Sabina, to-day, wishes not to impress with awe, but to conquer and to please; so she adopts the knot. This consists of the hair itself, the various locks being all entwined and knotted together upon the front, and the swell produced by them being again sustained by lesser locks twisted up upon it from the sides.†

Hair, according to Leigh Hunt, "should be abundant, soft, flexible, growing in long locks, of a color suitable to the skin; thick in the mass, delicate and distinct in the particular. The mode of wearing it should differ. Those who have it growing low in

* We know from the Roman law books these hair dressing maids received an education of several months. We find that such as had only been instructed for two months, were not entitled to the appellation of artists. Dig. xxxii. 65. 3. There is nothing new, therefore, in the pomposity of the French artistes and academies de cheveux.

† The diadem arose out of the Nimbus or Σφονδον. The swell of hair adopted by Sabina on this occasion was not only called by the general name of nodus, but by the more precise one of tutulus. There is perfect evidence that it was an usual thing for a Roman lady to have a maid for this part of her dress alone, as Nape is represented in the text. An Ornatrix a Tutulo occurs in an ancient inscription in Gruter, DLXXIX. 3. Compare Guasco's Dissertazione Toscolana sopra un' antica iscrizione appartenente ad una ornatrice. Roma, 1771.

the nape of the neck, should prefer wearing it in locks hanging down, rather than turned up with a comb. The gathering it, however, in that manner is delicate and feminine, and suits many. In general, the mode of wearing the hair is to be regulated according to the shape of the head. Ringlets hanging about the forehead suit almost everybody. On the other hand, the fashion of parting the hair smoothly, and drawing it tight back on either side is becoming to few. It has a look of vanity, instead of simplicity. The face must do everything for it which is asking too much, especially as hair, in its freer state, is the ornament intended for it by nature. Hair is to the human aspect, what foliage is to the landscape. This analogy is so striking that it has been compared to flowers, and even to fruit. The Greek and other poets talk of hyacinthine locks, of clustering locks (an image taken from grapes), of locks like tendrils. The favorite epithet for a Greek beauty was "well-haired;" and the same epithet was applied to woods. Apuleius says that Venus herself, if she were bald, would not be Venus. So entirely do we agree with him, so much do we think that the sentiment of anything beautiful even where the real beauty is wanting, is the best part of it, that we prefer the help of artificial hair to an ungraceful want of it. We do not wish to be deceived. We should like to know that the hair was artificial; or at least that the wearer was above disguising the fact. This would show her worthy of being allowed it. We remember, when abroad, a lady of quality, an Englishwoman, whose beauty was admired by all Florence; but never did it appear to us so admirable, as when she observed one day that the ringlets that hung from under her cap were not her own. Here, thought we, it is not artifice that assists beauty; it is truth. Here is a woman who knows that there is a beauty in hair beyond the material of it, or the pride of being thought to possess it. Oh, wits of Queen Anne's day, see what it is to live in an age of sentiment, instead of your mere periwigs, and reds and whites! The first step in taste is to dislike all artifice; the next is to demand nature in her perfection; but the best of all is to find out the hidden beauty, which is the soul of beauty itself, to wit, the sentiment of it. The loveliest hair is nothing, if the wearer is incapable of a grace. The finest eyes are not fine if they say nothing. What is the finest harp to us, strung with gold, and adorned with a figure of Venus, if it answer with a discordant note,

and hath no chords in it fit to be wakened? Long live, therefore, say we, lovely natural locks at five-and-twenty, and lovely artificial locks, if they must be resorted to, at five-and-thirty, or forty. Let the harp be new strung, if the frame warrant it, and the sounding board hath a delicate utterance. A woman of taste should no more scruple to resort to such helps at one age, than she would consent to resort to them at an age when no such locks exist in nature. Till then, let her not cease to help herself to a plentiful supply. The spirit in which it is worn gives the right to wear it. Affectation and pretension spoil everything: sentiment and simplicity warrant it. Above all things cleanliness. This should be the motto of personal beauty. Let a woman keep what hair she has clean, and she may adorn or increase it as she pleases. Oil, for example, is two different things, on clean hair, and unclean. On the one, it is but an aggravation of the dirt: to the other, if not moist enough by nature, it may add a reasonable grace. The best, however, is undoubtedly that which can most dispense with it. A lover is a little startled, when he finds the paper, in which a lock of hair has been enclosed, stained and spotted as if it had wrapped a cheese cake. Ladies, when about to give away locks, may as well omit the oil that time, and be content with the washing. If they argue that it will not look so glossy in those eyes, in which they desire it to shine most, let them own as much to the favored person, and he will never look at it but their candour shall give it a double lustre.

‘Love adds a precious seeing to the eye,’

and how much does not sincerity add to love! One of the excuses for oil is the perfume mixed with it. The taste for this was carried so far among the ancients, that Anacreon does not scruple to wish that the painter of his mistress’ portrait could convey the odour breathing from her delicate oiled tresses. Even this taste seems to have a foundation in nature. A little black-eyed relation of ours (often called Molly from a certain dairy-maid turn of hers, and our regard for old English customs), has hair with a natural scent of spice.”

The poets of antiquity, and the modern ones after them, talk much of yellow and golden tresses, tresses like the morn, &c. Much curiosity has been evinced respecting the nature of this famous poetical hair; and as much anxiety shown in hoping that it was not red. May we venture to say in behalf

of red hair, that we are not of those in whose eyes it is so very shocking? Perhaps, as "pity melts the soul to love," there may be something of such a feeling in our tenderness for that Pariah of a color. It must be owned that hair of this complexion appears never to have been in request; and yet, to say nothing of the general liking of the ancients for all the other shades of yellow and gold, a good red-headed commentator might render it a hard matter to pronounce, that Theocritus has not given two of his beautiful swains hair amounting to a positive fiery. *Fire-red* is the epithet, however it may be understood.

"Both fiery-tressed heads, both in their bloom."

We do not believe the golden hair to have been red, but this we believe, that it was nearer to it than most colors, and that it went a good deal beyond what it is sometimes supposed to have been, auburn. The word yellow, a convertible term for it, will not do for auburn. Auburn is a rare and glorious color, and we suspect will always be more admired by us of the north, where the fair complexions that recommended golden hair are as easy to be met with, as they are difficult in the south. Both Ovid and Anacreon, the two greatest masters of the ancient world in painting external beauty, seem to have preferred it to golden, notwithstanding the popular cry in the other's favour; unless, indeed, the hair they speak of was too dark in its ground for auburn. The Latin poet, in his fourteenth love elegy, speaking of tresses which he says Apollo would have envied, and which he prefers to those of Venus as Appelles painted her, tells us, that they were neither black nor golden, but mixed, as it were, of both. And he compares them to cedar on the declivities of Ida, with the bark stripped. This implies a dash of tawny. We have seen pine-trees in a southern evening sun, take a lustrous burnished aspect between dark and golden, a good deal like what we conceive to be the color he alludes to. Anacreon describes hair of a similar beauty. His touch, as usual, is brief and exquisite—

Deepening inwardly, a dun;
Sparkling golden, next the sun.*

Which Ben Johnson has rendered in a line—

"Gold upon a ground of black."

*Τα μὲν ὑδαθὺν, μελαινας,
Τα δ' αὖτε ἀκρόν, ἡλιωσας.

Perhaps, continues Hunt, the true auburn is something more lustrous throughout, and more metallic than this. The cedar with the bark stripped looks more like it. At all events that it is not the golden hair of the ancients has been proved in our opinion beyond a doubt by a memorandum in our possession worth a thousand treatises of the learned. This is a solitary hair of the famous Lucretia Borgia, whom Ariosto has so praised for her virtues, and whom the rest of the world is so contented to think a wretch.*

It was given us by a lamented friend † who obtained it from a lock of her hair preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan. On the envelope he put a happy motto—

“And beauty draws us with a single hair.”

If ever hair was golden, it is this. It is not red, it is not yellow, it is not auburn : it is golden, and nothing else ; and, though natural looking too, must have had a surprising appearance in the mass. Lucretia, beautiful in every respect, must have looked like a vision in a picture, an angel from the sun. Everybody who sees it, cries out and pronounces it the real thing. We must confess, after all, we prefer the auburn, as we construe it. It forms, we think, a finer shade for the skin ; a richer warmth ; a darker lustre. But Lucretia's hair must have been still divine. Mr. Landon, whom we had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with over it, as other acquaintances commence over a bottle, was inspired on the occasion with the following verse :—

“Borgia, thou once wert almost too august,
And high for adoration ;—now thou'rt dust !
All that remains of thee these plaits infold—
Calm hair, meand'ring with pellucid gold !”

The sentiment implied in the last line will be echoed by every bosom that has worn a lock of hair next it, or longed to do so. Hair is at once the most delicate and lasting of our materials ; and survives us, like love. It is so light, so gentle, so escaping from the idea of death, that with a lock of hair belonging to a child or a friend, we may almost look up to

* Mr. Roscoe must be excepted, who has come into the field to run a tilt for her. We wish his lance may turn out to be the golden lance of the poet, and overthrow all his opponents. The greatest scandal in the world, is the readiness of the world to believe scandal.

† Lord Byron.

heaven and compare notes with the angelic nature; may almost say, "I have a piece of thee here, not unworthy of thy being now."

It may not perhaps be disagreeable to many of our readers to examine somewhat more at length into the different methods of dressing the hair, and the different kinds of hair pins, as both may be illustrated by the actual remains of antiquity. There are many other parts of the Roman toilette which we shall hereafter attempt, in like manner, to render more familiar.

The simplest, and in the old plain times of Rome, the most common head dress, was merely a rolling together of the whole hair upon the top of the head, either with or without a previous division of it into two great locks. The hair thus dressed was held together in general by a narrow band, the *taenna* or *fascia*, of which many specimens may be seen in the collection of antique heads.*

This simple method of arranging the hair was particularly convenient for the wearers of garlands, and therefore was in use among the Greeks also, who indeed never failed to reconcile the utmost elegance with the utmost plainness. The great and unchanging model of the married Roman ladies or matrons, however, was always to be found in the *vestals*; and as these wore an open veil, which was fastened on the head, and fell down on the shoulders, the matrons copying them introduced the universal fashion of the *vitta matronalis*.†

To this simple ornament fashion added so much, that out of it arose all the innumerable varieties of the *bandeau* or *diadem*. As the general luxury of Roman manners advanced, it became the mode to weave the hair with pearls, after the Oriental fashion, at one time—at another, to crown it with the leaves of the lotus, with enormous feathers, or with other symbols of fruitfulness, a *l'Egyptienne*. It is well known how popular the worship of Isis and Serapis became in Rome towards the end of the seventh century of the city; and this will account for the prevalence of these fashions, in themselves by no means remarkable for their gracefulness.

But by far the most considerable change which ever occurred in the hair dressing of the Roman ladies was introduced

* See Caylus *Recueil d'Antiquites*, vol. I. plate 78.

† See *Bronze d'Erculano*, vol. II. tab. lxxxi.

after the victories gained over the German tribes of Belgium, and the banks of the Rhine. Not contented with borrowing the barbarous and horn-like nodi of these people they would needs imitate the colors of their hair also, and assume upon the shores of the Tiber the same yellow or reddish locks which were then so universal upon those of the Rhine, the Schelde, and the Maese. The best account of the methods of converting dark hair into light hues may be found in one of Lafontaine's romances, *Heymeran von Flaming*. These arts, however, effectual as they seem to have been, were soon found to be very troublesome, and the custom of wearing perukes, already familiar upon the stage, was first introduced into private life out of this new rage for red hair. The wives of the Licambri and the Catti were stript of their flowing curls, in order to supply the insatiable market of the Roman Matroneæ. The same folly which was last century so common in Paris, was then no less so in Rome.

In Ovid's Art of Love we find the poet of gallantry frankly confessing, that it would be more easy for him to enumerate the acorns upon a huge oak, than to count up all the varieties of the Roman ladies' head-dresses. There are eight main divisions of the subject, however, upon which he does touch; there is the method of combing it flat off the head, and curling it down over the ears, which this master recommends to long faced ladies of the Quixote race.*

There is the method of combing the hair entirely up from the ears, and curling it upon the top of the head, which, with equal propriety, he recommends to the round-faced. The ladies who read these pages will perhaps stare to find that some of their best secrets were known to a Roman poet, who wrote nearly two thousand years ago—the principle, however, is a very simple one, viz. that a countenance is beautiful in its outline exactly in proportion as it approaches to the oval.

We need not enumerate the other six—they are of minor consequence—and indeed the whole varieties of the Roman coiffure may be reduced under two great heads; in the first, the main body of the hair was combed flat upon the head, but all round under the bandeau there clustered down bunches of small ringlets crisped and curled with the hot iron. In the second, the whole of the hair into whatever

* See Bronze d'Erculano, I. II. tab. lxxiv.

number of locks it might be divided, was gathered into one large knot upon the top of the head, and fastened there with the *acus discriminalis* of which we have already written. A single glance at one of the heads dressed in this fashion is sufficient to shew that it could scarcely be arranged without some use of false hair or cushion ; and that this was the case we find hinted over and over in Ovid and Propertius, but more frequently still in Juvenal and Martial. The changes of fashion in the arrangement of the hair were innumerable, as might be guessed from what we have already seen concerning the number of slaves employed about that branch of the toilette. The wives of the emperors were of course the leaders of the fashions, and nothing is more easy for an antiquarian than to discover a Poppia—a Plotina—a Matidia—a Soamias by the arrangement of the hair on the coin. The different fashions, no doubt, took their names from these givers of the Ton, exactly as in Paris the same sort of fashions have done from the ruling belles of the day—Pompadour—Maintenon—Montpensier—Hortense—Lisbeth—Josephine. The rapidities of the changes were such, that, as has been observed above, even statues were made with moveable perukes in order that they might not be compelled to appear out of the fashion. It was only carrying the same idea a little farther when the custom was introduced of taking off not the hair but the whole head, and so of making the same statue serve for several successive generations of beauties.

The combs which the Roman waiting-maids employed in dressing the hair of their mistresses were all adorned with the same unwearied profusion of luxurious decoration. Our fair readers do not need to be told about the beauty of these combs—the exquisitely sculptured ivory or box wood into which the steel teeth were inserted. The only parts of the modern friseur's apparatus of which they knew nothing are the powder puffs, &c ; for much as they dealt in pomatums they made no use of starch. They used, indeed, gold dust and other contrivances to make their hair yellow, but they knew nothing of our modern hair powder which owed its origin to a loathsome disease, and first made its appearance at the court of Louis XIV : see *Histoire des modes Françaises, contenant tout ce que concerne la Tête des Français*. Amsterd. 1773 p. 116. There is perhaps more truth than might at first sight be suspected, in the remark of a Pomeranian antiquary,

who deduces the use of hair-powder from the old oriental custom of strewing ashes on the head in affliction. See *Rango de Capillamentis, vulgo peruqueis, Magdeburg, 1668*. It is, at least, not to be denied, that the first person who wore it had good cause to repent her sins in sackcloth and ashes. Of all this uncleanly work the Roman ladies knew nothing. Their extravagance was confined to their precious essences, and latterly to their bought locks.

The size of these ancient *coiffures* is such, that at first it may seem very difficult to conceive how the whole mass could be held together by a single pin; and yet it was so. Many of these *acus* are still in existence, some of them seven or eight inches in length, which furnishes another proof how vast the quantity of hair was which they held together. Some of these pins are very plain and simple, having no ornament but that which arises from a small opening at the top through which probably the fillet might pass. See *Museum Romanum*, class v. tab. lii. 3; with *Bonani's remarks*, § 166. Count Caylus had in his collection one which had two of these openings, the one above the other, which rendered their use still more evident. These opens are often wrought round about with exquisite devices. There is one in particular in the Royal Museum at Portici of the most beautiful kind of silver. It is eight inches in length; it has the shaft and capital of a Corinthian pillar, and at the top a rich representation of Venus dressing her hair, and Cupid standing before her with the mirror in his hand. In many parts of Germany the female peasants still wear hair pins at least as long as these. On another of these pins at Portici, there is a group of Cupid and Psyche. One is described in Tassie's *Catalogue Mus. Florent*, t. 1. tab. 72, as representing a Venus leaning on the bust of Priapus, with her left foot in her right hand. Many others have been found both in Italy and in France.

Amongst the various remedies offered to cure all the diseases of humanity, the nostrums for the cure of baldness are the most various, yet we doubt very much if any one of all the quackeries at present puffed are so useless as those offered to restore the hair, even though boasted to be equal to that famous pomade, capable of turning a wooden box into a hair trunk. We know but one prescription capable of restoring the hair, and this restoration can only be effected when the scalp is excitable by means of friction. The prescription is

from Dupuytren's work on Skin Diseases, and is as follows :—

Purified beef-marrow, -	-	-	3viij.
Acetate of lead, -	-	-	3j.
Peruvian balsam, -	-	-	3iij.
Alcohol, -	-	-	3j.
Tinct. of Cantharides			
cloves and carella. -	-	-	āā MXV.

Mix.

Fashion has frequently been taxed to contribute to the revenue of the state, and the absurd fashion, hair-powder, was one of the tastes thus placed under contribution. The origin of the tax, as we learn from Wraxall's *Posthumous Memoirs*, was as follows,—The fourteenth Duke of Norfolk was at all times a singular personage, but was remarkably so whilst Earl of Surrey. He had many good points, and was certainly in no respect the slave of fashion, or of its creators, the tailors. "Nature," writes Wraxall, "had not bestowed on him any of the insignia of illustrious descent; he might have been mistaken for a grazier or a butcher by his dress and appearance, yet his intelligence was marked in his features, which were likewise expressive of frankness and sincerity." To this man may be attributed the suggestion of two once very important taxes, those on race horses and hair powder.

About the year 1785, every body who was any body, wore hair powder—white, golden, brown, any color suited to the complexion. A well dressed man devoted at least one hour to the arranging of his hair; a woman spent half the day under the hands of her friseur. Indeed a story is told that a regiment preparing for inspection, and being short of hair dressers, were obliged to have their heads arranged over night, and were forced to sleep on their faces, lest they should disarrange the handi-work of the artist.

In 1785 the Minister proposed to lay a tax on female servants, and thereupon the Earl of Surrey proposed as an amendment, that the new tax should be laid on hair powder. The motion was received with shouts of laughter, but the large revenue to be derived from it was by no means to be despised; the tax was accordingly adopted, and then every buck and belle contributed to the support of the Exchequer. So important did the revenue from this one item appear, that during the administration of William Pitt, Francis, fifth Duke of Bedford, being offended with the Cabinet, ordered his

four and twenty footmen to comb out their powder, thus proposing to vex the Minister, and help towards stopping the supplies.

Another tax connected with our subject was that on the use of human hair, in wigs and other adornments; this tax, at a shilling per lb., produced in the year 1827, according to Sir Henry Parnell, in his well known letter on Financial Reform, nearly three thousand pounds sterling.

We must here end our paper upon Hair; in a future number we shall return to another branch of the subject—Wigs and Beards.

DR. MADDEN'S PHANTASMATA.

Phantasmata, or Illusions and Fanaticisms of Protean Forms, Productive of Great Evils. By R. R. Madden, F.R.C.S., Eng., M.R.I.A., &c., &c. Author of "Travels in the East," "Shrines and Sepulchres," "Life of Savonarola," "Memoirs of Lady Blessington," etc. London: Newby, 1857.

To a man plunged in the midst of the dull and unvarying realities of business or professional life, it is no mean pleasure to steal away for a while from the smoke and turmoil of the murky city, and relax the rigid tension of his mind in the far country. Pleasant to him to lie upon the newly mown grass, to watch the lark piercing the blue vault, and scattering showers of melody as he rises; pleasant, by some purling stream, and "under the shade of melancholy boughs," to "lose and neglect the creeping hours of time;" pleasant, too, to mount the neighbouring hill, and seated on a moss-grown rock, look down with calm complacency on the distant city, and watch the great cloud of smoky incense, which rolls up daily from its thousand altars to the great spirit of trade and labor. Pleasant too, to watch the ships gliding over the great bosom of the sea, bound upon their various courses; carrying the emigrant in search of fortune, the criminal of concealment, the opulent of health and excitement; bearing from shore to shore the mutual interchange of products, and joining as it were in friendly grasp, across the wide expanse of sea, the hands of distant relatives and friends.

It is then that the imagination, freed from the restraints of the practical cares of life, compensates itself for previous restraint, and delights to wander free and uncontrolled. Ranging far and wide it brings back to the poet, the newest and freshest flowers of fancy; to the philosopher, still higher and holier views of science and human life; to the artist, yet nobler inspirations and designs; and even to the drudging money-getter, some faint, dim vistas of future days, when money-getting shall not be the sole aim of his existence, but something shall be given to the poetry and intellect of life. Such recreations of fancy are not without their benefit and profit; they purify and elevate the mental organization, soften the heart, and fill it with sympathy and kindness, and send a man back to the practical routine of business with increased zest for vigorous exertion.

In such recreations, the habitual dweller in cities is rarely permitted to indulge. When chimney-pots and housetops greet his waking glances in the morning, and chimney-pots and housetops cast their shadows over him at night, it is not easy to indulge in those dreams, and build up those airy castles, which are the favorite work of fancy.

Cæsus, toiling in his dingy counting-house, sneers at such vain imaginings, which are, he thinks, of no use to any man; no help in the pursuit of wealth, and yet we know that to such musings and such abandonments of thought, we owe many of our brightest literary gems, with the smallest of which we would not be willing to part for all the wealth that Cæsus may amass from this hour until that which sees his body consigned to that congenial dust, which shares, we are tempted to think, a part of the formation of his soul.

To deprive us wholly of imagination would be to rob our existence of one of its greatest pleasures. To see nothing in the finest prospect but an assemblage of trees, fountains, rocks, hills, and vallies; to stand upon classic ground, and see nothing but the grass beneath our feet and the sky over head; to read the finest poem and wonder at the strange audacity of the writer, in asking us to credit such fancies, would certainly be to degrade our nature, and bring it down near the level of mere animal existence.

There is more solid enjoyment in the pursuit of agreeable ideas, than would be at first blush supposed. It can, moreover, be enjoyed almost at all times, at the mere wish, and the

pleasure produced by its indulgence is both inexpensive and exhilarating. There is a subtle moral in the Barmecides' Feast of the Arabian Nights. Ah! the Arabian Nights are a suggestive subject here. Ah! well do we remember with what intense and absorbing pleasure we pored upon these pages in our early youth, and tasted our first pure draught of real romance. How with Haroun Alraschid we roved disguised through the streets of Bagdad, quaffed sherbet in the delicious gardens of the suburbs, and glided in the light river boats down the current of the Bosphorus,—

“ I see rich Bagdad once again,
 With its turrets of Moorish mould,
 And the Khalif's twice five hundred men,
 Whose binishes flamed with gold :
 I call up many a gorgeous show,
 Which the pall of oblivion hides,
 All passed like snow, long, long ago,
 With the time of the Barmecides !”

A man may be doomed to dwell in an obscure and secluded spot, where neither change of scene, nor varied intercourse with his fellow men, break the dull routine of existence ; he may be plunged in a gloomy dungeon and shut out from light and life ; his means may be straitened, and his health be impaired, and to the casual observer his mind will appear oppressed and dark ; but his imagination is not dead, and he has all her charms to soothe and solace him. Though his liberty is restrained, the world is before him, and in fancy he visits its remotest and its fairest spots. He roams through the sandy deserts of Arabia, reposes on the banks of the Ganges, and worships in the Temple of the Sun. He views the sun rising, from the summit of Mont Blanc, and watches his parting rays in the sweet valley of Chamouni.

Though deprived of books, he holds animated converse with the spirits of the illustrious dead, and at his bidding, poets, historians, novelists, and philosophers, throng around him and interchange thoughts with him. Though pent up in narrow rooms, in a moment he is kneeling in the vast spacious centre of a continental cathedral, in which the light of a thousand tapers faintly reveals the lofty arching of the overhanging roof, while the deep swell of the pealing organ fills the vast space, and lifts up the soul upon its rolling waves of harmony.

But it is chiefly when sorrow wrings the heart or pain the brow that imagination lends its kindest aid; not indeed so often in that of the sufferer himself, as in that of others through the medium of books. Pain, sorrow and disappointment will each find somewhere in the stores of literature, whether in history, philosophy, or poetry, some share of solace. The mind exhausted and depressed is unequal to the effort of creating consolation for itself, but it finds it in communion with the minds of other men, with those whose genius has illuminated, whose knowledge has instructed, whose humor has beguiled, whose pathos has softened; and to the end of time they will fulfil their noble office, and soothe and instruct and charm, till imagination's reign is over and everything is real.

Experience, however, teaches us that there may be danger in indulging too long or too frequently in these excursions of fancy.—There is no doubt that many an intellect has wandered so often and so far into the realms of imagination, as at length to fix its permanent abode there and desert for ever the regions of common sense. We often see this happen to men of very sober demeanour. We are acquainted with more than one who, originally addicted to exaggeration and boasting, has by mere force of habit arrived at an extraordinary state of mind, in which he actually believes in the precise truth of the incredible fictions to which he gives utterance. Not a soul who listens gives of course the slightest credence, no one but the deceiver is deceived, and him it would be impossible to convince of his own mendacity. This is but another phase of that not uncommon state to which men are frequently brought by too close and intense contemplation of any particular subject. Our lunatic asylums are crowded with inmates, who, save on one topic, are as sensible as any man in the country. They will converse with perfect recollection and collectedness on general topics, and one unacquainted with their state of mind, and happening to avoid the one subject, might meet and converse with them for months without entertaining the slightest suspicion of a disordered intellect. The occurrence of such cases only strengthens the difficulties of that most important branch of medical and legal investigation, the character of insanity and the treatment of the insane, a subject, which in practice at least, receives from the legislature and executive in these countries far too small a share of attention.

We are not about to enter upon an analysis of the nature of insanity, or a discussion of the various theories advanced in

connexion with it, though indeed such an enquiry would be both interesting and germane to the subject in hand. We merely desire, in passing, to notice one striking case out of many that occur to us, illustrative in a high degree of the curiously anomalous conditions which frequently characterize insanity. It is that of Christopher Smart, the cotemporary, and the acquaintance, if not the friend, of Samuel Johnson. Smart was the son of a gentleman of small property, and was born at Shipbourne, in Kent, in the year 1722. Having entered Pembroke College, Cambridge, the celebrity which he soon acquired as a poet and wit, proved to him, as it has proved to others, the cause probably of his ruin. His society was courted, and he received numerous invitations to the houses of strangers and to the rooms of his fellow collegians. Through a false pride, or rather through vanity, Smart was profuse in his hospitalities in return, and the result was that he became seriously embarrassed in his circumstances, and so continued through life. That life was indeed a chequered one, though the clouds of sorrow more frequently obscured his path, than the sunshine of prosperity gladdened it. To follow him through the changeful course, would be a task beyond these limits; we can only indicate a few of these productions by which from time to time he gave token of that which was within him. While yet a youth he attracted the notice of Pope, by finely translating into Latin verse that poet's essay on Criticism, and the Ode on St. Cecilia's Day. While a fellow of Pembroke College he wrote a number of poetical pieces, of which one, a mock tragedy, contains some exceedingly humorous passages. One in particular is frequently quoted, though the authorship is very commonly unknown. It is that in which the alternate struggles of pride, love and reason, in the breast of the Princess Periwinkle are described and compared to the following series of circumstances :—

Thus when a barber and a collier fight,
 The barber beats the luckless collier—white;
 The dusty collier heaves his ponderous sack,
 And big with vengeance, beats the barber—black.
 In comes the brick-dust man, with grime o'erspread,
 And beats the collier and the barber—red,
 Black, red, and white, in various clouds are toss'd,
 And in the dust they raise, the combatants are lost.

The wretched debts he had incurred to college cooks and tavern keepers were the cause of the sequestration of his fellowship, and he came up to London to try the uncertain profession of a literary man.

He married Miss Carnan, step-daughter of Newberry the publisher, and in 1756 produced his well known translation of Horace. By degrees the natural thoughtlessness of his disposition began to involve him in difficulties, and coupled with occasional intemperance, soon reduced him to absolute poverty.

He was attacked by a dangerous illness, accompanied by lunacy, his recovery from which he owed to Dr. James, the inventor of the celebrated Powders, which still bear the name of that physician. But though he regained in a great measure his bodily health, he was not cured of the baneful habit of intemperance, indulgence in which, alternately with severe mental labor, soon affected his reason. His disorder manifested itself chiefly in the form of a crazy devotion, prompting him to fall upon his knees in prayer, in the public streets, and other unsuitable place. This of course ended in his being shut up in a lunatic asylum, a proceeding which met with the disapprobation of Johnson. For nearly two years this strange mixture of greatness and littleness raved in his prison, and for a portion of the time it was considered prudent to deprive him of writing materials, lest indulgence in composition should aggravate the excitement under which he labored. It was during this time of deprivation, that with a key and bit of charcoal he scrawled upon the walls of his cell about a hundred stanzas of a poem of such majestic and sonorous sublimity, that thousands of the productions of sane genius are tame and spiritless in comparison. But while the verses glow with a fire of almost unearthly intensity, and possess a power perhaps partly derived from the highly excited state of the writer's brain, they are neither deficient in arrangement nor execution. The idea of the poem is regularly and effectively carried out, and the connexion between the words and sense perfectly maintained. This fine lyric is illustrative of the life and character of David, to whom a part of it is addressed, and though a perusal of the few stanzas for which we can afford space, will be far from giving an adequate idea of the whole, we think they will suffice to justify the terms of praise in which we have spoken of the work.

These then are the composition of a lunatic, of a madman, requiring restraint, and to be separated from his fellow men

with a view to his restoration to *reason*. Let physiologists and physicians reconcile this anomaly.

* * * * *
Great, valiant, pious, good, and clean,
Sublime, contemplative, serene,
Strong, constant, pleasant, wise!
Bright effluence of exceeding grace;
Blest man! the swiftness of the race
The pearl and the prize!

* * * * *
Sublime—invention, ever young,
Of vast conception, towering tongue,
To God the eternal theme;
Notes from yon exaltations caught,
Unrivalled royalty of thought!
O'er meaner strains, supreme.

* * * * *
Strong in the Lord, who could defy
Satan, and all his powers that lie
In sempiternal night:
And hell, and horror, and despair,
Were as the lion and the bear,
To his undaunted might.

* * * * *
Pleasant and various as the year;
Man, soul, and angel, without peer,
Priest, champion, sage and boy;
In armour, or in ephod clad,
His pomp, his piety was glad,
Majestic was his joy.

* * * * *
His muse, bright angel of his verse
Gives balm for all the thorns that pierce,
For all the pangs that rage;
Blest light, still gaining on the gloom,
The more than Michal of his bloom,
The Abishag of his age.

He sang of God, the mighty source
Of all things—the stupendous force
On which all strength depends,
From whose right arm, beneath whose eyes,
All period, power, and enterprize,
Commences, reigns, and ends.

* * * * *

Sweet is the dew that falls betimes,
 And drops upon the leafy limes;
 Sweet Hermon's fragrant air:
 Sweet is the lily's silver bell,
 And sweet the wakeful taper's smell,
 That watch for early prayer.

Sweet the young nurse, with smile intense,
 Which smiles o'er sleeping innocence;
 Sweet when the last arrive:
 Sweet the musician's ardour beats,
 While his vague mind's in quest of sweets,
 The choicest flowers to hive.

Sweeter in all the strains of love,
 The language of the turtle dove,
 Paired to thy swelling chord;
 Sweeter with every grace endued,
 The glory of thy gratitude,
 Respired unto the Lord.

Strong is the horse upon his speed;
 Strong in pursuit the rapid steed,
 And makes at once his game:
 Strong the tall ostrich on the ground:
 Strong through the turbulent profound,
 Shoots onward to his aim.

Strong is the lion—like a coal,
 His eye ball—like a bastion's mole,
 His chest against his foes:
 Strong the gyre eagle on his sail,
 Strong against tide the enormous whale
 Emerges, as he goes.

But stronger still, in earth and air,
 And in the sea, the man of prayer,
 And far beneath the tide,
 And in the seat to faith assigned,
 Where ask is have, and seek is find,
 Where knock is open wide.

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Glorious the sun in mid career;
 Glorious the assembled fires appear;
 Glorious the comet's train,
 Glorious the trumpet and alarm,
 Glorious the Almighty's outstretched arm;
 Glorious the enraptured main.

Glorious the Northern Lights astream;
 Glorious the song when God's the theme,
 Glorious the thunder's roar;
 Glorious hosanna from the den;
 Glorious the Catholic amen;
 Glorious the martyr's gore.

Glorious—more glorious is the crown
 Of Him, that brought salvation down,
 By meekness, called thy Son;
 Thou that stupendous truth believed,
 And now the matchless deeds achieved,
 Determined, dared and done.

And these verses, we repeat, were the production of a *lunatic*, who in after life actually wanted bread, and who in the days of his sanity writes to the Rev. Mr. Jackson that he had nothing to eat, and that he would be thankful for the loan of a few shillings. Truly had he never awaked from his mental sleep, if indeed that we can call sleep which brought such glorious visions, as "David"—he perhaps would have had little to regret;—oblivion from his cares he would at least have gained, and been spared the sharp and bitter humiliation of being obliged to ask common charity from a friend, and of feeling the disgrace of ending his days within the walls of the King's Bench Prison.*

The volumes before us are not calculated to flatter human vanity. They prove how truly it has been said that wit and madness are generally allied, and show to what extravagances and excesses the unrestrained and ill-regulated imaginations of men will run. The title of the book is rather more ambitious and comprehensive than the execution of the work warrants. The delusions described and illustrated by Dr. Madden are chiefly those which in the history of such things

* We may add that Disraeli in his "Calamities of Authors" does not notice the most calamitous career and end of Christopher Smart.

we find were confined to the breast in which they originated, or at least exhibited their influence but little further, and some of the subjects appear to us to have but very faint connection with what we are also to conclude is the scope and object of the book.

Dr. Madden's work strengthens the conclusion which our previous reading and the history of the world had produced, that religious enthusiasm has been always the most formidable and permanent shape which illusions such as these have assumed, and indeed may again assume. In this guise no absurdity is too great for human tolerance. A man who would be hooted and pelted if he called upon the crowd to credit his assertion that his body was composed of glass, or that he was entirely formed of gutta percha, would be almost readily believed, if he asserted that he was an angel descended from heaven, or that Messiah who is still expected by the remnant of a people.

The history of Mahomet and Mahometanism strikingly illustrates what we have stated. For nearly 1300 years the doctrines of this impostor have flourished, and now hold sway over a larger section of the human race than Christianity embraces in its fold. Though Mahomet has had many imitators, none have achieved similar success. One of the most remarkable of those who succeeded him was Emanuel Swedenborg, whose followers are still numerous.

Emanuel Swedenborg, or Swedberg, was born in Stockholm, upon the 29th January, 1688; according to Dr. Madden in the year 1689. His father was originally chaplain to a regiment of cavalry, subsequently Bishop of Skara in West Gothland. While yet a mere youth he published a volume of Latin Poems, under the title of "*Ludus Heliconius Sirè Carmina Miscellanea*," in which he betrayed signs of considerable ability, and of unusual acquirements. Between 1710 and 1714 he visited the universities of England, Holland, France and Germany, and having in 1716 attracted the notice of his king, Charles the Twelfth, he was by the latter appointed Assessor Extraordinary of the Metallic College, and associated with Polham in the construction of various public, mechanical and engineering works.

In 1719, Queen Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII., granted him a patent of nobility, and he assumed the name of Swedenborg, and thence till 1734 he devoted himself to the practical investigation of mining and metallurgy, and in

the latter year gave to the world the results of his labours in three folio volumes.

According to his own account his peculiar mission was first disclosed to him in the year 1743. "Whatever of worldly honor or advantage," he writes, "may appear to be in these things, I hold them but as matters of very low estimation, compared to the honor of the holy office to which I have been called by the Lord himself, who was graciously pleased to manifest himself to me, his unworthy servant, in a personal appearance in the year 1743, to open to me a sight of the spiritual world, and to enable me to converse with spirits and angels, and this privilege has continued with me to this day." With the consistency of sincerity, Swedenborg resigned his situation, after the receipt of this divine call, but he was permitted to retain one half of the salary attached to it. Thenceforward he resided alternately in Sweden, Holland and England, in the latter of which countries, in London, he died upon the 29th of March, 1772, in the 85th year of his age.

The great delusion under which Swedenborg laboured, was, as is well known, that he was in actual intercourse with the spiritual world, and that he had had constant communications with angels, and the spirits of just men, and that his doctrines were revealed from heaven, and his followers at the present day look upon him as having been directly inspired by heaven.

There is a very solemn warning in the history of this remarkable man. Looking upon the mass of works published by him, characterized throughout by learning and high scientific attainments, considering the purity of his official and moral character, and the total absence of any sordid motive actuating his conduct, we cannot but wonder at while we reverence the designs of Providence in giving up such a man to the powers of darkness, and to "a great delusion to believe a lie."

Nor is it less wonderful that he should have succeeded in sowing pretty largely the seeds of his doctrine, and that sufficient numbers of his followers should now be found to form a body, known as the New Jerusalem, or New Christian Church, numbering amongst its congregation even clergymen of the Established Church. The Rev. John Clowes, the translator of the principal portion of the Theological Works of Swedenborg, for more than sixty years Rector of St. John's, Manchester, did not think it inconsistent to retain his rectory while professing his belief in the truth of the doctrines of Swedenborg.

It would be foreign to our purpose to enter upon any examination of these doctrines here. That Swedenborg was sincere, that he was himself deluded and deceived, and that he was not a conscious impostor, we have no hesitation in believing, and in this regard we think Dr. Madden is hardly just to his memory, but it is amazing that men should in these days be found to regard him as an inspired and heaven-chosen founder of a new dispensation.

"In a letter to Oelinger of Wurtemberg," says Dr. Madden, "dated November the 11th, 1766, the following passage occurs: 'If I have spoken with the angels? To this I answer that I conversed with St. Paul during a whole year, particularly with regard to the text Romans III. 28. I have conversed with St. John three times, once with Moses, and a hundred times with Luther, who allowed that it was against the warning of an angel that he professed '*fidem solam*,' that he stood alone upon the separation from the Pope. With angels, finally, have I these many years conversed, and that daily.' Of the habits, forms, and even attire of angels he gives a detailed account. 'They have human forms, the appearance of men, as I have a thousand times seen; for I have spoken with them as a man with other men, often with several together, and they have nothing in the least to distinguish them from other men.'"

Delusions such as these not uncommonly take possession of persons of ardent and vivid imaginations, who allow their minds to rest with peculiar intensity on any particular train of thought.

Spinello having in a picture representing the fall of the rebellious angels, painted a horribly hideous figure of the devil, is said to have imagined the representation with such force and executed it with such power, that the figure continued to haunt him for a considerable time, and his reason was eventually lost.

Pascal, in his latter days, imagined that a flaming gulf yawned beside his chair, and that he was occasionally favored with heavenly visions, and Dr. Beattie owned himself afraid to read over the proofs of his "*Essay on Truth*," lest the task should renew too vividly the recollection of the intense mental labor, amounting to a feeling of actual horror, which the work cost him in the writing. It appears strange, that considering how numerous are such instances, those who have adopted the doctrines of Swedenborg will not be content to claim for him a high character for learning, science, and morality, and to

ascribe his visions and revelations to that disordered state of the imagination to which they unquestionably owed their origin, and which he shared in common with so many others of equal learning and ability in various times.

In tracing the history of delusions arising from religious impressions there is always a certain degree of difficulty in discriminating between the sincere enthusiast and the wilful impostor. No object is more revolting than the latter, who taking foul advantage of the principles implanted by nature in the hearts of men, makes these principles and feelings the means of his private aggrandisement and emolument. For such men as Rusenfeld, Sabatai, and Marion, the barbarous punishments of the dark ages would be hardly too severe, and certainly there would be no cruelty in restraining such enthusiasts as Swedenborg, and preventing them from circulating amongst an ignorant and excitable people, the history of imaginary visions and revelations. The weaker sex has furnished more than one to the number of fanatics and enthusiasts whose history has become remarkable. Not the least amongst the latter was Johanna Southcote, who flourished almost in our own times. Though we can hardly refrain from smiling at the weak credulity with which her absurdities were received by many, we perhaps ought not to be too hasty in our condemnation of those who were drawn into the current of belief. We cannot now properly appreciate the intense excitement produced at the time by Johanna's announcements, nor the extraordinary force with which the excitement overwhelmed the nervous and susceptible. Brothers had just retired from the stage into a lunatic asylum, and though at the first the recent exhibitions of this fanatic might strike us most likely to operate as a warning, yet on consideration we will be induced to admit that they rather tended to prepare the public mind for the reception of even greater absurdities. Accordingly we find Sharpe, the celebrated engraver, even more enthusiastic in the cause of Johanna Southcote, than he had previously been in that of Richard Brothers, and his example was imitated by many. The history of this woman strikingly illustrates the impropriety of permitting the indiscriminate and unregulated use of even the best things, for Johanna's delusions unquestionably had their origin in her constant and unassisted study (if her lucubrations deserve the name), of the sacred writings. Though it would be a gross insult to the memory of Swedenborg to

draw a parallel between him and Johanna Southcote, yet is it worthy of remark, that both made the Book of the Apocalypse their particular study. The effect on Swedenborg we have already glanced at, that on Johanna Southcote was to persuade her that she was the appointed virgin to bring forth the promised Shiloh. It does not say much for the certainty of medical investigations to find the faculty divided in opinion, as to the fact of the pregnancy of the woman at the mature age of 64. Mr. Mathias, who had been called in, expressed his incredulity, and his services were forthwith dispensed with. We will not, even so remotely and indirectly, insult an honorable profession by suggesting that his dismission from a lucrative attendance influenced Mr. Keece, another physician, in coming to an opposite conclusion; he, however, declared his conviction that Johanna was indeed with child, and having announced this conviction to a deputation of her followers who waited upon him for the purpose, he continued in attendance upon her till her death. Even her death did not end the wretched exhibition. Her body was kept over ground till decomposition had set in, and even its dissection, and the natural results, did not shake the faith of many of her followers.

Less notorious, but in reality more remarkable is the history of Antoinette Bourignon, who was born at Lisle in the year 1616. Whether or not she was herself a wilful impostor or the victim of a disordered imagination, she at all events was not influenced by avaricious views. Her parents were opulent, and she became rich at their death, and though her person was so misshapen as to induce the barbarous thought of stifling her as a monster at her birth, she became the object of much pursuit to those who, coveting her wealth, pretended affection for her person. No part of the folly attributable to her, however, consisted in yielding credulity to the interested attentions of these followers. She had sense enough to fathom the object of their desires, and to escape their importunity she became governess of the hospital at Lisle, and assumed the Augustinian habit. She soon shewed herself wholly unfitted for governing others, by displaying her inability to control herself; the hospital became a scene of disorder and tumult, which reached such a pitch as to call for the interference of the Civil power, and Antoinette quitted it and retired to Ghent.

Having thence gone to Amsterdam, and occupied herself in

promulgating her peculiar doctrines both by speech and writing, she succeeded in making converts of two men of some ability, and of considerable learning, Christina Bartholomew De Cordt, and Peter Poirét. That a violent, fanatical and repulsive female, should have thus succeeded in making captive the reasons of two such men is a circumstance pregnant with instructive warning. De Cordt was a Jansenist, and a Priest of the Oratory at Mechlin, and a man of respectable talents, but it is to Poirét that Bourignon is indebted perhaps for the transmission to posterity in an intelligible shape of her peculiar teaching and doctrine. In his work entitled "*L'Économie Divine, ou système universel*," he has reduced her visionary and obscure tenets into a methodical arrangement, and to his efforts is no doubt owing any influence which those tenets possessed after her death, or still exercise. Like other fanatics she claimed for herself the merit of divine inspiration, and impressed with what she considered the then universal decay of Christianity alleged that she had been specially called to the work of its restoration. Her writings, though voluminous, are so incoherent and fanciful that it is impossible to glean from them any precise knowledge of her peculiar doctrines, but Poirét, in the work we have above alluded to, gives us the pith and substance of them, accompanied by a good deal of his own suggestions and opinions. Her predominant principle was that religion consisted neither in knowledge nor practice, but in a certain internal feeling and divine impulse that arises immediately from communion with the Deity. This easy doctrine has met with even more approbation since the death of its originator than it experienced in her life time, and not many years ago, if not even still, candidates for holy orders in the Scotch church were called upon previous to ordination expressly to renounce Bourignonism.

It would be unjust to the memory both of Swedenborg and Bourignon, to deny that they were both really impressed with a belief in the Divine reality of their respective missions, though if we acquit them of deception we are forced according to the present prevailing rule in such matters, to set them down as lunatics. We see men confined daily in mad houses, who save on some one particular point are capable of reasoning correctly and acting with perfect judgment and discretion. We have more than once in medical and medico-legal works read of cases of this kind, in which, according to the narrator

(usually a medical man), the alleged lunatic underwent a most searching and very lengthened examination, without betraying the slightest symptom of insanity, until at last either by chance, or by means of a question (as we are in such cases exultingly told), suggested by the tact and skill of the learned historian, the proper chord was struck, and the whole mental instrument thrown into discordant confusion. In one case, out of thousands almost precisely similar, the subject of enquiry answered every question with propriety and correctness, until at last requested to state when he had last a visit from the Emperor of Morocco, when at once the flood gates opened, and a torrent of wild nonsense gushed forth, and the auditory were gravely informed in conclusion that the hitherto calm and collected person, who had for so long a time answered numerous questions with such gravity and composure, was no less a person than the Emperor of all the Russias. In what respect was this man, who was shortly after consigned to an asylum, a whit more a lunatic than Swedenborg, who not only equalled but greatly transcended his fellow men in the powers of his mind, though he laboured under a delusion as gross as that of the pseudo Emperor of Russia. Pursuing this line of enquiry a little further, and extending it amongst our own circle of acquaintance, shall we not find many who, judged by the same rule, would deserve to be classed among the insane. In truth the question is surrounded with difficulties, which have been always recognized by the learned and judicious who have made the subject their peculiar study.

To enter upon a consideration and analysis of unsoundness of mind in its various forms of Amentia, Dementia and Mania, as classified by some, of Mania, Monomania, Dementia and Idiotism, by others, would be foreign to our purpose, and indeed beyond the scope of a paper like the present.

In the work before us Dr. Madden has noticed most of the various forms of Epidemic Mania, and has furnished us with some curious and interesting details. He writes—"the prevalence of particular forms of insanity at particular epochs has been noticed in various countries, and was first treated of scientifically in France, by Dr. Calmeil, the very able and enlightened physician.* At different periods in the middle ages,

* De la folie sous le point de vue pathologique philosophique et judiciaire, &c, par L.F. Calmeil, Doct. en med. de Paris.

we find large masses of people moved at the same time by the same exciting influence, seized by a nervous affection of an epidemic nature, that soon merged into a state of mental exaltation, and terminated in Monomania, if it were not timely checked. These forms of mental insanity are very apt to assume a religious character. Those which assume that character are classed by Calmeil under the head of 'Theomania,' the opposite of this character under the head of Demonomania, which he divides into two kinds—Demonolatria, devil worship, and Demonopathy, a belief in possession by evil spirits. It would appear that the Demonomania of those afflicted with Lycanthropia partook of the character both of Demonolatria and Demonopathy."

Mr. Madden then proceeds to quote various writers who have noticed the existence of this kind of mania, including St. Augustine, and Burton, whose description is as follows :—

"Lycanthropia or wolf madness, when men run howling about graves and fields in the night, and will not be persuaded but that they are wolves or some such beasts. *Ætius* * and *Paulus* † call it a kind of *melancholy*! but I should rather refer it to *madness* as most do. Some doubt whether there be any such disease. *Donat. ab Altomari* ‡ saith that he saw two of them in his time : *Wierus* § of one at Padua, that would not believe but that he was a wolf. He hath another instance of a Spaniard who thought himself a bear. *Forestus* || confirms as much by many examples ; one amongst the rest of which he was an eye witness in Holland—a poor husbandman that always hunted about graves and kept in church yards, of a pale, black, ugly and fearful look. Such belike, or little better, were king *Prætus* ¶ daughters that thought themselves kine; and *Nebuchadnezzar*, as some interpreters hold, was only troubled with this kind of madness. This disease perhaps gave occasion to that bold assertion of *Pliny* ** *some men were turned into wolves in his time, and from wolves*

* Lib VI. cap. II.

† Lib III. cap 16.

‡ Cap IX. Art. Med.

§ *Depræstig. Dæmonum*, lib III. cap. 21.

|| *Observat. lib X. de morbis cerebri*, cap. 15.

¶ *Hippocrates*, lib. de insania.

** Lib viii. cap 22.

again to men; and to that fable of Pausanias of a man who was ten years a wolf, and afterwards turned to his former shape; to Ovid's * tale of Lycaon, &c. . . . This malady saith Avicenna troubleth men most in February, and is now-a-days frequent in Bohemia and Hungary, according to Heurnius. † They lie hid, most part all day, and go abroad in the night, barking, howling, at graves and deserts; *they have usually hollow eyes, scabbed legs, very dry and pale*, saith Atomarus."

There can be little doubt of the existence of a disease of this character. In all probability it was analogous to those which we see developed in children, and also in adults, and of which a depraved appetite is the principal characteristic. A desire to eat green raw vegetables, grass, &c., and to devour stones, iron, and other hard substances, generally accompanies the disorder, which by many acute and scientific physicians, is considered to owe its origin to a peculiar derangement of the constitution of the blood, which in cases characterised by a craving for green food, is considered to be deficient in the elements which such food when eaten and digested would produce. In Lycanthropy the morbid desire is for raw flesh, though the name derived from *λυκος* and *ανθρωπος* would suggest an appetite exclusively for human flesh. The Lycanthropist is doubtless the modern name for the Ghoul of the "Arabian Nights." The Ghouls were supposed to frequent grave yards, and to disinter and devour the bodies interred in them; the same horrible taste is attributed to the Lycanthropists. Some writers treating of Lycanthropy, speak of it as meaning an actual transformation of men into wolves, if not in their physical shapes at all events in their appetites and tastes.

In the year 1603 a boy of 14 years of age, named Jean Grenier, was accused before the parliament of Bourdeaux, of Lycanthropy. He was a herder of cattle, and appears to have been very little removed from idiocy. The witnesses against him were chiefly young girls who alleged that he had attacked them in the shape of a wolf; had bitten and would have killed them but for their vigorous resistance with sticks. Grenier himself confessed to having killed and eaten several children, a circumstance which will not surprize us when we remember that his intellect was exceedingly weak.

* Met. lib. i.

† Cap. de man.

So recently as 1849, the French newspapers contained an account of the trial by court martial of one Sergeant Bertrand, of the 74th regiment, for Lycanthropy.

It appeared that for some months the cemeteries in and about Paris had been desecrated, the graves opened and spoiled of their dead. In Père La Chaise these profanations had been very frequent, and additional guards were set for the discovery of the perpetrator. The suspicion that the surgeons and anatomists were concerned was dissipated by the evidence of one of the profession who was brought to the spot and shewn the mangled and mutilated remains of bodies scattered upon the ground, and who at once expressed his decided opinion that no surgical or scientific hand had had any concern in the business. The scene of these atrocities continued to be changed from one burial ground to another until its worst events took place in that of Mont Parnasse. This, like the other cemeteries, is surrounded by high walls, the iron gates opening in which are kept securely locked. At one part of the wall which presented the appearance of having been frequently scaled, a man trap was set, so contrived as to explode if any one attempted to enter at that point. One night accordingly, a loud report brought the guards to the spot, and the figure of a man was seen in the ground. He was pursued but evaded pursuit, and vanished over the wall as easily as if it had been but breast high. The guards fired their muskets after him, but ineffectually—he succeeded in making his escape.

Next day a grave-digger in the cemetery overheard two soldiers speaking of the strange circumstances of the return, late on the preceding night, of a sergeant of their corps, badly wounded, and of his having been removed to the military hospital of Val de Grace. The clue thus obtained was followed up, and sergeant Bertrand of the 74th Regiment was discovered to have been the perpetrator of the profanations in question.

On his examination he confessed the fact, and stated that he was driven by an irresistible impulse to the commission of these acts.

He gave to one of the surgeons who attended him a sketch of his life, from which it appeared that he had from childhood been subject to fits of melancholy and depression, and that one day passing a graveyard he saw the grave-diggers, in consequence of a sudden shower of rain, leaving a dead body but

partially interred. Then, according to his own account, for the first time the unnatural desire entered his mind, and he returned hastily to the town, procured a spade, and repaired again to the churchyard, but just as he had accomplished the dis-interment of the body he saw that he was watched, and fled into a neighbouring wood, where throwing himself down, he remained for a considerable time in a state of insensibility, regardless of the rain which descended in torrents.

Thenceforth he indulged his horrible taste fully until detected in the manner we have mentioned. The medical men consulted and examined upon the case, pronounced him irresponsible for these acts, though in all other respects apparently perfectly sane, and he was sentenced to imprisonment for a year, probably with a view to effecting a cure of the monomania with which he was afflicted.

While this form of Lycanthropy consisted in the unnatural desire of the living to prey upon the bodies of the dead, Vampirism, was on the other hand, the preying of the dead upon the living. The Vampire has been described as "Endowed with an incorruptible frame to prey on the lives of his kindred and his friends—he now re-appears among them from the world of the tomb, not to tell its secrets of joy or of woe, not to invite or to warn by the testimony of his experience, but to appal and assassinate those who were dearest to him upon earth—and this, not for the gratification of revenge or any *human* feeling, which, however depraved, might find something in common with human nature, but to slake a monstrous thirst, acquired in the tomb, and which, though he walks in human form and human lineaments, has swallowed up every human motive in its brutal ferocity."

The Vampyre was supposed to rise bodily from the grave and steal at night into the room of the victim, on whom it fastened, and whose blood it continued to suck for a considerable time. Death at the end of a long and wasting illness did not release the unhappy sufferer from his misery, for after death he was doomed in his turn to become a Vampyre, and to inflict on others the torments and evils by which he had himself perished.

The body of a Vampyre was always to be recognized by its fresh appearance, half open eyes, flexible limbs, and beating pulse.

The Vampyre was known in Greece under the name of Vroucolaca, or Broucololas, and Tournefort gives us an account of one at Mycone, whose destruction was for a considerable time a work of great labour to the Myconians.

Between 1725 and 1785 Vampirism prevailed extensively in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, and the terror excited was not confined to the ignorant and poor; all classes became equally a prey to superstitious dread, and military and ecclesiastical commissioners were appointed to investigate the facts. We may be tempted to smile at the present day at such absurdities; we should not, however, forget that the history of spirit rapping and its kindred follies, may hereafter show ourselves in a still more ridiculous light to our posterity.

The accounts given us by Dr. Madden of the Convulsive Chorea, of the 14, 15 and 16 centuries are curious and interesting. He writes.

"Perhaps there never was a period in the history of the world so pregnant with great national calamities throughout Europe as that of the 14th century. The great pestilence, aptly designated 'The Black Death,' which had consigned, it is estimated, a third of the human race to the grave, had not wholly subsided, when a new malady of a convulsive nervous and maniacal character, burst out in Germany about 1374, of a more strange nature than any previous malady that had afflicted humanity so extensively as to deserve the name of an epidemic.

"The dancing mania connected with Demonomania made its way into some parts of Flanders and Germany, after many signal calamities from pestilence, war, and civil feuds. This dancing disease, we are told, 'was a great epidemic of a severe nervous malady, of which the present St. Vitus's dance is the feeble echo.'

"The afflicted generally believed they were possessed by demons; they tormented their minds with dreadful images of judgments on sins of theirs which had brought this grievous affliction on them, and they were exorcised very often with indifferent success. No one thought of dealing medicinally with their disease.

"The earliest mention of the German dancing mania I find in any contemporaneous historical work, is in the '*Annales de Flandes*,' par Emanuel Sueyro, in the Spanish tongue, (in fol. Huvers, 1624), under date 1374, the following notice occurs of '*la Secta de los Dancantes*.'

"It was accounted portentous of succeeding ills, the exhibition in those days of the madness with which, from the confines of the Rhine and the Moselle, descended on Flanders, so great a multitude of people who went dancing and singing through the towns, in troops of a hundred and of fifty, as if impelled by some fury; no one knew how it arose, or where first appeared this tumultuous disorder, which the laws were ill able to repress.*

"Hecker states, that so early as 1374 large assemblages of persons of both sexes were seen at Aix-la-chapelle, who had come out of Germany, united by one common delusion, and shewed to the public and in the streets the strangest spectacle, circles joined hand in hand, strangely excited, apparently deprived of all command over their senses and of their reason, dancing continually for hours together, regardless of bystanders.†

"In Belgium the afflicted persons were called Dansatares Chorisantes; elsewhere they were called St. John's Dancers, and St. Vitus's Dancers.

"St. Vitus's Dance, the 'Chorea Sancti Viti,' known to medical authors, is described as an habitual convulsive malady, chiefly affecting the voluntary muscles of the extremities, face, head, and neck of debilitated children, boys and girls, from eight to fourteen years of age indiscriminately, and sometimes, but rarely, young women at the age of puberty; a disease accompanied generally with derangement of the digestive organs, a variable and often ravenous appetite, tumescence of the stomach and lower viscera, and subsidence of the convulsive movements during sleep

"But this description of the ordinary disease gives no idea of the dancing plague of the 14th century. It had been heard of, however, so early as the 11th century in Germany, in Hahalt near Bernburg, associated with a curse. In 1237 it is said to have prevailed at Erfurt, and traditions remained of upwards of 100 children having been seen dancing and jumping on the public roads, and sinking exhausted by the violence and duration of their paroxysms. Forty-one years later, in 1278, an outbreak of this disease is said to have taken place at Utrecht,

* See *Annales de Flandes*. Par Emanuel Sreyrs, 1624 p. 556.

† Hecker. *The Dancing Mania*. Babington's edition of the *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*. Lond. 1844, p. 88.

and 200 of those attacked perished by the falling of a bridge, on the occasion of a priest passing, who was conveying the Blessed Sacrament to a sick person, and while they were in the midst of their uninterrupted orgies.

This catastrophe acquired the character of a Divine retribution on the impiety and fanaticism of these people. The attacks varied at their onset in different places and in the same places in different persons. The earliest symptoms were generally of a convulsive nature, twitches of the limbs, an irresistible impulse to bound, to leap, to dance in circles; and in some places to run at full speed, and scamper through fields as if the parties attacked were chased by hounds.

"When they danced in company for a length of time, their excitement became a furious delirium, till at length they sank down to the ground wholly exhausted. The accounts given of them at the termination of those paroxysms, forcibly remind me of the condition of whirling dervishes in the vicinity of Cairo, as it has been witnessed by me, when after tramping round and round, hand in hand, keeping time to the sing-song utterance of the reiterated word Allah, not only with the movements of the feet, but with the motions of the head, with gradual velocity, till at length the gyrations attained the utmost degree of violent exertion, the sounds became a confused murmur, and, one by one, swooning individuals dropped out of the circle, staggered, and sank exhausted, or fell suddenly wholly senseless to the ground.

"In the dancing mania of Germany, during the season that followed violent paroxysms, the sufferers were insensible to sounds, and to pain, but became often convulsed, foamed at the mouth, their limbs were vehemently moved, and the features hideously distorted. Those who were not thus tormented had ecstasies and visions, fancied they conversed with angels, and enjoyed the highest state of beatitude in the highest heaven. When they came out of the swoon, all the beatitude was gone, they manifested intense internal sufferings, oppression of the chest, a sense of sinking, of insupportable vacuity, as if all vital energy had died away in their interior, especially in the stomach, and whole epigastric region.

"In this pitiable state they writhed in agony, groaned, and supplicated the bystanders for relief. And the only relief the experienced was by swathing them with cloths as tightly as they could be bound round their bodies, or pressing with all

possible force on their stomachs, trampling on them, or inflicting blows that in their normal condition, in many well authenticated instances, would have been sufficient to produce death. The phenomena, be it observed, were exhibited in the case of the convulsionnaires of St. Medard. On coming out of swoons the same symptoms were manifested, and the same extraordinary means of relief employed."

The almost irresistible influence exercised upon a community or body of persons dwelling much together, living according to the same rules, observing the same regimen, keeping the same hours for retiring to rest and rising, and moving pretty much by the same general impulses and desires, is strikingly developed in the account which Dr. Madden gives us of what he calls epidemic monomania in convents.

Both hysteria and epilepsy have been frequently induced merely from a principle of imitation, particularly in persons of a nervous and susceptible temperament. We know that epilepsy was called by the Romans *marbris comitiatis* from its being frequently excited in the comitia, which persons liable to the disease were accordingly prohibited from entering.

Convulsions and epileptic attacks have been frequently produced by a highly excited state of the nervous system, particularly when occasioned by strong religious impressions. In the *Lond. Med. and Phys. Journal*, vol. xxxi, p. 373, will be found a curious account furnished by Mr. Cornish of Falmouth of instances which he had observed of this excitement originating in one person and spreading with extraordinary rapidity through a great number. It began in a Wesleyan chapel at Redruth, and extended to others of the same religious denomination in Camborne, Helston, Truro, Penryn and Falmouth. During the time of service, in the first named chapel, a man suddenly called out, "what shall I do to be saved?" and followed this up by expressing the greatest alarm as to the state of his soul. Others having imitated his example, the news quickly spread, and hundreds crowded into the chapel, many of whom were soon similarly attacked. In place of turning out the congregation and closing the building, the preachers began to "improve" the occasion by redoubling their exhortations, and the result was to spread the excitement still more widely. According to Mr. Cornish's account the fits resembled at first the attacks of chorea, assuming subsequently an epileptic or hysterical character, lasting in some instances for seventy or

eighty hours, but in no case which came under his notice proving fatal. Girls and young women were mostly the subjects attacked, though all ages from children of six to men of eighty, were amongst the number, they were chiefly persons of the lowest class, exceedingly ignorant, and there were not less according to Mr. Cornish, than four thousand affected. Dr. Haygarth, to whom is due the merit of detecting the imposture in medicine, attempted to be practised by means of Perkin's metallic tractors, gives similar instances of sympathetic convulsions occurring in North Wales. There is little doubt but that the extraordinary effects described by Dr. Madden as produced in the nuns of the Convents at Cambrai, Yvertot, Knitortp, Cologne, Zanten and other places, owe their origin to the same source as these described by Mr. Cornish and Dr. Haygarth. To return to our author, he writes :—" Monomania in the Convent of Yvertot, or Wertet."

From 1550 to 1565, epidemic mania, by hysterodemonopathy, prevailed in several convents and seminaries in Germany, Holland, and Italy. In the convent of Yvertot (Comté de Hoorn*) this nervous malady, attended with convulsive spasms of the trunk and limbs, and singular hallucinations, broke out towards the end of Lent.

The afflicted members of the community were seized with violent fits of fear and sadness, and paroxysms of a hysterical kind, with sudden bursts of irrepressible laughter and subsequent attacks of depression and despondency. They appeared sometimes as if they had been dragged from their beds along the ground, at other times they suddenly jumped from the floor, and then fell down flat and with considerable force; they were occasionally deprived of speech, and when they fell to the ground remained there as if they were wholly unconscious. But at times they rose suddenly from a state of insensibility, with such muscular energy that it was with the greatest difficulty they could be restrained. They rose up by sudden bounds, and then fell as suddenly down again in a frightful manner.

The inmates of this convent attributed their terrible suffer-

* The Comté of Harn, or Hoarne, formed part of the ancient Duchy of Brabant and of the territory of Liege. The Town and Castle of Harn were in the vicinity of Ruremonde.

ings to a compact that had been entered into with the devil; and the unfortunate person upon whom their suspicions fell was a poor midwife of the neighbourhood, whose life was consecrated to works of mercy.

The poor woman was cast into prison, and with her seven other women likewise suspected of devil-worship. The former was examined, called on to confess her crime, protested her innocence, was tortured (*sur le chevalet*), taken down half dead, and soon after expired.

The malady of the nuns of Yvertot began to diminish in its intensity after having endured about three years, and at length disappeared.*

Wier states that the malady of the nuns of Yvertot commenced with a trivial occurrence, magnified into one that became marvellous in the eyes of many. A poor woman borrowed a measure of salt from the nuns during Lent, and repaid the same, but in double quantity, a little before Easter. From that time the nuns began to find in their dormitories little white globules similar to the crystals of sugar, but of a saline taste, and no one could tell where these globules came from.

Crystallized lime that might have fallen from white-washed walls that had become damp, on the floors beneath, might have been the substance which gave rise to this prodigy, connected, God knows how, with an act of satanic agency.

Soon after this occurrence the sisters fancied they heard plaintive cries like those of a sick person, and voices admonishing them to go to the assistance of companions of theirs who were sick: and when they went to the sisters they found nothing was the matter. All sorts of extraordinary "*mauvaises plaisanteries*" (if one may so speak of the mischievous diabolical extravagances they seemed subject to, were exercised on them. Simon Gaulart has made the following resumé of the morbid phenomena detailed by Wier and others.

This summary clearly and succinctly sets forth the phenomena which throw light on the cause of the prevalence of similar epidemics in convents in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Sometimes the nuns attacked by this malady seemed to be dragged from their beds by the feet to a considerable distance,

* Wieri. *Ap. Om.* p. 299.

and to feel the soles of their feet so tickled that they burst-out into fits of laughter. Some were pinched and were lacerated; others had their trunk and members thrown into the most extraordinary contortions. And some thus tormented and convulsed vomited a great quantity of a dark fluid, black as ink, and so exceedingly acid as to excoriate the mouth and lips, "though they had not, during six weeks previously, taken any food, with the exception of bread or the juice of horse radish."*

The dark fluid they vomited was so bitter and poignant, that all the efforts tried to excite their appetite for any other species of nourishment than the juice of raifart were in vain. "When the convulsions," says Gaulart, "set-in, some were raised in the air to the height of a man, and all of a sudden were then cast down on the ground. And when some of their friends came to visit those who seemed convalescent, or nearly so, the moment the friends appeared some patients would fall flat to the ground on their faces, from the places where they might be seated, without being able to speak a word or recognise any person; others lay stretched out as if they were dead, but their legs and arms twisted backwards. One of them was lifted up in the air, and though the assistants tried to prevent her rising, and laid hold of her, she was still lifted up in spite of them, and then flung down so violently on the ground that she seemed dead. But coming to herself, as if out of a profound sleep, she went forth from the refectory as if nothing had happened.

"Some of them walked on the surface of their legs (in the posture of kneeling), as if they had no feet; and it seemed as if they were dragged backwards, as if they were in a sack. Some scrambled up trees, clambering with their feet like cats—*et en descendaient à l'aide du corps.*"

* "Que de jus de raifart sans pain," is certainly either an error of Gaulart or Calmiel. The words of Wier (page 299) are "*Licet ad dies quinquaginta duos nihil præter raparum Jus citra panem sarpeissent.*"

Calmiel, on the important statement, as to food, observes—*Enfin les religieuses avaient fait un long usage de suc de raifart et on sait que la graine d'une plante voisine du cochlearia a souvent causé des convulsions, lorsqu'elle s'est trouvée mêlée dans une certaine proportion aux substance alimentaire de Villageois. De la Folie, tome 1. p. 275.*

It is worthy of notice, that Wier says, "it is not in the least to be doubted that these religious were possessed by the devils," and moreover that he affirms the poor woman who was accused of causing their possession was wholly innocent; and that he especially refers to the good character borne by this woman, who suffered death on those false charges, "whose neighbours and the poor of the place bore testimony that she was so charitable, and even profuse in her bounty towards them, that she had even impoverished herself."*

Weir, moreover, speaking of the inmates of this convent who had been possessed, as he believed, observes—"Lubricæ fidei notæ fuerunt, quod non ad devi voluntatem sed in fœminas cruciatum causas tulerint."

Another remarkable instance of the same nervous malady and epidemic mania as the preceding, but with some peculiar phenomena, occurred in the monastery of Kintorp, near Strasburg. The whole community, with few exceptions, were afflicted with this disease, and believed themselves possessed by devils. A very full account has been given of this remarkable case by Weir.† Many of the ladies of this house were of noble families.

At first a few only were seized with convulsions and hallucinations, and these were attributed to epilepsy. The symptoms seemed to be communicated, it is said, by contact—perhaps it would be more correct to have said, by close intercourse and sympathy.

At the height of the malady the patients were warned of each approaching access of their convulsions and delirium by a peculiar fœtor of the breath.

When the attack burst out in all its violence, they raved, uttered cries, imitated the shrieks and screams of animals, felt a strong desire to bite, and became frightfully contorted by strange, sharp spasms. The muscles in particular, were convulsed, and the duration of the crisis constantly varied.

When one nun fell into a convulsive attack, all the other religious, who might be present, or within hearing of her cries, were instantly affected by the same malady. They became

* Wier, Op. Om., p. 300.

† Wierus, Opera Omnia, ed. 4to., p. 301.

dangerous to themselves and others, and made furious attempts to fall on strangers, or to bite or strike their companions.

The disorder of their actions, when sought to be redressed, was beyond imagination; they inflicted frightful wounds on one and other, and, singular to say, without any apparent pain.

Goulart, in his "Tresor of Diabolical Possession Histories," states, "In the paroxysms of the sufferers, some still continued in the possession of their reason, and the power of hearing and recognizing those who were around them; notwithstanding, on account of the convulsive affections of the tongue and the parts essential to respiration, they could not speak during the attack."

One thing is remarkable in this case, as commented on by Goulart, "no sooner was one of the sisters attacked, than on the sole rumour of the occurrence all the other sisters, separately situated in other chambers, were similarly seized themselves."

One of the nuns, who was an early sufferer from this convulsive hysterical mania, complained much at the commencement of pain in her left side. In her attacks she frequently spoke aloud, and was not unconscious at the time that she spoke, but it seemed to her it was another person in her interior who uttered the sounds which came from her lips. And this fact is worthy of note for its bearing on the somnambulism ascribed to animal magnetism. Once the access was over, all that she had spoken during her paroxysm appeared to be forgotten by her. She seemed to be in a state of naturally adduced somnambulism.

The history of epidemic monomania in the convent of Loudun is remarkable for its connection with that of Urban Grandier. We quote Dr. Madden's account of this wretched affair.

The name and catastrophe of an unfortunate clergyman are mixed up with this said sad history of monomania of Loudun. The Abbé Urban Grandier, an élève of the Jesuits of Bourdeaux, who had retired from the order about the year 1620, a canon of the church of St. Croix, curate of St. Peter's (and not the director or confessor of the nuns of Loudun), a young clergyman of great pulpit oratory, and of striking personal advantages, being a good deal in the world, and as it would appear by no means dead to its allurements or uncontaminated by its vices,

is said to have incurred the animosity of some members of one of the monastic orders in his locality by publicly inveighing in the pulpit against the practice of frequenting the sacraments at Easter in any other than the parish churches.*

Rumour began to affect the morals of the Abbé Grandier, and in a little time he is heard of before a legal tribunal, accused of many grave disorders: "On denouca ses galanteries à l'official de Poitiers en 1629." The accused was condemned, and sentenced to loss of benefice, and to residence as a penitent in a seminary. An appeal, however, from the sentence led to its reversal.†

Three years passed over. The friends of virtue and religion (according to some), or the foes of the abbé (according to others) were not idle in the meantime. In 1631 a rumour began to be disseminated among the common people: "Que les Ursulines de Loudun étoient possédées." The Abbé Grandier was accused of being a magician, and by his conjurations of having caused the Ursuline nuns of Loudun to be possessed by devils.

So early as October, 1632, the nuns had begun to criminate Urban Grandier. As their delirious paroxysms dated from the latter part of 1631, Grandier, in the interval between that period and his arrest, could not have been very easy in his mind at the rumours industriously circulated, that several nuns had laid the guilt of their spiritual ruin at his door.

It will be borne in mind that one of the nuns of Loudun, thought to be possessed, was a relation of Richelieu. A Councillor of State of the name of Laubardemant, a creature of Richelieu's, happened, as the public were informed, to be employed at Loudun on business unconnected with the convent at the period when the disturbances in the house of the Ursulines, attributed to the diabolical agency, were at their height. The councillor of state, it was said, had been sent to superintend the demolition of an old castle in the vicinity of that town.

A little later (31st November, 1633) the councillor of State, Laubardemont, is heard of at Loudun as commissary of the minister, Cardinal Richelieu, charged to investigate the subject of the alleged possession of certain nuns in the convent, and with extraordinary powers, superior even to the jurisdiction

* *Mercure François*, tome xx., p. 748.

† *Dict. Biog. Universelle*, Art. Grandier.

of the Parliament, and prohibiting in this case all appeal to it.

The charge of magic against Grandier might have failed, however, if another accusation against him had not been brought to the ears of Cardinal Richelieu. The Cardinal was given to understand that a satirical epigram to his prejudice had been written by Urban Grandier.*

The offence of the satirical epigram was expiated at the stake.

Eventually a commission was appointed by the Government to inquire into the case of the possessed nuns. The Chief Commissary, Laubardemont, was the creature of Cardinal Richelieu. The long arm of the prelate-statesman reached from Paris to Loudun, and the ill-fated Abbé was soon within the grasp of the Cardinal's emissaries. He was accused of practising devilish arts on the nuns of Loudun, and some secular women of the convent. Several of the supposed possessed nuns were either terrified, or driven by delirious impulse, into the fabrication of evidence against him.

Urban Grandier was imprisoned, prosecuted, repeatedly tortured, and the expressions of his agonies were interpreted against him. In August, 1634, he was burned at the stake as a devil-worshipper.

There is one thing very notable in the legal iniquity of those proceedings. The commission appointed by Cardinal Richelieu to investigate this case, and pronounce on Grandier's guilt or innocence consisted of a chief commissary and twelve judges. The judges, it is said, "were good or well-meaning men," but still they were picked men, and constituted a packed tribunal. The celebrated Menage, remarking on this, uses the following words, very worthy of attention:—

"No innocence can be proof against the choice of judges: let an accuser choose the judges, and he will cause all the Jansenist to be burned by Molinist judges, and all the Molinist bishops to be consumed by Jansenist judges."

* It is denied by several writers that Grandier was the author of the epigram; but a treatise against the celibacy of the clergy, found among his papers, with a passage of a profligate nature in the dedicatory address of it to a lady of his acquaintance, is with justice ascribed to him. Had Urban Grandier been sent to the Bicêtre, instead of being committed to the flames, justice and religion might have been better served.

On the 12th of June, 1634, Grandier having been duly shaved and shorn of all hair, to prevent his practising any sorcery against the Commissary and the Judges, the Bishop of Poitiers, exorcists, and the witnesses (twelve monomaniac nuns of Loudun), against him, was conveyed to the convent of Carme, and there brought to trial "at the bar of justice," as the barbarous tribunal was called, where his judicial murder was to be consummated.

Grandier asserted his innocence loudly and eloquently ; he was overwhelmed by the possessed nuns with torrents of abuse, accusations of compacts with the devil, of diabolical artifices to induce nuns to go to the sabbath of the demon to worship him, and to suffer his embraces. The enraged sisters attempted to fall on him, begged hard to be allowed to tear him in pieces, but as this latter proceeding was a little "trop fort," the Bishop of Poitiers interfered, and would not permit the possessed sisters to maltreat or murder the prisoner.

At this juncture, Grandier proposed to the Bishop, as a sure test of the truth or falsehood of the crimes ascribed to him by the nuns, that they should be called on to substantiate the truth of their charges, by causing a distinct and obvious red mark to appear on his forehead, as an attestation of their truth ; and in the event of their inability to produce it, that the failure should be considered as evidence of his innocence. The bishop, from prudent considerations, refused his consent to this proposal. For prudent considerations, however, he gave the solemn sanction of his presence, the sacred authority of his office, and imposing pomp and circumstance of the mitre and the crozier, to the legal formulas by which the persecuted priest was brought to the stake.

There was a remarkable consistency in the iniquity of each part of the proceedings in the case of the statesman prelate, Cardinal Richelieu, minister of Louis XIII., versus Urban Grandier, a simple priest.

That part of the sentence, which condemned the unfortunate priest to be burnt to death at the stake, was promised to be remitted ; it was conceded to him mercifully that he should be strangled first, and burned afterwards ; but faith was broken with him by the infamous Commissary of Richelieu and his compeers. The wretched prisoner, with his legs so shattered by the torture of compression between boards, worked by a screw, as to be unable to walk to the place of execution, was

carried thither on a bier, and burnt to death; proclaiming to the last his innocence, and praying to God to have mercy on him, and to enable him to bear his torments.

The horrible execution of Urban Grandier by no means terminated the torments of the nuns of Loudun. Dr. Madden tells us that six of the clerical and magisterial functionaries brought into contact with Urban Grandier and the nuns, during the course of the legal proceedings, caught the disease and went mad of demonomania.

We cannot read these histories without pain and a sense of deep humiliation. Making every allowance for the time at which these events occurred, they cannot be contemplated without a feeling of anger, mingled however with pity. We feel angry at the folly and obstinacy and the want of temper, and of charity exhibited, and compassionate the blindness and mental darkness that obscured the visions of both the supposed victims and of those who constituted themselves judges and avengers. We can nevertheless better afford to tolerate the proceedings of those persons, than we can find pretence to make allowances for the foibles perpetrated in the present day. With all the advantages of refinement in civilization and enlargement and elevation of educational progress, it is monstrous to find men now-a-days, who unquestionably should know much better, giving themselves up to the powers of delusion and darkness, and necessarily drawing after them numbers of their humble fellow men. The tendency to imitation is as powerful in men now as it was three hundred years ago. Let the grossest absurdity be but once promulgated, and one or two men of respectable position and education found to favor its growth, and, in an incredibly short space of time, it will be found ramified through England, received and believed by one at least of the inmates of almost every house, cottage and cabin, from the North to the South, from the East to the West. This is particularly true of any religious theory, such requires indeed little more to recommend it to thousands than the charm of novelty. After all the experience the world has had of delusion after delusion, of this character, one succeeding as its predecessor began to fall to ruin, it is inexplicable how readily a new system is adopted and continuously and numerously sustained.

Joseph Smyth, the founder of the Mormons, was born in the town of Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on the 23rd of

December, 1805. According to his account, he began at the age of 14 to reflect upon the future and to consider the necessity of preparation for another world, and was confounded and alarmed at finding so universal a difference upon religious subjects, in the various creeds professed throughout the world. Having determined to investigate the subject more fully, he says:—

“I retired to a secret place and began to call upon the Lord. While fervently engaged in supplication, my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enwrapt in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages who exactly resembled each other in features and likeness, surrounded with a brilliant light which eclipsed the sun at noon-day. They told me that all the religious denominations were believing incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as His church and kingdom, and I was especially ‘commanded to go not after them,’ at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the Gospel should at some future time be made known to me.

“On the evening of the 21st Sep., A.D., 1823, whilst I was praying unto God, and endeavouring to exercise faith in the precious promises of Scripture, on a sudden, a light like that of day, only of a far purer and more glorious appearance and brightness, burst into the room; indeed the first sight was as though the house was filled with consuming fire. The appearance produced a shock that affected the whole body. In a moment a personage stood before me surrounded with a glory yet greater than that with which I was already surrounded. This messenger proclaimed himself to be an angel of God, sent to bring the joyful tidings, that the covenant which God made with ancient Israel was intended to be fulfilled; that the preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah was speedily to commence; that the time was at hand for the Gospel in all its fulness to be spread in power unto all nations that people might be prepared for the Millennial reign.

“I was informed that I was chosen to be an instrument in the hands of God, to bring about some of his purposes in this glorious dispensation.

“I was informed also concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country; and shown who they were, and from whence they came; a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments; of their righteousness and iniquity, and

the blessings of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people, was made known unto me. I was also told where there were deposited some plates, on which were engraven an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets, that had existed on the continent. The angel appeared to me three times the same night, and unfolded the same things. After having received many visits from the angel of God, unfolding the majesty and the glory of the events that would transpire in the last days, on the morning of the 22nd of September, 1827, the angel of the Lord delivered the records into my hands. These records were engraven on plates, which had the appearance of gold; each plate was six inches wide and eight inches long, and not quite so thick as common tin. They were filled with engravings in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, as the leaves of a book, with three rings running through the whole. The volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters on the unsealed part were small, and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, and much skill in the art of engraving. With the records were found a curious instrument, which the ancients called "Urim and Thummim," which consisted of two transparent stones, set in the rim on a bow fastened to a breast-plate. Through the medium of the "Urim and Thummim," I translated the records by the gift and power of God."

It is hard to read this account without shuddering at the blasphemous audacity of the narrator, who, however, found numbers credulous enough to receive his statements with respect. In 1851, the statistics of the body showed that there was a total of 80,747 souls, in the United Kingdom alone, professing Mormonism.

The similarity between the stories told by Swedenborg and Smith of their respective missions, and of the visions by which their missions were inaugurated, cannot fail to strike the reader, but there are remarkable distinctions between the details given by each. There is nothing in Swedenborg's relations to repel the presumption that he was the victim of a delusion; on the contrary, the respectability and probity of his life, favor the adoption of the more merciful view. Smith, on the other hand, must have been an artful and a gross impostor, and his subsequent career is in strict accordance with that conclusion. It is impossible to explain away the story of the plates of records.

Manifestly, these must have been manufactured by Smith, or under his directions, for the express purpose of deception and fraud.

The observations we have just made, condemnatory of the conduct of men of education and position, who countenance public delusions, have been suggested to us principally by the comparatively recent conduct of certain clergyman of the Established Church. When a startling and mysterious theory, capable, according to the allegations of its promulgators, of undergoing a practical test, is first projected, the mass of people, willing enough to believe in anything wonderful and strange, usually hangs in doubt, whether to receive or reject the new doctrine, a slight thing turns the balance. One man (or two or three men), of learning, respectable position and unblemished character, give out their adhesion to the cause, and forthwith they draw with them thousands of followers. These usually have devoted neither time nor talents to the investigation of the subject, very often it is in its details above their comprehension; but the craving for excitement, and something new to wonder at and believe in, exists and is gratified in this way. The effects are, as might be expected, exceedingly disastrous, and particularly so, when the influence of alleged supernatural and unearthly manifestations is associated with the subject. It is thus that the pretended science of spirit-rapping and table-turning has wrought so much mischief. The desire to penetrate into the secrets of the future, has doubtless been the chief stimulus to the growth of this delusion. This desire has always been strong amongst mankind. For its gratification the most trivial, as well as the most awful and mysterious means have, from time to time, been employed. The natural could only be applied to the natural order, and consisted of observation, experience, and scientific investigations and conclusions.

The supernatural consisted in the old tune of astrology, divination, sorcery, and magic. Modern times, it would appear are to witness the revival of some of these. Oneiromancy, necromancy, rhabdomancy, and the other minor modes of looking into the seeds of time, had gradually lost the estimation in which they were once held, but are now, it would appear, to be resuscitated under a new name. The profession of the exorcist will again be called into requisition, and some of the scenes described by Dr. Madden, again be enacted. Though

we hear but little publicly at present of spiritual mediums, and table-turners, we should not hastily conclude that they have been abandoned or forgotten. Like the alchemists of old, in their laboratories, some of the most experienced manipulators might at present be maturing, in the privacy of their studies, a more elaborate system of practice, to be presently produced, to the confusion of sceptics and the triumph of its authors. About three years since, the Rev. Charles Beecher (brother of the authoress of "Uncle Tom's Cabin,") the Rev. N. S. Godfrey, Incumbent of Wortley, near Leeds, and the Rev. E. Gillson, M.A., curate of Widcombe, Bath, published their opinions that the spirit rappings and other manifestations were the work of evil spirits. The effect of such publications on the public mind may be readily conceived.

Mr. Godfrey appears to have been assisted in his two operations by his wife and female servant, and also by his curate. Not satisfied with devoting his own time to this modern Divination, Mr. Godfrey engages other members of his family in the work, and then publishes the result.

He appears while desiring to impress upon his readers that the tables and other articles of furniture upon which his experiments were made, were really possessed by demons, to have given implicit credence to the replies which he extracted from these satellites of the father of lies. The reader will estimate the condition to which this gentleman must have been reduced, by the force of the delusion that engrossed his mind, when he ascribes the same results in the demoniacal world, to the placing one's hands upon the tables in a particular manner, as were produced of old by the Apostles in the persons of those on whom they "imposed hands:" in other words that the tables were thus by the laying of hands, inspired and possessed by demons, as men in the days of the Apostles were inspired by God with "power from on High."

He adds, "I am now firmly convinced that table moving is a satanic device; those various manifestations indicate that the enemy is growing bolder; the bolder he becomes the more open will be his miracles; the more open his miracles, the closer our proximity to the development of the antichrist, ruling by Satan's possession and power. And oh! if the tribulation of those days shall be of so awful a character, as it shall be, that except those days should be shortened, no flesh should be saved, &c."

Is it not melancholy to see a man placed between the people and the effects of ignorance and superstition, not only abandoning his post but leaguering with the enemy to betray his flock. The result of such teaching is visible in America, where we are told by Mr. Spicer there are no fewer than thirty thousand regularly recognized spiritual media. In Philadelphia city alone, there are three hundred magnetic regular meetings, who exchange communications and experiences.

There is not a history narrated in Dr. Madden's work, which for strange fatuity and absurdity can vie with one of modern times, told by the victim himself. Under the following title we find a work published by a Monsieur L. A. Cahagnet, which we could afford to smile at, did we not know that it forms merely an index to point the height to which this dangerous fever has risen :—

“Magie Magnétique, ou Traité Historique et pratique des fascinations, de miroirs cabalistiques, d'apports, de suspensions, de pactes, de talismans, de charme des vents, de convulsions, de possessions d'envoûtements, de sortilèges, de magie de la parole, de correspondances sympathique, de nécromancie &c.”—Paris, 1854.

In this extraordinary work the author gives us an account of an incantation practised by him when retiring to rest at night, by placing under his ear a piece of paper bearing the following inscription :—

“Au nom de Dieu tout-puissant, ton Créateur et le mien, je te prie, ange commis à ma garde, de m'apparaître cette nuit, afin de me prouver la réalité de ton existence.”

He then favors us with an account of the result, how the second night he was drawn (or fell) out of bed, and how a few nights after at his desire a deceased aunt appeared to, and conversed with him. How subsequently he felt his pillow raised up fully six inches, and on enquiring whether it was his good angel who did this, a voice answered thrice “Yes,”—and how after a night or two on solemnly calling on this angel to tell his name, the word “Agoor” was pronounced three times with such a prolonged detonation of sulphur, that he implored of God, never to suffer him to hear that name again. Further on we learn from M. Cahagnet that he possessed the power of charming any clouds, causing rain to cease and the atmosphere to clear. Some friends having called upon him to witness his performance of this marvel, he proceeds thus : .

"I said to Médar, 'I don't feel exactly in a condition for trying an experiment of the kind just now, especially on such large clouds; however, if you will both help me, we will try.' 'Oh,' said they, 'we will willingly.' 'Then,' said I, 'I attack the head of that one which is upon the other, and dissolve it away;'—'and I stove in its belly,' said Médar, with that sort of faith in magnetic facts which is daily exhibited. M. Gérard added, 'and I will take the tail.' We all three set to work. Seeing us thus engaged, we might have been compared to the three Horatii, setting aside the object in view. In ten minutes our cloud had gone to rejoin its companions, in that vast ethereal laboratory which contains us, and was no longer visible to our eyes. M. Gérard said, 'It is true the cloud is gone, but has not the cloud below absorbed it?' 'Possibly,' I answered; 'let us therefore set to work to open the belly of that one, and recover our cloud—what say you?' 'We will do it if it be possible,' they answered, 'but it is sharp work.' 'Let us try then,' said I; and at the same moment we went at the giant with such force and energy that it disappeared, like its companions, in about ten minutes. Imagine the enthusiasm and astonishment of my visitors, who from that day have continued to make experiments more and more demonstrative and conclusive."

Verily M. Cahagnet would be perfectly at home with the lunatics of Charenton, at present he is out of place associating with sane men.

We are forced by the pressure of time and space to bring this paper to a close; we think we have shown that the Phantasmata described by Dr. Madden, and the writers whom he so largely quotes, are of the same origin and nature as those of the present day. Fear and ignorance, begetting superstition, are the progenitors of the old as well as of the modern illusions; it is lamentable to find in these days that Education, which should be in the hands of its possessors the most powerful weapon for the overthrow of error, is turned into a sword for its defence.

Dr. Madden's work is calculated, in the hands of thinking and moderate men, to do much good. The author has shown great research, and a considerable acquaintance with curious and recondite literature.

A little more attention to arrangement, either chronological, generic, or relative, would have much enhanced the value of

the book, and we still more regret the almost total absence of any expression of opinion or original observations, on the part of the author, upon the strange and frequently marvellous narrations which he gives us.

The title of the book, and the introduction to it, warranted our expectations, which Dr. Madden's literary character fully justified, of philosophical, acute, and enlarged views of human nature and human actions; a great field was open for the discussion and examination of the causes that produced, sustained, and propagated these strange fanaticisms, and a psychocological and physiological enquiry into the various forms of mania and monomania noticed by the author, would have been both interesting and instructive. Whether restrained by timidity or deterred by the necessity for labor, Dr. Madden has done little more than furnish us with a number of curious extracts from various sources, extracts which, however curious and recondite, resemble, whilst unillustrated by the original views of the collector, the bones of a human body, unclad with flesh and nerves, and unanimated by a soul.

Thus, while most readily acknowledging the pleasure, in a literary sense, which we have derived from a perusal of these volumes, and desiring to express the satisfaction with which we shall again, if it pleases him that we should do so, meet Dr. Madden in the republic of letters, we cannot help thinking that in the particular instance of the "Phantasmata," the words of Montaigne would be most appropriate in his mouth,

"I have culled a bouquet of varied flowers from many gardens, and nothing is mine own save the string that ties them."

ART. 1X.—THE MANCHESTER EXHIBITION.

1. *Catalogue of the Art Treasures of the United Kingdom, Collected at Manchester in 1857. (Provisional) Second Edition.* London : Bradbury and Evans, 1857.
2. *A Handbook to the Gallery of British Paintings, in the Art Treasures Exhibition. Being a reprint of Critical Notices originally published in the "Manchester Guardian."* London : Bradbury and Evans, 1857.

The present age may very truly be characterised as the age of Exhibitions. The love of publicity, the craving for notoriety are the ruling passions of the time, and their manifestations in life and action are new and manifold. Few things are now-a-days done in a corner in solitude and silence. Before an idea has fairly become a thought, the public are notified that some strange thing is about to be said or done, and before an action has been well accomplished it comes to be criticised, explained, described—and the whole universe is summoned to sit in council, squabble, and do the duty of posterity on the latest incident. Appeals to the judgment of posterity are quite gone out of fashion. No one waits for posterity. The present half hour is the beginning and the end—futurity no one cares a straw about—fame, if sought, must come sounding her trump in the accent of the living generation—cash, if we want that, must be paid down in the shape of the newest Victoria sovereigns. The prevailing theory of happiness seems to be, to have our pockets well filled for the needs of the day, and to have morning papers to give the latest intelligence of our thoughts, words, and actions. And if, perchance, we ever cast a look into the past, it is confessedly to ransack the store house of by-gone centuries for materials for our work. We grind the dry bones of a passed time for bread, and eat our portion hastily and irreverently.

Long gone by is the age when men of mind sat in the twilight of their hushed life, working out great thoughts, in patience—their own fervid imaginings, or the laborious pursuit of truth, the fulness of life to them—content; if now and then they craved the genial sympathy of human hearts, they were content to wait till time should bring the tide of progress to *their* higher level, feeling only the anticipated pleasure of future appreciation, and

leaving to posterity the fame which they were satisfied never to enjoy in the flesh. Little recked Master Shakspeare, we fancy, that there were no daily papers to give note of his sayings and doings. It did not seem to him worth while that the whole world should know what he got for breakfast, or how he lived with his mother, wife, and cousins-germain. He did not mind telling how, and why, and where he wrote act second, scene first, of Hamlet; or whether King John was really meant to be only King John, or also some gentleman of his acquaintance. Fra Angelico in those days prayed and painted. While his heart glowed with the fervent love of God, his hand traced out scenes of ideal beauty, delineated faces of surpassing loveliness, for which only the dreams of saints and the mental vision of the pure of heart could find a prototype; and when the pious brethren of San Marco, and the gentle and simple of fair Florence, stood entranced before his pictured visions of holy life on earth, and beatified life in heaven; he was more than satisfied, that in giving glory to God, they did not likewise worship Il Frate. Hans Memling, good, honest burger, was satisfied that people should barely be acquainted with his name, guess at his birth-place, and forget the day of his death. He painted his gratitude to the sisterhood of St. John, not in the history of his own poor human life, but in the beautiful legendary story of their canonised patroness; leaving to them and to old Bruges a legacy of love which a score of emperors might sigh for.

We may be tempted to regret the fate of those neglected geniuses whose daily doings remain unchronicled; while we think it much to be deplored that we, nineteenth century folks, should be left without the means of gratifying our inquisitiveness with respect to them. Let us rather envy their unaccustomed independence. We, for our own part, are not prepared to depart life until we have sufficiently arranged *memoirs pour servir* of our follies, fancies, and flashy existence. Or, if by unhappy accident we die a sudden and unprovided death, at least, we hope the next a-kin or some sincere friend will take up the mantle of our self-sufficiency, and prate about us to our heart's content.

Nearly allied to this vicious passion for notoriety is the love of the present time for exhibitions. Everything must be learned, understood, and made our own of; and that in double quick time. There is no possibility of waiting. We must

take in all things in a grasp. We must see everything, hear everything, feel everything that is tangible. Chemical analysis must not puzzle us, nor the mystery of power looms be unrevealed. We must dissect the mystery, and lay bare the bone and marrow. If we cannot see it, we must read it in a penny pamphlet. Till at last, in answer to the call, machinery of fabulous horse power, mechanism to shame the nicety of a lady's finger, show forth their power, and tell their secret, and make the human heart leap with exultation in the consciousness of what the intellect of man has done to make the material world his slave and passive instrument.

The London Exhibition, the world wonder of '51, was the actual outburst of this frenzy, the answer to the passionate cry of uneasy multitudes. The Crystal Palace stands in our memory, the history and *morale* of it, with as sharply defined an outline as its iron-rimmed structure stood out against the summer sky. The very outward form was typical of the whole. Its origin was the result of a flashing thought, which caught fire from smouldering desires; its progress was the expression of the power, rapidity, resource of nineteenth-century intellect. Wealth and labour which in earlier times would have fortified a kingdom, art and contrivance and thoughtful minutiae, which would have sufficed to decorate a minster, were here knowingly applied to fashion a palace of glass which should not outlive the transitoriness of an English summer. And stranger than all, within its fragile boundaries, the knowledge so thirsted for could be satiated to the full. The material held its sway as ruler in possession. The clank of machinery silenced the splashing of the fountain, the whirr of wheels disturbed the rustle of green leaves. The whole history of potteries and foundries became patent to the passer by. The products and fabrics of the oriental world, the costly laces of Venice and Brabant, precious Sevres, gorgeous Gobelins, giant doors of malachite, the work of toilsome hands, and complicated machinery, were here spread out before him. What clay and metal, and the vegetable growth of the earth could yield to the plastic faculty of man, he actually saw worked out before his eyes. It was a sight to intoxicate if not to satisfy.

Just a year later the little world of Cork started into unwonted vitality, and, in "the van of all the congregated world," proudly displayed what Ireland, without the pressure and penalty of the factory system, can produce of graceful design and

costly workmanship. Dublin followed somewhat more slowly, and in '53 announced *its* exhibition. Cottons and tabinets were woven, and sugar plums took form, and cups and saucers were moulded upon the spot. But, eternal honour to the genial, sprightly, soulful Celt! he was not satisfied with this show of craft and mechanism; he craved something more spiritual, and he had bands of music, and the pealing sound of organs, and a noble gallery of pictures to grace and accompany *his* exhibition *par excellence*. Paddy has starved upon potatoes, but he has not sold his soul yet. It was a proud thing to observe, and we did not fail to lay it to heart, that as the Koh-i-noor diamond was the overwhelming attraction in the London exhibition, and the Wirtemberg monkeys and other stuffed eccentricities, the gathering place of sight seers, so the picture gallery was the central point of interest to the Dublin visitors. Many a season ticket was purchased, in order that the owner might have the privilege of turning in to spend a stray half hour of a busy day, in the special study of some favourite picture.

It may have been from the good example here given, for it is not slowly that the experience of one day is applied to the experiment of the next, that when Paris opened its Exhibition in 1855, not only a corner was allocated to the Fine Arts properly so called, but a spacious and a fitting building was arranged for their reception and display, and its walls munificently decorated with the choicest works of living artists. The mercantile spirit was still the prime mover; an infinite extent of shop windows the *ideal*, but here again the Salon des Beaux Arts was found to be a most attractive addition.

Having faithfully made pilgrimage to all these Exhibitions, it was scarcely to be expected that the announcement of another should seem to promise much profit or pleasure. Nevertheless, when some few months since there began to be rumour of an intended Exhibition in Manchester, that pandemonium of sooty toil, we "could not choose but hear" and start responsive to the invitation. But with how new an interest was that summons accompanied! We ourselves would willingly journey to any corner of the three kingdoms to see a gallery of pictures; but we saw far more in this undertaking than the gratification of mere private fancy. Here was something about to be offered for a people's enjoyment of a nature to counteract,

rather than pander to, the temper of the times—something commenced well fitted to prepare the way for a purer taste, and a nobler aspiration. Now it came to be tested whether there might not lie beneath all this arrogance, and frivolity, and grovelling care, some seeds of a better growth. Dreams which we had long nursed of the benign and elevating influence of art, and of its necessity in the education of every civilized people—hopes which we had entertained, albeit hoping against hope, that our government, or the enlightened public, or some other body, corporate or otherwise, would one day attempt something for the art education of the people—were they about to be realised? Were the din and stir of factory life to be hushed and quieted for an interval; and should the toil-wearied men and women of central England for once have leisure and opportunity to learn that there have been things done in the world which all the power-looms in Lancashire could not produce, nor all the calculations of the fullest brain and keenest intellect give even a hint towards fashioning? Was the ideal world about to be brought near to the son of toil? Was the mechanic of Birmingham to see with a glad surprise the immortal works which gained renown for the artificers of an earlier time, when fancy and imagination lightened and spiritualised labour? Should it be revealed to the potter of Stafford what his art achieved in other days, when the rudest material was plastic to the cunning hand, and the genius of the artist created beauty in the uninformed clay? Should many a worker discover at last that all life is not comprised in the motion of thews and sinews, be they of flesh or metal—all hope in the counting of gold—or all earthly bliss in the costliness of sensuous enjoyment?

Full of such “obstinate questionings” we looked eagerly into our morning papers for every paragraph relating to the coming Exhibition of Art Treasures. We had known as well as Mr. Waagen himself what grand Vandycks, gorgeous Titians, cool Hobbemas, and glowing Cuyps, hung inaccessible on the walls of lordly mansions; we had heard of the Soulaiges and Bernal collections of mediæval works; and we were aware that treasures of art manufacture lay scattered through the collections of public and private museums. But we also knew to our cost that we should be obliged to travel the length and breadth of the kingdom to get a sight even of the portion set apart for general inspection. Every announcement there-

fore of promised works of art was a real substantial pleasure, and we felt a positive gratitude to the merchant princes of Manchester and the generous nobility of England, who, working together in unity of purpose, were about to accomplish so worthy an undertaking. That so much of private enterprise entered into the scheme did not detract from the feeling of satisfaction. What the more paternal, though more absolute governments of other states take care to prepare for the delight and improvement of their subjects, was now about to be offered for a season to the people of the United Kingdom, through the enlightened liberality of individuals.—Though, by the way, we must venture to give it as our opinion, that if our glorious constitution allowed the people more liberty to amuse themselves innocently, and took less trouble to secure them the privilege of killing themselves with drink, and losing their souls and eating their hearts away in low debauchery, it might be better for Church and State.

However this may be, the most significant feature of all was the fact that Manchester should be the place to give birth to the greatness and disinterestedness of this design. The atmosphere of Manchester is thick with coal dust; its factory chimneys overtop and outnumber the belfries of a mediæval city; its mills are congregated villages; its warehouses rival the extent and finish of ducal palaces. The merchants of Manchester are names of renown in the great world, for the world of commerce is the great world of to-day; and the pulse of its 400,000 manufacturers throbs and flutters in the never ceasing alternation of labour and speculation. The young lives of its very children are surrendered to the necessity of the day—an oblation of soul and limb to the Juggernaut of commercial dominion. Manchester is the centre of England's trade, which is the source of England's prosperity; the beat of its iron heart is felt in the remote plains of India, and beyond the far mountains of Western America. Manchester, indeed, is the last place in the world in which we should have expected to see a glimmer of æsthetic taste, or hope to find homage paid to the truth and beauty of a more spiritualised existence. And yet we have heard that of late music has found in Manchester ready acceptance and sound criticism, and modern English painters some munificent patronage. A spark of vitality has lightened the deep obscure. There comes a dawn of fresher life. The men of Manchester have grave

responsibilities; when they speak the world hearkens; when they act they have for spectators the tribes and nations of two hemispheres. They have now fairly got in the narrow end of the wedge. Henceforth, they may give us with the best and cheapest calicoes much besides. The conquests they have made in trade may yet be equalled by their achievements in arts, education, and the moral culture of the nation.

But leaving aside these ultimate considerations we come to what is actually before us. The success and immediate result of this Exhibition will be the test of the actual cultivation, as well as the intellectual capabilities, of a considerable section of the population. If you want to take the measure of a man lead him into a gallery of pictures. You can take the standard of his intellectual strength, and give a pretty fair guess at his moral worth, when you have spent a few hours with him among first class works of art. The gloss of conventional refinement soon disappears when the vulgar nature comes in contact with the pictured revelations of some master mind. Take a low toned man before a "sacra conversazione" of Perugino, or some ideal group of Michael Angelo, and you will detect the alloy of base metal at once. They will be to him but the paint and canvas, the curious handicraft of a carver in stone. He can no more appreciate the ideal in the work, no more read its moral significance, than he could loyally reverence the true and beautiful in nature, or feel the glow of enthusiasm in religion. All the cant of criticism cannot hide the want of that faculty divine by which the true soul comprehends, and expands in sympathy with the lofty thought of another. The lower nature has no understanding of these things, and all the book learning, all the hearsay in the world cannot make him the wiser. On the contrary, it not unfrequently happens that a man of ruder exterior and less education as we say, will give a truer criticism of a picture than whole chapters of written disquisition. He may deprecatingly tell you that he knows nothing of art, and has never seen good pictures in his life; take him nevertheless to some grand Titian, to some lovely Murillo, and what soul and faculty are in the man will come to light at once, and you will find that that piece of canvas is a revelation to him, and henceforth the divine in man becomes to him a more living faith.

It is most interesting to observe what a fresh start an awakened taste for art gives to the intellect. One does not

stop to consider the mere picture, he must know who the painter was, when he lived, in what clime, at what crisis of the world's history, among what people he thought and worked. What ideal he sought, how he pursued it, how others pursued it, how far it is realized to the actual spectator, how far it interprets or corresponds with his own ideal of the subject. Numberless paths of enquiry are opened at once. A lover of pictures is always a lover of many things as well. Music has a loftier passion for him, history a deeper meaning. The stir of life is fraught with fuller significance: the ideal, the symbolic, interfuse the commonest circumstance.

One thing is quickly learnt and laid to heart by the candid mind:—this, namely, that the less worldly, the nobler, the more devout the man, the greater the artist: and that no true art can exist in concert with the following of low passions, or the indulgence of depravity, vulgar or refined. The history of art is written in the personal biography of artists.

The spring and summer tide of art is comprised in the time when she was the handmaid of religion, and her professors dutiful sons of Holy Church. When all the beauty of the Umbrian and Lombard schools; all the saintly simplicity of Francia, the homely intense earnestness of Van Eyck, and Memling, were but so many heaven-sent gifts lavishly poured out at the feet of religion; and the devotion of a long life was thought well expended that the people, not then the sovereign people, but the simple people, might learn their catechism on the pictured walls of their churches, and their souls be made, through art, to waken with a livelier strength of faith, a loftier hope, and a more burning charity.

Then indeed art was the trusted teacher. When she ceased to hold that position she was no longer true to her high vocation. As soon as she suffered herself to be lured away from her noble aim, to become the mere decorator of luxurious mansions, the illustrator of pagan fable, she forsook the way of greatness: and all the technical nicety of finish, all the glory of colour, all the science of anatomical delineation, could not redeem her from the stamp of degradation. All the greatest artists were painters of religious pictures; all the world-famous pictures hung in churches, in the gaze, according to the true Catholic spirit, of daily congregations. The Church can boast of having inspired, and nurtured, and made her own, all that is priceless in art. With liberty and license, and so called

"Reformation" came in mere landscape painting, battle pieces, sottish drinking scenes, the jollifications of high life below stairs, and all the pictured common place of the Dutch and English schools: all fit and proper, and good enough in their place, but not the best.

We must now take a rapid view of the old Traffard exhibition itself. How far the collections herein arranged are calculated to prove and illustrate the opinions we have given, he that runs may read. As for the building—if the fitness of a thing be its greatest praise, then is the shrine of the Art Treasures a masterpiece. Entering by the central doorway, we find ourselves in the midst of light and space. The narrow streak of glazed roof throws down the light broadly and gently over the entire building. The proportions of length, breadth and height, are admirable. We feel the presence, we know not whence, of cool refreshing air. There is nothing in colour or decoration to displease the eye, or what would be equally insufferable, to distract attention—observation is not injudiciously caught by an elaborately groined and fretted roof, or fixed by unnecessary ornamentation of pillars and supporters. It is the fit and simple setting of a priceless jewel. Such is the order and completeness of arrangement, that almost at a glance we can find the precise situation of every separate department. Immediately to right and left of the central hall are ranged along the walls the pictures forming the British portrait gallery. Through high arched openings we catch glimpses of the picture galleries—the *chef-d'oeuvres* of modern art on one side, the glories of the old masters on the other.

In lines along the centre, are the glass-cases containing the treasures of the Soulage and Bernal collections, contributions from public and private museums, riches from the universities, and the valued property of royalty. In these are the rarest specimens of Gubbio lustre, Majolica, Dresden and Sevres, and Pallissy ware. Enamels of Byzantium and Limoges, such as no British public ever saw. Carvings in ivory worthy of Fiammingo, bronzes varied and valuable, gold and silver work of every age, ewers and gobblets and *Tazze* of Venetian glass, the work of artificers who ranked with princes. All works of untold price—the very cream one might say, of rare museums. In front, and through these treasure-cases, are works in marble of most of the British sculptors, with some from strange hands, and a few owning the "antique

grace." Near the transept are the armoury courts, mailed knights mounted with lance in rest; farther on, cases of coins and medals, rich vestments, and Church ornaments of the olden time. Beneath the organ gallery, and indeed for the most part covering the walls of the transept, are examples of tapestry and other textile fabrics; and in the same neighbourhood, the strangest and most beautiful cabinets, wardrobes, chairs, and buffets, with mysterious coffer of the mediæval period. In the galleries are the engravings, first sketches of artists and etchings, forming the most perfect collection ever made; a priceless contribution to the history of art. In the some quarter are the productions of the new art of photography. Behind the transept, in saloon G, is the Oriental court, and in the corresponding court on the other side, are ranged the choice treasures of the Hertford Gallery. At the back of the organ, in addition to the main building, are the Water-color galleries, wherein the rise, progress, and present perfection of a branch of art, almost purely English, are most worthily elucidated.

As it would be perfectly impossible to include even a sketch of these many and various hoards of Art Treasures, we prefer to saunter somewhat leisurely through the picture galleries, dwelling here and there upon such works of each school, or of each artist, as most particularly attract us; and addressing our remarks, not to the flippant critic, or embryo connoisseur—still less to the accomplished art student; but to the mass of right-minded, intelligent people who come here, not to display what they already know, but to be instructed pleasantly, and wisely to increase their store.

The British portrait gallery recalls many a half-forgotten chapter of our well thumbed English history, and almost makes us vow to go home and brush up our old store of information, and read aright the annals of the nation. We almost wish we were on the school benches once more, for the sake of the strange delight we should feel at finding ourselves in the midst of the "illustrious and infamous dead," as Mr. Cunningham hath it, whose names and deeds filled the measure of our daily lesson, and fascinated our imagination so magically. Here is Richard II., poor hapless Richard, all over decorated lest we should not know him to be a king—the very back-ground of his royalty silver-gilt. And Richard III., the very same we remember so well, with the ring upon his

finger, in our old Goldsmith's history. Mary Tudor, daughter of England, queen of France, and happier wife of knightly Suffolk. Her "unknown" painter with true instinct drew her as we like best to remember her—the tedium of her royalty passed away, and happy Charles Brandon owner of her heart and hand. How handsome and pleased they look and how lovingly he holds her hand! There is sentiment in that old-fashioned picture. Not far off is Jane Shore, how ~~un~~-handsome! so scant of clothing, and so lavish of jewellery—three necklaces, but no boddice. If Holbein flattered the "Defender of the Faith," as they say he knew how to do, how must the monster have looked in the flesh! And Wolsey, we cannot believe there was even justice done to him. The poet Earl of Surrey, as sorry a poet lord as ever we looked at, is dressed in bright red from top to toe, and worst than all seems quite conceited of his showy suit. We have Anna Boleyn over and over, pert enough to put any good queen's nose out of joint. Queen Elizabeth in every absurd attitude at every age. If No. 67 be really a portrait of the virgin queen, which Walpole seems to doubt, it gives a better notion of her than the rest; there is a very clever sort of mildness in the girl's face. Essex, save the mark! our hero of romance, looking very like a scare crow in a suit of silver white—Zacchero, if the fault be his, should not have treated majesty's favourite so. In close neighbourhood are pinched miserable Mary 1st, with her ugly, ice-cold husband Philip of Spain—Paulet, blear-eyed old rascal, Mary Stuart's jailor—Lord Treasurer Burleigh strangely masquerading, bouquet in hand, on an ambling jennet—Leicester, looking as if he could do questionable deeds, and keep his own secret—"Infamous" Countess of Essex and Somerset convicted on the circumstantial evidence of her own repulsive face—Buckingham, a spicy cavalier, ready for any sport—learned James 1st—His hapless mother, Mary Stuart, whose watch, by the way, and the jewels worn on the day of execution (liberation) are preserved in a glass case beneath—Sir Thomas Gresham, and a crowded company of highly respectable individuals, whom we all heard of before now. Among the rabble of notabilities—"Rare Ben" gravely looks though the dusk of time, and immediately near him we encounter the brighter gaze of Shakspeare's eye. Very good examples of Jansen's portraiture hang near, (Nos. 100, 103, 104,) and hurrying on we come up to Vandyck.

Queen Henrietta (108) is one of Vandyck's best pictures of that ill-fated woman. By reason of its especial excellence he received for it the sum of £40! Hear this, modern painters of royalty, who pocket your few hundreds for a piece of leaden eloudiness. We mean no offence, but look at this representation of royal ladyhood, and turn to the august personages over the organ gallery! and the great Fleming, be it known, was not ill used; but royally patronised, kept six servants as it stands recorded, flirted with the court beauties, married into the aristocracy, died rich, and sleeps with good company in St. Paul's. For contrast of treatment compare Meytens' Charles 1st (109) with the Charles in Vandyck's Royal Family (116) and again with Polemberg's (187). Vandyck alone knew how to paint the melancholy handsome Stuart. After these follow whole regiments of loose-haired, well-frilled, somewhat drowsy eyed, cavaliers, very hard to distinguish one from another. But the Earl of Arundel (107)—look at that for a fine, rugged dashing portrait! It is by Vandyck's master, Sir Peter Paul Rubens, and is one of the gems of the Warwick Castle collection, where it is found in company with other magnificent portrait-pictures as we shall see elsewhere. Passing Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, with his troubled, cruel look, and sundry royal nephews, ladies in waiting, lords and gentlemen, we look out for Hampden and Cromwell. Here they are sure enough, as big names as ever filled a small section of a kingdom's history. The Protector absolutely smiles; we look in wonder on his massive face, but do not feel satisfied that with all that unexpected mildness there may not be sad work going on in the background. Hampden is full of gentleness and quiet strength: the very type of the peaceful country gentleman content to have no fame beyond the boundaries of the country side, but with head and heart to do things worthy of a name. In a cluster round these are Sir Thomas Browne, Selden, Hobbes, Butler, Earl of Manchester Parliamentary General, luckless Monmouth, Chancellor Clarendon, brave Falkland, scholarly soldier, who pitied unlettered gentlemen of a rainy day, and a host of others.

We cross the central hall, and find ourselves in the rank and file of Sir Peter Lely's beauties, who all look as if they had been cut out of the same piece of clay, and painted by Sir Peter after the one model, with the one brush, and at one sitting.

There is more than a family likeness between them, everywhere is the drooped eyelid, the rose-tinted cheek, the thin cut eyebrow, and the peculiar full lip. One duchess figures as Bellona, another masquerades in costume claimed by no time or place; one stands, another sits. All seem as if they had half a mind to go asleep, and many look very wicked in spite of their demureness. Here is the master of the revels, the "merry monarch" himself, as sad looking a dog as we met in the day's walk, and his Portuguese wife in the very dress that so much displeased that lively company. Casting a glance at Pepys, John Evelyn, Newton and Wren, making our observations on Macaulay's hero, William III., his wife Mary, the favourite Bentinck, handsome Marlborough; and passing by the later Stuarts, and even less royal Hanoverians, we give a nod of recognition to Pope, and all the worthies of his day. But stay, here is a painted head worth all we have gone through. It is Gainsborough's Garrick, we may well note 284 in our catalogue, and hang up the actor's portrait in our own private picture gallery. Such eyes! the whole soul of the man is in them. They do not flash and sparkle, but they look steadily at you, and you stand at gaze, and almost expect that every moment there may be an outburst of fun, and your whole being be made to feel the electric shock of Garrick's humour. Mrs. Garrick too is excellent. After that pleasant pair we can see little to attract in the Shees and Lawrences that follow. There is a sad want of *Art* here. Our modern men are not after all so small a race as their chosen limners would have us believe. The painters of such men of mark have sins to answer for when they bear false witness against their sitters. Fitful Byron had surely some trace of nobleness in his nature which a Titian or a Rubens would not have been slow to feel, and stamp upon the pictured semblance. Burns was not merely a stout little man in top boots, with a pair of shining black eyes. Coleridge was not always mealy-mouthed, nor good honest Southey a long-nosed lack-a-daizical dandy.

We leave them, and retracing our steps enter the third Saloon by the lofty arched doorway, and find ourselves among the glories of the elder English School. As our last note of admiration in the portrait gallery was for Gainsborough, so also is our first fairly due to him in this department. Our eyes are caught at once by "The Blue Boy," and beside him is

"Mrs. Graham," and not far off the "Market Cart." "The Blue Boy" (156) has a great name, he shall have a longer memory. His suit of blue may prove a theory and snub a rival; with that we have little to do. But the fine serious face, the firm, manly stand of the youth, the surpassing ease and sobriety of the attitude keep us riveted, and "make a picture in the brain." Master Butall stands there a perfect type of the better *order*, not better *class* of English manhood, and the painter being a true artist, and to the manner born knew how to stamp the likeness on the canvas. With recollections fresh in our mind of Sir Anthony Vandyck in the portrait gallery, we cannot help comparing this thoroughly English picture with many of the stately portraits of the Fleming. His crew of cavaliers have too great a habit of standing in full consciousness that they are about to be sent down to posterity; and point the toe, adjust the good-for-little hand, and shake again the loosely flowing wig in order that the said posterity may have a favourable impression of such gay fellows. But this noble boy stands in his frame just as he might have stood after a walk over that solitary mountain heath, to feel the fresh breeze and no other presence about him.

"Mrs. Graham" (157) comes next, a most gracious full length of aristocratic loveliness. No wonder Robert Burns called her "the beautiful Mrs. Graham," and wished he had "the powers of Guido to do her justice." Look at the paramount elegance of the whole picture—the turn of the head, the characteristic fall of the arm, the pretty hand, and the finish, from the powdered hair to the satin petticoat, and delicate turned-over lace! The fair matron may be just eighteen; you feel in the presence of young joyous life; the first step will be a spring of the elastic form; the very saucy, half-pettish curl of the handsome mouth is but the index of a superabundant joy. Alas! poet and painter found her place no more. Mr. Graham's young wife was soon but a memory to his sad heart. A soldier's fortune, a commander's success, rank, title, many goods of life he sought and gained, but from the day of his widowhood to the day when the grave closed over his ninety years he never would look upon this picture of his wife. His friend and heir has brought it forth again, and homage is once more paid to the loveliness of the woman and the genius of the painter. From this brilliant picture with its

sad history, we look round for a gleam of natural sunshine. And if ever there were a right gleam of that all wrapped in a haze of summer warmth, we have found it in yonder "Market-*Cart*," (158). Rather it is the light of white sunny masses of clouds which floods the cart with its jolly occupants in their way right through the middle of the pleasant stream. That serious old white horse, how stoutly he tramps through the water, and how refreshed he seems by the cool splashing. The snug little party are off to the neighbouring village for their day's fairing. We hope they will come back the same way, and make as pretty a picture in the ruddier glow of sunset.

Half a day could be here spent very pleasantly with Gainsborough. We could sit down for a long time before "The Cottage Door," (161) and feel quite at home with the pigs and people. We could also make a study of the "Boys and Fighting Dogs," (92) and "Two Beggar Boys," (201) more indeed for the sake of knowing the painter in all the moods and tenses of his fancy, than by reason of any particular admiration of these latter subjects. There are landscapes also to be looked at. Gainsborough delighted in landscapes, the reminiscences of his boyish rambles through the woods of Suffolk—

"Oh, the blessed woods of Sussex * * * *

With their leafy tide of greenery still rippling up the wind."—he delighted to sketch off, and make presents of to his friends. Landscapes and such subjects as "The Cottage Door," were ever his favorites. They found tardy purchasers and a late appreciation; but the painter lived an easy, pleasant, gentlemanly life, and the *portraits* paid the way—right liberally too. We rejoice in his prosperity, for we have a real love for the man. We delight in thinking of his marriage with the genial, gentle Margaret Burr, and of their early simple house keeping. His love for music, his diligent fiddling, and passion for buying all the flutes and viols that came in his way, would alone give us faith in him. He has been known to sell a picture for a tune—"go on," said he to Colonel Hamilton who was playing some exquisite music on the violin, "go on and I will give you the picture of the Boy at the Stile, which you so often wished to purchase of me." What a pretty story is told of Wiltshire the public carrier—"a kind and worthy man who loved Gainsborough and admired his works." "In one of his landscapes," writes Mr. Cunningham, "he wished to introduce a horse, and as the

carrier had a very handsome one he requested the loan of it for a day or two, and named his purpose; his generous neighbour bridled and saddled it, and sent it as a present. The painter was not a man to be outdone in acts of generosity; he painted the waggon and horses of his friend, put his whole family and himself into it, and sent it well-framed to Wiltshire with his kind respects. Wiltshire was annually employed to carry the artist's pictures to and from London; he took great care of them, and constantly refused to accept money, saying, 'No, no, I admire painting too much,' and plunged his hands in his pockets to secure them against the temptation of the offered payment. Perceiving, however, that this was not acceptable to the proud artist, the honest carrier hit upon a scheme which pleased both. 'When you think (said he) that I have *carried* to the value of a little painting, I beg you will let me have one, sir; and I shall be more than paid.' In this coin the painter paid Wiltshire, and overpaid him." Is not this as pretty a story as any we read in the magnificent annals of the old masters?

But we must not tarry too long. Reynolds is waiting. Shall we dare to say it to your face, and in the hearing of all England, Sir Joshua, we like you far less than your rival; you may tell us that we must not judge you as we see you now, that your pictures, once on a time, were really superb, and—greatly admired. That *they* brought good prices, and that there was talk enough about *yourself*, and that the poor tribe of royal academicians looked up somewhat awfully at your formidable spectacles, sir president, we never for a moment doubt. But even in your own day, we have heard it whispered, you are not accounted an honest trader to use such paints and make such mixtures. Though you were diligent, forsooth, and destroyed not a few old masters, privately dissecting them to find how they were made, and get at their secret. You were somewhat of a Goth, Sir Joshua; but mangled Titian told you little, or if he told you much there was no understanding in dull ears. You had your day, you got pay and praise in measure, and can do without our adulation. Yonder "Puck" (75) brought you £500—as surprising a thing, perhaps, as the cunning little fellow ever heard since he took his jaunty seat upon the mushroom, and for other works of high art, more pretentious, though it may be less excellent, the payment in hard cash was not the worst. Some of your best portraits,

however, are here. Yourself, for example, (48), Viscount Mount Stuart (160), and Earl of Sheffield (163). In these, by happy accident, the colours remain fresh to the present day.

A less sleek, less courted cotemporary appears in William Hogarth, as true a genius as ever took root in English soil. Brave, honest Hogarth who, as Mr. Cunningham says very truly, "could hardly at the worst of times be called *poor*, for he paid all he owed, had a sword at home, a shilling in his pocket, and an engraving in his hands which raised ten guineas." Sturdy, formidable Hogarth, who if his enemy vexed him could put him in a picture and show him up to generations. What are the written satires of our day compared to the crushing weight of notoriety on Hogarth's canvas? But the painter was not vengeful or wanton in his power. He fought out the cause like a man, till he earned a name, and rode in a carriage. Here are several of his works, but not enough. "Southwark Fair" (31) and "The March of the Guards to Finchley" (26) are the sole representatives of that peculiar class. No wonder Hanoverian George did not much admire such marshalling of *his* Guards, and cared not to have just such a court painter. "Captain Coram" (30) asserts the feeling of the painter; through the rude features and unpolished aspect of the man the strong, noble nature of the philanthropist makes itself felt.

Poor Wilson had not stuff in him to make so good a fight: neither have his pictures stuff to hold us long. With recollections of the fruitless, foiled existence of the painter we have not heart to dwell upon his sunny, peaceful Italian scenes. So connected are the lives and character of artists with their works that we feel a shudder at the brilliance which failed to purchase sufficiency of food for the man: the smallness of his appetite saved him from utter starvation, and he dragged out his sixty-nine years of life neglected by patrons of art and condemned by fashionable painters. The few years he passed in Italy, when the generous Vernet encouraged the stranger Englishman, and he caught the glow of genial abounding Southern life, was perhaps the solitary joy of his life. "View on the Arno" (39), "Cicero's Villa" (36) are memorials of that short interval.

Look at Barry's "Pandora" (158), and say is it any wonder the strange wild Irishman lived neglected in his garret while Reynolds drank with lords and Gainsborough painted princes.

He had his choice. If he had desired applause, and ambitioned fortune, he had faculty enough, and to spare, to get both. He preferred to paint such heathenisms as no one could admire, and no doubt he found abundant recompense in the following of his own wild fancies, for he was not the man unworthily to whine and whimper at the world's forgetfulness.

Haydon would also cover acres of canvas with examples of the so-called "historic style." His "Judgment of Solomon" (280) is one of his best pictures. He lived in unrest, querulous defiance of sound sense, an abortive mistaken life, and died a death unknown to painters.

Gentle, industrious Opie,—riotous, vulgar Moreland,—half crazed Fuseli,—well paid Romney, with Lady Hamilton for his ideal,—are all ranged for judgment in nearer propinquity than they should have cared to stand in life. We cannot number them with the immortal sons of art, any more than Northcote, Laurence, or president West. Their works oppress us with the presence of oil and body colours; the form of art without the quickening spirit. We long for a breath of fresh air; if not for a glimpse of the spiritual world, at least for a good piece of nature; and emerging from the shadow of the third vestibule, we find ourselves in the broad day light of our own time. Danby's ruddy sunsets, the seas of Turner, the far off snowy heights of Stanfield, catch our eye to right and left. We are in the presence, for the most part, of men who have not finished their work, who may yet give us still greater things; we feel sympathy with their earnestness, and what success they have achieved we take as harbinger of still fairer promise. There is real, hearty life here. If not the high ideal—how could such growth spring from the weighed and measured materialism of our present civilization?—at least there is vigorous drawing, a keen perception, and faithful delineation of such forms as meet our casual modern eyes. After the sickliness of much that we have just left, the vain effort to produce what was neither felt nor known, the attempt at religiousness where there was no religion, at poetry and passion where there was nothing heard but "the jingling of the guinea"—after the cakes and ale of diletantism we feel relieved in the presence of a real if not symbolic nature.

If Landseer does not plume his wing for flights as high as the sidereal heavens, we praise him nevertheless, that wanting the wherewithal he puts his whole soul into the work he can do.

All that fancy and shrewdness, and serious business-like study can put into the subjects he selects he most devotedly applies. It may not be the worthiest effort of human genius to depict the public and domestic life of dogs and deer; or the greatest success to give the gloss and texture of well carried cobs. But what can be done should at least be thoroughly done; and Landseer, if he be not master of men, is undeniably lord of the brute creation. Look at the "Children of the Mist" (402) How living they are, and how true the whole atmospheric effect! You feel your forehead moist with the drifting spray, and your fancy gets engaged with the wild heathy mountains which you know must presently come to view, when that rain-charged cloud has swept by. And the "Dogs of St. Bernard" (391)! Would you not call that a true historic-dog-picture? These fine animals are no longer dumb brutes to Landseer: he knows every turn of them; they have trusted him and told him their mind. Look at that noble fellow, how he paws up the loose snow in his impatience, and howls so dolefully and so loudly that the monks come hurrying down with help: and the other poor brute, how he crouches down and strives to warm into life that hapless traveller! In vivid contrast with this dazzling snow-scene hangs Danby's "Opening of the Sixth Seal" (395); but we must go farther for the same master's "Lake of Zurich" (578), as poetic a subject as we ever saw through the fire-red of that artist's pencilling. The sun has sunk in splendour; a few light clouds like streaks on the dark blue still hold a glowing reflection; outlines of tower and gabled roofs are clear in the gathering darkness; the shadows of unseen objects silently pass over; the light in the boat casts a crimson line on the water, and you feel that the craft rocks, for there is motion though not a ripple on the surface.

But where is Turner all this time? Is that a Turner—that picture (282) covered with glass, and all in a maze of pink, yellow, lilac, and scattered rainbows?—in the centre ships truly, but what a strange craft—canary coloured sails and many coloured hulk! Is this also a Turner—"Tabley Lake and Tower" (292)—so clear, so breezy, so well defined?—and that cold sea piece (288), and "Barnes Terrace" (256) in the flooding sunshine? Ah yes, we recognise the famous black dog—there he is, poor paper dog; he has sprung upon the parapet to see what is going on in the passing barges, and he barks approval or defiance. We may admire the animation,

and comment on the sharp outline—that dog, good friends, was cut in paper, stuck on there to see the effect, painted over, and left. Turner is really magnificent here. Who could guess that such infinite variety lay in the one pencil. A cold splashing sea (264), a wilderness of waves all gleaming in the sun (295), a calm river scene, the very poetry of rest (266), a tumbling waterfall with the roar of waters (297), a solitary castle peaking a craggy steep, clear in the twilight (232), a city steeped in the yellow warm flash of sunset (224), all found worthy portraiture in the pencil of the barber's son. The elements never found a cunninger observer of their fitful moods, or nature a devouter worshipper. He sought the inspiration of his genius in “the light of setting suns, the round ocean, and the living air;” he was no servile copyist of earlier masters; he saw and thought for himself. His life is in his works; he shrank from personal notice perhaps too disdainfully; yet who would not commend this obstinate and somewhat ungracious incognito rather than the labeled and lettered parade of cotemporary exhibitors. That his life was not an idle one the multiplicity of his works will attest; and that he was not without feeling for the struggles of artists, and a most earnest desire for the progress of art in England, is proved by the legacy of his magnificent fortune to less prosperous artists, and the bequest of his works to the nation. The selection of his works in the Exhibition is a noble homage to his genius, a loving hand has made it a larger “*Liber Studiorum*.”

It were endless to characterise or even mention one half of the pictures which crowd the walls of those saloons; they are most of them note-worthy, and many of them very attractive. Ward's episodes of the revolution, “Louis XVI. and Maria Antoinette in the Temple” (597), and “Charlotte Corday led to Execution” (464) make us pause and ponder. Egg's “Introduction of Pepys to Nell Gwynne” (526), Frith's “Bourgeois Gentilhomme” (540), Leslie's “Rivals” (380), and inimitable “Uncle Toby and the Widow Wadman” (369), MacLise's “Return of Moses from the Fair” (535); and his well-known picture. “The Author's Reception by the Players” (591), are full of quiet humour, and tempt us to idle away our morning in pleasant reminiscence of our early reading of memoir and romance. And then we have the pre-Raphaelites to wonder at.

Here we might pause to consider the progress of our own time,

and to prophesy and speculate on the future destiny of English Art. We care not to pursue very far, or dwell too long on our own special view of the subject. But as we lounge on those comfortably cushioned seats, and let the eye wander on the confusion of pictured delineations of history, landscape, scenes of common life, and occasional fancy compositions which are ranged before and around us, it does not strike us that among the hundreds claiming attention there is one in which we are constrained to read a sound moral lesson. Moral lessons to be sure, if our mind naturally take that direction, may be found where the melancholy Jacques found them, even in the stones of the wayside—what we mean, however, is this, that none of those followers of art, excellent as are so many of their productions, are qualified by what they have yet done to be teachers of men. There is nothing in these works to raise the mind from the common cares and thoughts of this work-a-day world: we look and we study; we are astonished sometimes, and are pleased, but all is of the earth earthy. Mr. Mulready in “Train up a child in the way he should go” (356) delights us with his rich harmonious colouring; we are interested in the contrasted studies of lawless manhood, civilized ladyhood, the timidity of childhood, but what the Germans call the *motive* is not plain enough, in fact we doubt whether such ever held a prominent place in the painter’s mind, or that he sought anything higher than the representation of a very striking group. Mr. Wallis’ “Death of Chatterton” (371) always attracts a crowd. There lies the dead genius, in the cold clear morning light. The accessories are suggestive; the flame has gone out of the long snuffed candle, the noisome smoke still ascends, spiders have trailed their webs over the window panes, and through the broken glass, you feel the chill of the early air. The torn papers scattered on the floor, and the dropped phial tell the tale. The finish is excessive: it is confessedly the first point with the painter, and it is necessarily the chief attraction to the spectator. But let us ask, is it the wrinkles in the breeches, the tufts on the quilt, the slipper and the stockings that should keep us riveted at the death scene of that “Marvellous Boy”?

Again, the admirers of the pre-Raphaelite school, not satisfied with challenging commendation for the laborious finish, earnest individuality, and somewhat high aims of the professors, claim also for them the rank of great moral, nay religious teachers. Now that most powerful, terrible, repulsive tale of vice and

misfortune, "The Awakened Conscience" (550), to which we return again and again as if drawn by some not altogether angelic influence, has in our opinion no elevating tendency. There is just successful irreclaimable villany in the face of the man, and in the woman's a hideous despair called up by a moment's awakening to the consciousness of what should be, or the sudden recollection of an earlier time of peace and innocence. We defy anyone to hope much for the reformation of that wretched seducer. Look at the wrinkling of the forehead and the show of white teeth as he throws back his head and burlesques the song which has brought the tearful pang to her heart. Look at the well brushed hair, the quiet finish of the dress, from the small "neck" to the boots with a shine on the buttons—one great thing Mr. William Hunt has done, a service which perhaps Hogarth alone could have rendered with equal effect, he has given us a true type of the modern scamp. There is no rollicking audacity, no drunken devilment, no reckless forgetfulness of outward decorum in the habit and air of that young gentleman. We know the cut of him right well on the public promenade; henceforth let the owner of such a whisker become "suspect." And the unhappy woman! there is agony enough in the clenched teeth, the glazed eye, and the sudden movement with which she has turned from her companion, but there is nothing more. We could fancy her "taking to drink" or devouring opium, or rushing headlong from London Bridge. But there seems little chance that saving repentance will change that heart, or the dignity of a saintlier life redeem the fallen nature. Not so, believe us, would the early painters have told the terrible story and read the salutary lesson. Without going so far for an instance, we may note that Ary Scheffer's series, "Faust and Margaret" which hangs in the clock gallery, may be worthily compared with Mr. Hunt's picture. These four exquisite scenes are as poetical and deeply felt a version of that woeful drama as ever true genius imagined. "Margaret in the Cathedral" (646) when the doleful *Dies Irae* sounds through the aisles, and she leans her pale sad face on the folded arms, expresses very touchingly the power of retributive guilt in its religious feeling, and has all the sentiment which the other work of art wants. Poor, broken hearted Margaret! we do not turn away in disgust, but in our softened pity we feel sure that the day is not far off when the betrayed girl will have sunk beneath the unaccustomed weight of guilt, and the sin be washed away the sorrow.

Our own opinion, even from a passing consideration of the many clever pretty pictures here brought before us, is that the modern English artists are a conscientious, earnest, industrious class of students; that they are minded to do thoroughly what they attempt to do; that they are not religious in the æsthetic sense, and cannot, therefore, bring the light of a spiritual world about us. That, in fine, if we cannot hope to be instructed by their means, we shall at least, be interested and amused; that our literature shall be better illustrated and our walls hung with pleasanter pictures—that decorative art in fact will gain immensely by their labours. The subjects of these modern pictures are quite unexceptionable with regard to taste and decency, forming, in this respect, a favourable contrast with the later productions of our near neighbours, the Emperor's subjects, whose periodic exhibitions are sure to cover the walls of the Musée with horrible disgusting death scene and martyrdoms, and a display of needlessly undraped figures in all manner of unnecessary attitudes and situations. Pictures like those before us, the true-born Englishman will pay good prices for, and hang patriotically in his parlour and private gallery; he will show off his treasures with pride, observing how naturally everything is painted, and swearing all the while that "our own" painters are the best in the world, and can beat out any day those dingy, nonsensical old masters. As an earlier generation under other skies, imbibed the doctrines of their faith from the frescoed walls and painted altar pieces of their magnificent Cathedrals, and felt their hearts soften before the image of the Blessed Mother and her Son, and hoped the more and sorrowed the more at sight of patient saint and suffering martyr, so the sons and daughters of our wealthier citizens can learn their history, and remember their Shakspeare, and relish their novels all the better for the pictured comments of Maclise, Ward, Egg, *et cetera*.

Turning to take a retrospective view of the last saloon, and standing in such a position that no picture shall exclusively fill the eye or absorb attention, we consider the general effect. There is great glare of colour, a striking abruptness of transition, a dazzle of white in one spot, a dazzle of red in another. The brilliancy very often is of wet paint, and the harmony of co-mingled drab and grey.

How wonderful is the contrast in Saloon A., where, having crossed the central hall, we find ourselves in the presence of

the early Italian and Flemish artists! How delicious the bright, airy, floating masses of colour! From Giotto to Bronzino there is not a muddy picture. Some examples have been injured by neglect and hard usage; time has effaced the outlines of others, yet the very fragments are lustrous with colour. And on the Flemish side there is just as fine a show. The very dark of Memling is luminous, and the red of Mastys is rich in its intensity, making all the details of the picture in a glow of ruddy warmth. The well-read, practised student of early Italian art will have his own pleasure in this department. For him every relic of Byzantine art, every half ruined scrap of Mosaic, every memorial of Giotto, will have an interest. They shall all be to him like so many lost chapters in the history of art, they fill up a blank or prove an opinion. To any one so prepared, profit and pleasure must be the result of a study of this fragmentary collection. The less cultivated will gain little. There is a miserable dearth of *real* pre-Raphaelites. There is scarcely a vestige of Giotto and his school; while the immediate predecessors and the contemporaries of Raphael are, for the most part, unworthily represented. This indeed is not surprising. It would be difficult at any time, or in any place, to form a satisfactory collection of works of this class, most of the celebrated pictures of that early time being imperishably fixed in fresco upon the walls of Italian churches. The choice, moreover, on this occasion was necessarily confined to the selection of such examples as were to be found in the private collections of England, and our acquaintance is not of long standing with even the history of art in the early times of its Italian glory. This is sufficiently proved by the fact that Sir Joshua Reynolds in his "Discourses" completely ignores the Umbrian and early Bolognese schools, and, while eternally eulogising the Carracci, comments on the "barbarous state of the arts before Raphael," and hints at the occasional "littleness" of the great Florentine himself. There was not even an English edition of Vasari until Mr Bohn took courage to publish a translation some seven years ago. The omissions in our catalogue are readily accounted for, but the grievance is great, nevertheless.

What Raphael could do at the age of seventeen is shewn in the large crucifixion (123); the Panshanger Madonnas (136, 141) are here also, and some exquisite predella pictures; but nothing to give even a faint notion of the wondrous "Holy

Families" and Scripture illustrations with which we are so familiar in engravings. The so-called "Replica" of "La Perla" (148) can never be accepted, nor the other "replica" of a beautiful subject, "Madonna del Passeggio" (150).

Not far from the Raphaels is a strangely beautiful unfinished group, "Holy Family, with four angels holding scrolls" (107) by Michael Angelo. Observe it well; it is the solitary example of that giant in art which the Exhibition can boast of; and say are not the beauty, power, and majesty of the outlines and half tinted forms worth many a score of highly finished productions? The trustees of the National Gallery, however, thought otherwise, and declined to purchase it for the nation. These gentlemen remind one very unpleasantly sometimes of a certain old fable; they will neither learn to appreciate high art themselves, nor suffer other people to have the opportunity. Mr. Labouchere is the fortunate possessor of this gem.

In the same neighbourhood are a "Riposo" (118) by Fra Bartolommeo, and a "Marriage of St. Catherine" (157), with the affecting inscription, "*Orate pro Pittore.*" Truly, indeed, the like of this was never painted to order, for a gentleman's dining room or a fine lady's boudoir. For other purposes, and with other aims, lived and worked the friar of St. Mark. The name of Fra Bartolommeo brings the whole world of Italian art in the beginning of the sixteenth century before us, and we somehow expect to see him flanked and escorted by the legion of his great cotemporaries. Cosimo Roselli, painter of beautiful Madonnas, was his teacher. Don Jeremy Savonarola, the fiery Dominican who thundered anathemas against the corrupting tendency of art in his day, was his friend and master in more than one sense. When the artist forsook his pencil to sit at the feet of the preacher, his bosom friend and fellow painter, Albertinelli, undertook to complete the frescos he had left unfinished on the walls of San Marco. After the terrible death of Savonarola his disciple took the vows of the order, and shut himself in austere seclusion in his cell. But when, after some years, he was persuaded to resume the practice of his art, young Raphael visited him in his convent; and we love to picture to ourselves the meeting of these kindred geniuses, their constant friendship, their partnership in art, their mutual encouragement and help. Fra Bartolommeo was not without a sight of the marvellous achievements of the master spirits, Raphael and Michael Angelo—he was allowed

to visit Rome, and was even commissioned to undertake some decorative works there. It is a fine example of the noble spirit which has ever actuated the great in art, that the works he did not live to complete were finished for his sake by Raphael. There is here one picture (147) marked "Raphael and Fra Bartolommeo."

Francia, another gentle, pious soul, and wonderful painter as well, was also cotemporary with Raphael; their correspondence and mutual esteem are very touching. There is a picture of the master here (132) inscribed *Francia Avrifer*: in his greatest success as a painter he did not care to forget that he was likewise master in another art. Of Perugino, the master of Raphael, we have some lovely predella pictures (83 to 87)—look at the clear air, the brilliant fairy touches; you may stand so far from these little gems as not to be able to distinguish the composition, and yet find a real beauty in the colour.

Here are Correggio's well known "Magdalen Reading" (165), and a beautiful "Head of an Angel" (166); the latter is a fragment of a fresco of the "Coronation of the Virgin" now destroyed: we can fancy how celestial a pageant that must have been, of which this "young-eyed cherubim" was but the least attendant.

A replica of the "Mona Lisa" (183) is the sole indication of the many-sided excellence of Leonardo da Vinci. In the first vestibule we were struck with a "St. Catherine and Angels" (209), which we supposed to be by that master. There is certainly not much devotional feeling in the picture, but the deep translucent colour, the surpassing finish, the peculiar smile, deceived us. It was some satisfaction to our vanity to find it noted in the catalogue as the work of Bernardino Luini, da Vinci's most eminent scholar.

The opposite wall of the same saloon is dedicated as we have said to the early German and Flemish masters; and there we must look for what examples England possesses of the wonder-working old burgers. Here again the blanks are many, and the examples quite insufficient to give a just idea of the intensity of expression, lavish detail and superb colouring of the artists, who long before, and cotemporary with the masters of the Florentine schools, worked out their thoughts in peace in the magnificent cities of Flanders and northern Germany.

The works which remain in testimony of the pictorial excellence of those long passed times, have still in some measure the charm of recent discovery. For until the brothers Boisserie, Canon Wallraff of Cologne, and their friend that true philosopher of art, Wilhelm Schlegel, devoted themselves in the beginning of the present century to the preserving and collecting of those old world pictures, they lay for the most part in corners of old churches and lumber rooms unknown and unvalued. Succeeding generations had frivolously neglected the treasures they possessed, and almost forgot the names of which their ancestors were so proud, and of which their later descendants have become so regardful.

The best part of a century before Raphael, John van Eyck chose for his dwelling place the magnificent capital of west Flanders, and found a worthy patron in Philip the Good, who not only prized his pictures, but esteemed him as a man, made him one of his privy council, and sent him with his embassy into Portugal in the year 1428. Strange to say, the date of Van Eyck's death was unknown until the discovery very recently in the archives of St. Donat, Bruges, of accounts for the year 1440 in which occur the following: "Item for the inhuming of master John van Eyck the painter, xii. livres of Paris. Item ringing the bells for the decease of master John the painter, xxiij. shillings of Paris." One thing besides is distinctly known, namely, that the brothers Hubert and John and their sister Margaret lived in peace and followed the arts with honour. The large altar piece (375) as we can testify gives nothing more than the arrangement of the picture, and the position of the figures. The enamel-like finish, the variety and individuality of the heads, the colour, are not even shadowed forth. Lord Ward's contribution (381) is better worth a study.

Our recollections of Memling are still more dreamful; his very name is a subject of controversy. It is conjectured that he led a roving life, travelled into Italy, Germany, France, and even Spain, and that he fought and was wounded in the battle of Nancy. It is better authenticated that being received as a patient in the hospital of St. John's at Bruges, he finished there his greatest work, the "Chasse of St. Ursula," and gave it to the hospital as a proof of his gratitude for the charitable ministrations of the good sisterhood. Hans Memling is

represented by several pictures. Those which give the best idea of his manner are "Wing of an Altar Piece" (393) and the companion picture (403) and a small "St. Christopher," (450) The earnest expression, the magic landscape, the wondrous clearness of sky and distance are all characteristic.

The artists of this time revealed in the landscape decorations of their pictures. It is more than questionable that Van Eyck was the inventor of oil painting; though he certainly used a varnish till then unknown; and so gave to his pictures a brilliancy of effect which his admirers long mistook for an altogether new medium. He rendered still better service to art by discontinuing the old formal gold ground, and substituting light and air and living landscape.

Memling was not slow to use this privilege to the utmost, and his pictures owe much of their charm to the infinitely varied combinations of hill and valley, wood and water, in which his figures and groups are so fittingly set. How differently we should read the beautiful legend of St. Christopher if we saw the saint and heavenly infant encompassed merely with a solid metallic glory. Here the giant saint takes his slow way across the rock-bound river: the little child, the Lord of heaven and earth, weighs heavily on his shoulders. But the morning sun is rising on the far horizon, and the old hermit of the hill comes down the narrow way to light him with his feeble lamp. The followers of Memling seem not to have known where to stop; they indulged their fancy in this respect to an almost ludicrous extent. Many of their pictures, besides the real subject, give us a wide spread country of which we can follow the details for miles; or if the scene be what is properly called "an interior," through every open window we see another picture of spired city, or distant mountain heights, or river "winding at its own sweet will" through pleasant level lands. These old Flemings were born a painstaking race; they finished everything. You can all but read the book which St. Jerome has before him in that picture of Lucas van Leyden (456), and so be as wise as the old saint; and in that wonderful Mabuse the "Adoration of the Kings" (436) the minutest object is elaborated to an almost incomprehensible degree. From the jewelled gear of royalty to the ears and tails of the attendant dogs, and the varied plumage of the little birds which perch, not unregardful of what is going on, upon

the projections of the buildings, their is no detail forgotten; and through the open arches we have so fine a view of the city that we recognise the church towers, and can follow the windings of every street. The painters of this time very frequently introduced portraits in the attendant personages of such scenes: and their native city, or the city which should possess the work, was not unfrequently set in the background. But by far the most notable characteristic of their pictures is the intensity of the expression; their men and women are terribly in earnest. Sometimes one is inclined to wonder that in pictures of which the Divine Son and his holy Mother are the central objects of interest, the master did not turn heavenward for a type of ideal beauty; for after the infinite grace and unearthly loveliness of the Italian Virgins and holy Infants, the homely, real, quite human portraiture of the Germans somewhat shocks us. But herein is their triumph, that turning from the consideration of the central group, to rest with more satisfaction on the surrounding figures, we presently, such is the expression of absorbed adoration in those powerful heads, actually catch the contagion of their earnestness, and are ready to fall down and worship with them. Comments on the masterpiece of Quentin Matsys are needless. No one will fail to pause before "The Misers" (445) and do homage to the skill of "The Smith of Antwerp" as his proficiency in another art entitled him to be surnamed.

We should have remarked that of the Cologne School which was famous two centuries before Van Eyck, or of the works of Meister Wilhelm or Meister Stephan of the same school, and nearly contemporary with Van Eyck, there are no examples.

Leaving now our earlier reminiscences, and our regret at the absence of what would more completely justify our opinions of the excellence of ancient German and Flemish Art, we pass into the Second Saloon. Here at least we have nothing to regret: for there is no such perfect gallery in the whole exhibition. Look around and be satisfied—the glow and glory of Titian on one side, the whole splendour of Rubens on the other! All that profound knowledge of colour, scientific delineation of form—all in fact that the skilled pencil could achieve is here before us: and we can no longer be astonished at the rapturous enthusiasm which the masterpieces of the Venetian School have excited, or think the praise of Rubens has ever been exaggerated. Here these mighty masters speak

for themselves, and vindicate their title to world-wide renown. Whatever the earlier painters had achieved in the mechanism of art, what they had laboriously worked out in design, and acquired by experience in the use of colour, these their successors found themselves already in possession of, and these they were qualified most amply to profit by. They used with lavish freedom the resources bequeathed to them by their fore-runners, and starting from that point of excellence aimed at all human perfection in art—and attained it. Beauty of form and charm of colour were valued by the earlier masters only, or principally, as the fitting medium through which they could express the thought they sought to embody. The masters we are now speaking of somewhat reversed the order. They made varied combinations, alternations of light and shade, and the vivacity of motion, the whole excellence of art. The *motive* mattered little and sometimes was ill chosen—neither lofty nor lovely. The material began to take first place. It was no longer sought to idealise it, but only to clothe it with a more subtle, though still quite natural beauty.

Fra Angelico, for example, would have striven to give form to his own ecstatic visions of celestial joy. Full of the beauty of holiness, the strength of fortitude, the rapture of unsullied innocence, he would have grouped together virgin saints and venerable martyrs, cherubim and seraphim, the whole choir of triumphant heaven. He would have joined the human and divine as centre of this floating glory, and called the whole a "Coronation of the Virgin Mother." Rubens, on the contrary, might have sought how to express the tumult of life, vigour of limb, the contrast of youth and age, gentle blood and beggarly deformity, animal and human nature—he would have combined all these and called the picture a "St. Martin." As we said before, whatever excellencies of the mystic schools Titian and Rubens were by nature qualified to appreciate, they adopted, amplified, and most magically applied. The force of *Painting* could no further go. What their followers and servile imitators did to degrade art need not now be told. As these great masters are marshalled on the walls of the Exhibition, even so do they stand in our own memory. Somehow they seem to us cotemporaries, though we know there was a good part of a century between them. With Titian closes the long line of great Italian painters, and Rubens brings up the rear of the sturdy troop of Germany and Flanders. Their lives too

were not dissimilar. They both lived in the full sunshine of prosperity. Sovereign princes courted and caressed them. Cities and nations did them honour. Here again the artist's personal life finds reflection and elucidation in his works. The pomp and circumstance of royal retinue, the broad day light glare of actually enjoyed fame, were not without their effect on the mode of thought and its actual expression. Here at all events, be the similarity and difference what they may, the glory of Venice and the pride of Antwerp are brought face to face, and seeing them so placed we cannot but fancy they must have lived and worked in noble rivalry.

Titian's "Supper at Emmaus," (247) is the most striking of his church pictures here exhibited. It is wonderful, from the effect of warm light, which is so toned, so interfused through every part that the picture almost looks dark, no specially bright portion catching the eye. You must stand at some distance to perceive what a depth of noontide summer light is really in the room; the very table-cover has a glow of heat. The heads of our Lord and the Disciples you strive in vain to remember, they make no impression. A "Riposo," (301) is beautiful; the whole luxuriant landscape is breathless in a perfect hush. The Holy Family have stopped to rest, wearied out with long journeying. The Blessed Virgin's face is very beautiful, but it is altogether the beauty of flesh and blood, of warm, palpitating life. She is very tired, the languor of repose has come over her, and it is as much as she can do to hold the lovely Infant. The attitude is most natural but nothing more. Examples of another style are, the "Rape of Europa," (259) with a landscape clothed in such splendour as we verily believe never fell on earth or sky. "Titian's Daughter," (277) with the usual suffused glowing colour, and "Girl making Lace," (263) which, with a little more surrounding darkness, might pass for a Rembrandt. Six of the twelve Cæsars hang aloft, and make us wish that Titian had given us instead six later Cæsars—six anterior to, or succeeding his magnificent patron, the Great Emperor. Of the same royal personage, whose many sins, by the way, of omission and commission we are disposed to forget for the sake of Titian, there are not many memorials. We have his dog painted, (260), and we have the unhandsome peculiarity of his nether lip reproduced in the portrait of his son, Philip II., (281). The sketch of

the "Gloria," (279), recalls the great work, which, in the retirement of San Juste, the discrowned Cæsar loved to gaze at, and which he commanded should always be hung wherever his body was buried. Who does not remember the scene so affectingly related by Mr Sterling in "The Cloister Life of Charles V." when the wearied Emperor sat down in the corridor of the convent, and calling for a sketch of the Gloria and Titian's portrait of his wife Isabella, continued in melancholy contemplation of these mute memorials until the chill of death benumbed him.

There is a goodly show of Titian's portraits, among them the celebrated "Ariosto," (257). The colour is the distilled essence of Titian, and there is more action, if we may say so, in this than in any other portrait of Titian we have ever seen. The poet has just sung a canto of "Orlando," his lips are still quivering with speech, his splendid eyes keep you at gaze, his soul looks out through them enjoying the triumph of the song. Titian is the prince of portrait painters. His portraits are fine pictures and have the strongest individuality. There is a history in each and we busy ourselves reading it. We feel, not only that they might speak to us, but that we also might speak to them as to a living intelligence. He had the art to transfer to the painted representation, what he, with a true artist's instinct, perceived to be the expression which conveyed the best and most characteristic feature of the sitter's mind; and such was the accuracy of observation and marvellous success of delineation, that he seemed to take a pride in the abnegation of such means of assistance and heightening of effect as all other painters used, and confident of his own power he places before us the dark canvas, with only the wondrous head elaborated and placed in light. There is such simplicity, dignity and self-possession in the portraits of Titian that we are sometimes tempted to ask were all his sitters men of mind, a step or two above the common level. But, no, Titian could discern what nobleness was in a man, and true to his art he seized and delineated the character when under the influence of that better nature. Alva (272), whose name is likely to be received with a yell of execration, was not merely "The Cruel Duke"; no doubt there was principle and a better strength in the man. Titian at least makes us think so, and we do not turn away from his picture with disgust. The Venetian was

ever loyal to humanity ; and when an artist ceases to be so he is no longer worthy to paint the countenance and character of man. A gallery of modern portraits gives the impression that we live among a low-bred race—there seems to be such an “inhuman dearth of noble natures.” However, using our own faculty, refusing to leave the conclusion with the painters, we readily find in the living heads about us more than any painter of the day has genius to transfer to canvas, and not unfrequently discover many a Titian’s portrait in the passers-by.

In Titian’s train we have Tintoretto, absolutely hot with colour—Paolo Veronese, who could not paint an act of humility without making it a gorgeous pageant—several of Guido Reni’s pale sentimentalities, and a lovely Saint Agnes (334) of Domenichino. The Carracci have all something to show. Annibali’s “Three Maries” is a crowd-attracting picture. Looking at it we have half a mind to turn round and address the spectators somewhat in this fashion : “Good people, what is it you so much admire in your open-mouthed way. You have been told we suppose that this is the chef-d’œuvre of the Carracci School, and that it is to be admired very much. But just take our advice, honest good folk that you are, let hearsays alone, and be satisfied to admire simply what you feel to be admirable. This is not true to fact or to idea. You may stare as you will, but you can never suppose that the Three Maries would conduct themselves in this fashion—flinging up their hands and distorting their faces in frantic uproar. Not so would Francia or Perugino have libelled these holy women.” Such a mode of criticism we fancy would rather astonish the enthusiastic audience.

Turning to survey the opposite wall, we are so bedazzled and beset by Rubens’ spacious canvas, and the shine of satin and steel, that we scarcely know where to begin. “Queen Tomyris with head of Cyrus” (579), in spite of her magnificent attire, and the pomp of her attendance, is not more refined than her occupation would lead us to suppose. “Diana departing for the Chase” (549) is in a flurry perfectly human—just as much excited as the hounds and lesser Olympians. Juno, too, is at cruel work transferring the eyes of Argus to the tail of the peacock (553). Such subjects, together with scenes in the fabled lives of Achilles, Atalanta, Prometheus, are for the most part the subjects of these splendid pictures and most masterly sketches. “The Tribute Money” (536) is

a good example of the way in which Rubens imagined such a subject, and "St. Martin dividing his cloak with the Beggar" (569) is a magnificent scenic representation. Rubens, too, excelled in portraiture; his men are always strong manly men, and his women are full of ruddy joyous life. "Ignatius Loyola" (547), come down from Warwick Castle, is we suppose ideally represented. The picture is the very antipodes of the Titian so called, which hangs right opposite. Unless the soldier saint himself were to step in we could not surmise which painter has come nearest the truth. "His Own Portrait" (550), and "Portrait of his first Wife" (551), are very fine; and "Rubens and his Wife carrying Game" (548) is a most animated, brilliant, pleasing picture.

Rubens' eldest son in art, Sir Anthony Vandyck, dutifully accompanies his master—brings forth his mythological and religious pictures, to justify it may be, the said master's recommendation to paint "only faces and horses;" and shows with pride his portrait of the great Sir Peter Paul (591). In Saloon C. we find a goodly series of his portraits. Snyders (662), once among the treasures of the Orleans Gallery, and "Snyders' Wife" (663) might alone make the fame of an artist. After Titian we value Vandyck as a portrait painter. But in vindication of this judgment we appeal, not to the hundreds of gentle folk who engaged his pencil after his arrival in England—not to these pictures which look exactly what they were, *only* £20 pictures; and which, like many a modern limner painting half length, and half price pictures, he may have had only half a mind to do well—but rather to this truthful, well-studied representation of his brother artist, to the Earl of Warwick's half length of Charles I. (661), and to the Windsor equestrian portrait of the same monarch (736). That true lover of art and generous friend of artists, the unfortunate Charles, found loyalty of some account in the heart and hand of the stranger he delighted to honour. Vandyck's portraiture of the king is a right worthy one; and so true is it, so perceptible the forecast shadow of his evil ending, that we can scarcely believe the painter was not an accessory before the fact. The gathering darkness in the background of that equestrian portrait, and the anxious look of the attendant equerry, M. St. Antoine, are quite ominous; and in the half-length picture there is great expression in the forward bend of the monarch's figure, and the heavy rest of the handsome hand

upon the table beside him. The face is always dignified and bodeful. These remarks notwithstanding, we cannot fail to observe that with scarcely an exception all Vandyck's great portraits were done before his arrival in England. The love of good style and "good company," which during his residence in Italy caused him to be distinguished by the title of the *Pittore Cavalieresco*, may have been a snare to him when in England he found himself a courtier among courtiers; and the passion with which in earlier times he strove to win a name, and pursued his first love for art, may have been unworthily exchanged for the tempting advantages of ready applause and a facile execution.

Rembrant, too, makes a fine stand beside Vandyck; you cannot pass by his heads, you must stop to enquire about them. The subjects, though more commonplace for the most part, are not so completely individual as those of Titian, or the best of Vandyck. You feel a kind of misgiving that if you should meet these men and women in the street you might not know them—they seem to have been viewed by the artist through some peculiar and factitious medium. How that Miller of the Rhine became possessed of such luscious, full-toned colour we know not, but he got beside himself with the wealth of it; and full of the consciousness of its charm, with a dash of his free, sun-filled pencil, flung light and poesy, and wondrous magic upon the homeliest subjects. Truly there is poetry as well as paint in these extraordinary pictures. "Daniel before Nebuchadnezzar" (691) has the lustre of a diamond in the dusk—rough-hewn indeed as the poor prophet and the burly, aldermanic councillors are. Look at portraits (693, 694). Study the "Young Man in Turkish Costume" (686). And say has not that "Young Man in Trouble" (678) just as much of the expression as a man *might* have in the midst of an atmosphere so sun-lit and so warm. "Large Landscape" (698) is perhaps the most wonderful of all. The least informed on artistic matters may safely be taken before that picture, and asked to answer for the power of art. What the effect precisely is cannot readily be described; how it is produced admits no explanation. The Rembrantish light-in-dark is not the striking peculiarity—we miss the features of a lovely landscape. Here are no towering hills, no boundless ocean, no peaceful lake or busy river. A flat uninteresting country is spread out before us, a stream winds slothfully through the

midst. The monotony is unredeemed by any burst of sunrise, flood of sunset, or splendour of noon tide, and yet something attracts which you cannot understand. You get quite near the picture to study it, and you take a distant view—you observe it well when a streak of real sun-light strikes on it from the roof above, and then return when the sky without is cloudy—you look and wonder until you can hardly get away. There is one effect given which we do not remember to have ever seen so faithfully rendered in a picture, namely, the effect of gleams of sunshine and shadows of clouds pursuing one another over a level country, when the sky looks unusually high, and the day is bright and breezy.

It is scarcely credible that an artist whose works were so prized even as they came with the shine of new varnish from his atelier, whose pupils were so numerous, and whose patrons were so liberal, should have lived within two hundred years of our own day, and left so few particulars of personal history for biographers to record. He studied painting it would appear for some years in Amsterdam, under the tuition of rather indifferent masters; and then returning to his humble home on the Rhine learned of nature, following the intuition of his own genius—his models such as he found in the rude surroundings of his father's mill. Later, when he settled in Amsterdam, he had not long to strive for distinction, but received commissions and fair payment from the beginning. He worked industriously, and not content with the successful pursuit of one art, made himself famous as an engraver and etcher of original plates, the first impressions of which are now worth hundreds of pounds. Very little more is known of his life. He is sometimes described as a man of unworthily penurious habits and inclinations. But facts are very stubborn; and recent researches in the court register of Amsterdam have resulted in the discovery of an inventory of the furniture and other effects of this remarkable man, which were dispersed by public sale when in some unaccountable way he got into difficulties. It argues little for the truth of this accusation to find among the entries engravings of Marc Antonio, rare Italian pictures, costly chairs, bronzes, casts, old armour, and such like. There is, however, as shown in this memorandum, a singular scarcity of certain purely necessary articles: for example the whole stock of linen seems to have consisted of "three shirts, six pocket handkerchiefs, three tablecloths, twelve

napkins, some collars and wristbands—then at the washer-woman's"! Still more conclusive is the hard fact, now sufficiently proved, that "the parish" was put to the cost of just fifteen florins to bury this rarely gifted artist. Truly there is not wanting in this instance the mysterious coincidence of life and production; and, as has been well said, "Rembrant painted as he lived in shadow."

After Rembrant comes Cuyp in his cool dark-green manner, and in his most glowing mood. Before such pictures as 712 we make a long pause. We are unwilling to part before the sun is actually below the tide; it is just the farewell burst of glory which illuminates the scene; presently the shadows shall float by, and cover men and horses, and all the life be mantled in the shut of day. There is great poetry too in Cuyp's pictures of this class, expressed it may be by this very idea of transitoriness, in which a sense of enjoyment and a feeling of melancholy combine. "Nymvegen on the Rhine" (710) is a very beautiful picture; and "Man holding a Horse" (764) gives an example of a different style.

Ruysdael follows so cool and cloudy with continual reminiscences of his Norway journeyings, and a sort of faith that every river must have its own proper waterfall, if one will only take the trouble to look for it. Hobbema's streams are so predestined for use as well as ornament, that even when we do not see the busy wheels at work, we feel quite sure the mill is round the corner. These two are perfectly individual, and a very short study of their landscapes will enable one to know them ever after. Karel du Jardin, Ian Both, Philip de Koning, Gerard Dow, are not without representatives here. But as we cannot spend a week upon this flying tour, we must leave them with many others, unnoticed for the present; and becoming erratic in our course, we retrace our steps, and gather here and there some facts and figures of Spanish Art.

There is nothing like a complete sequence of Spanish pictures, and consequently no chronological order has been observed in the placing of such examples as were procurable. Many of the early masters are missing altogether. There are two or three of Il Moretto in the first vestibule: also single specimens of El Mudo, El Greco, Herrera, and Luis de Vargas. In the second vestibule is an example of Iriarte. Roelas shows his own portrait and another picture in Saloon B. Morales has a head of Our Saviour. In the same quarter, are Zurbaran's "St.

Justa" 796) a curious picture; and a "Standing Figure of St. Francis" (790) very commonly engraved, when the intention is to disgust us with the Spanish school. A later "St. Francis" (788) by Trevisani contrasts favourably with it: where there is rudeness in the one, there is sentiment in the other. By far the most attractive of the series, is the "portrait of the Artist and his wife" (230) by Ribalta, which may be found in the first vestibule. The Artist holds in his hand and shows to his wife a newly finished little cabinet picture. The expression of pleased astonishment and true appreciation in the attitude of the wife, and in her handsome intelligent face is admirably given. The artist looks steadily and inquiringly into her eyes, and seems satisfied with his own success as shown in her admiration of his work. It is a most spirited picture.

Murillo, however, and Velasques are nobly represented. The portraits of the latter are numerous, various and excellent. And thanks to Napoleon's Plunder-Master-General, savage Soult, who enriched Europe with the spoils of Spanish Church and Convent, the second vestibule is a regular gallery of Murillo.

Though it would be very interesting to sketch the progress of the very original and independent Spanish school from its rise to the full development of power and beauty in these latter masters, yet, as we have not before us in old Trafford sufficient instances for illustration, we must be satisfied to speak only of these two great contemporaries. They were both natives of Seville. Velasques was born in 1599: Murillo some seventeen years later. The time was propitious for the development of such genius as they possessed. The Spanish Court was still a home for painters, and its monarch, according to late precedent, a munificent patron. Charles V. loved Titian, and would suffer no other to paint his portrait, saying he had received immortality from him. His son and successor inherited a real taste for art; and besides honouring the venerable Venetian, he had Sanchez Coello and Pantoja de la Cruz in his train, and even carried Sir Antonio More from England to be his special portrait painter. Philip III. conferred privileges, and lavished immunities till then held only by grandees of the empire upon Pacheco Master of Velasques. This noble Pacheco seems prouder of this latter title than of anything else by which he acquired fame, and rendered service to art. The young Andalusian was not long his pupil before he gave

him his daughter in marriage: "induced thereto" as he himself tells us, "by the rectitude of his conduct, the purity of his morals, and his great talents." The king, Philip IV., was not slow to discern the rare merit, and generously to encourage the genius of Velasques. The Count Duke Olivarez shared his sovereign's artistic taste, and emulated his substantial patronage. Pensions and appointments were bestowed upon the Artist in constant succession, until at last he was made Knight of Santiago, although to make that honour possible, in spite of the jealous exclusiveness of the old nobility of Spain, a dispensation had to be sought from Rome. Philip refused to sit to any other painter, and he made Velasques occupy apartments in his own quarter of the Alcazar in order that he might with convenience frequently visit him in his Studio. Velasques had rare opportunities of improvement. When Rubens was sent by his own Court on an Embassy to Madrid, a friendship was established between the two great painters, and much knowledge gained no doubt by the younger artist: and having obtained leave to visit Italy, he spent some years, studying the works of the great Italian Masters, and painting pictures for the distinguished lovers of art, who received and entertained him with respect. Later he was sent into Italy to make purchases of works of art for the King, who like our own Charles I. was willing to let no opportunity pass, by which he could enrich his Picture Galleries. In virtue of his office as *Aposentador-Mayor* of the King's household, Velasques was obliged to take an active part in the preparations for the meeting of the French and Spanish Courts on the Isle of Pheasants, when the magnificent Louis XIV. married the Infanta Maria Teresa. The fatigue and anxiety of his labours in this service caused his death. Only a noble nature could have passed unharmed through such a constant course of honour and prosperity. But Velasques was a generous character, full of intellectual power, and of a most gentle temper. That he rightly discerned character, and disdained to flatter princes, his splendid portraits sufficiently prove. He was more *objective* in his portraiture than Titian or Vandyck. His portraits cannot be always recognised as from the same hand like those of most other painters. To perceive this it is only needful to look attentively at the pictures marked Velasques in Saloon B. The "Count Duke Olivarez" (787) is a likeness and no mistake: observe the firm stand, and the characteristic rigid hold of the

whip: and look at the same on horseback (789): there is thunder too in the tramp of that war steed. The Admiral "Adrien Pulido Pareja" (727) is equally individual—a stalwart, bronzed, rugged-haired man. It is related, that the King, who had lately given directions to the Admiral to undertake a certain commission, upon entering the artist's studio mistook a portrait of the Admiral for the hero himself, and being angry at the delay in the execution of his orders exclaimed: "What, are you still here? You have received your orders, why are you not gone?" Close at hand is the monarch himself "Philip the IV." (728)—nothing more regal about him than the paper he holds in his hand inscribed *Senor*. You may swear the ashy colour, the ugly mouth, the vicious up-turned moustache, and weak suffering eyes are the King's own. We have him again "Philip in Shooting Dress" (779) with somewhat more colour in his face, sharing the sun—shining as of old on good and bad—but his dog in the shade is a royaller beast. The "Queen of Philip IV." (779) shows that Velasquez was equally gifted to reproduce queenly dignity and the grace of womanly character. The handsome serious countenance, and delicately formed hand are perfectly given: and the dress and other accessories, though not particularly calculated to heighten the effect, are most carefully finished. A still better example of high finish with rich warm colour in addition, is to be noted in the child-like face, and sumptuous dress of "Young Lady" (786).

Murillo chose and followed another manner of life; and his pictures as a consequence have a quite different character. Until his twenty-fifth year he remained busily at work in his native city, then the residence of his uncle Don Juan del Castillo, a distinguished artist; and the first productions of his pencil were those famous beggar boys, which can be met with elsewhere in England, though not on the walls of old Trafford. Attracted by the well earned fame of Velasquez, he went to Madrid to profit by his instructions. Notwithstanding the frank and kindly reception he received from his generous fellow artist, and the offers of patronage made to him by the influential persons to whom the court painter introduced him, as well as the flattering notice taken of him by the king himself, he returned after an absence of two years to his beloved city; and from that day, his chosen patrons were the Religious

Orders—his models the splendid peasantry of Andalusia—his studio and Parnassus the cathedral and the cloister. He died, it may be said with the pencil in his hand, leaving unfinished his "Marriage of St Catherine" in the Church of the Capuchins at Cadiz, and was buried according to his express desire in his own parish church immediately beneath a favorite picture, Campana's "Descent from the Cross," near which he used to spend much of his time in religious meditation. *Vive Moriturus* is the inscription over the tomb of this most gifted and most loveable artist, for whom Spain did well to mourn long.

We have more pity for the *transportation* of Murillo, than for that of any other painter. Great a delight as it undoubtedly is to stand in Vestibule No. 2 among so many of his best works, we cannot but feel the injustice of thus crowding together pictures which we know were painted up to the actual light, and in exact suitability to the altar or corridor which they were meant to adorn. And when we remember that these beautiful creations, which might have been the text of preacher and the theme of psalmist, were designed to brighten the sombre sanctuary, to make "a sunshine in the shady place" of hospital and cloister, and to charm the heart and imagination of real worshippers, it jars on our sense of right, and we feel a chill of displeasure when we find them subjected to the flippancy of the canting commentator, and see them hung, thus out of order and out of place, in the gaze of an alien generation.

Murillo's different styles of painting are well known to those who have seen his works elsewhere. We need not describe them here, as the examples before us are almost entirely of the one style clear, defined, massive. They are his own chosen subjects. What they principally express is truth, though not the truth or travesty of mere animal life. The forms in which he clothed his visions of beauty and holiness are not ideal, still less classic models. The type of many a saint may yet be recognised in the descendants of his own race. He grouped upon the canvas the figures and faces which met his eyes every day; but swept over all the magic of his chaste imagination, and deep devotion. His Virgins have not the superexcellent grace, the passionless quietude of Raphael's. The Holy Mother often looks as we might suppose a daughter

of earth to look, heaven chosen for such blessed ministrations—the calm seriousness is the expression of human tenderness—the rapture is the very pain of love.

We are not sure that a certain homeliness in the manner of representation in such pictures as "Holy Family" (639) and "Madonna and Saviour with St. John" (637) may not have made them surer of their effect upon the people whose feelings they appealed to, than more pure delineations of the high ideal. The last named picture was painted for *Madre de Dios* where Murillo's daughter took the veil. "St. Augustine and the Infant Saviour" (622) is clearly misnamed—call it "St. Felix begging bread," and the story is easily read. All these pictures, as well as "The Baptism" (636) "St. John and the Pharisees" (645), have a splendid effect when viewed from a distance—so we can fancy them to have looked in the Convents and Churches for which they were painted. "His Own Portrait" (640) offers another example to prove a theory of ours, that no one was ever a good portrait-painter who did not excel in other and higher branches of the art. "Woman Drinking" (629) is a fine study for a group in the colossal picture of "Moses Striking the Rock," which strange to say is still to be seen in its own place on the walls of *La Caridad* in Seville.

Our admiration for Murillo and our reluctance to leave him yet, lead us as a matter of course into the Hertford gallery—a place set apart, full of the rarest excellencies; and which, on the principle perhaps of leaving the best for the last, we abstained from entering until now. Here are five Murillos, the finest of all. Observe the shepherds in the "Adoration" (1), the earnest, absorbed expression of the heads, and the fine face of the boy among them. For difference of colour, treatment, everything, turn to that noble picture, "Joseph being carried to the Well" (3). The agony of the moment has made the poor child quite old, and one feels very thankful not to be within hearing of his cries. The "Annunciation" (4) and "Holy Family" (5) are similar in tone and feeling to many in the second vestibule. "The Charity of St. Thomas de Villa Nueva" (2) is not favourably hung: it is difficult for any but long-sighted people to study it satisfactorily, yet its great excellence cannot escape the most casual observer. The bold drawing, firm outline, animated groups of men and women—the boys of the true Murillo breed—and the contrast

of these with the serious pious monks, make altogether a most attractive picture. It was a favourite subject too with the painter, who called the St. Thomas, still at Seville, his *own* picture. Every one of these pictures should be most devoutly studied; we shall hardly again see so many pearls of price collected under one roof.

In the Hertford gallery every picture is a masterpiece. Who does not remember how the English marquis a few years ago carried off the treasures of the King of Holland's collection—outbidding princes and autocrats? The agents of Russia, France, Prussia, Saxony, and Belgium, were eager for that "Holy Family" (26) by Andrea del Sarto; but the noble peer beat them all, and for £3,000 carried off the prize. Again the Emperor and the Marquis were in the list contending for Vandyck's magnificent "Philip le Roy, Seigneur de Ravels" (6) and "Lady of Philip le Roy" (7): the perseverance and the gold of the Englishman once more gained the day. There is so much enjoyment in the sight of these magnificent portraits that we cannot be persuaded to consider ill-spent the £6,000 which paid for the pleasure. The Seigneur is not alone the finest Vandyck in the exhibition, but the also very finest portrait, in our opinion—not even excepting any one of Titian's. There is no want of finish here; the character is not to be mistaken: the portraiture is faultless. Note what expression Vandyck could give the hand when he chose to take the trouble. The Seigneur's wife is scarcely a fit mate for him. There is a certain dignity in the quiet self-possession of that portly figure; but it is more the decorum and sobriety of good breeding than native dignity of character.

Rambrant's portraits (15, 16) are astonishing; they are not in the least like any we have seen of his, but they are worthy a place with the best. Another £3000 went for them. And "The Unmerciful Servant" by the same master, or "The Buried Talent" (14) as some have it with better reason, has an excellent effect when viewed from a proper distance. The craven figure of the foolish steward contrasts well with the bolder figures around him. Rubens' "Rainbow Landscape" (21) is the very epitome of the great Fleming's dash, and the essence of his free florid coloring. The men and horses passing along the way side have great animation; the very ducks waddle down towards the stream in luxurious enjoyment of peace, plenty, and prosperity.

Of Valesques we have here several portraits justifying still farther our opinion expressed above. William Van de Velde's "Large Sea Piece" (30) is a good example of his peculiar treatment of still water scenes. "The Migration of Jacob" (81) by Adrian Van de Velde is a brilliant animated group in an atmosphere of clear cool air, not perhaps sufficiently recalling the shining orient. Not far from Murillo's *own* favorite subject, we meet "The Strawberry Girl" (18), of which Sir Joshua Reynolds, after remarking that there were very few original pictures in the world, somewhat conceitedly asserted, "this is one of *my* originals." The greatest wonder about the picture is that any one, even the lavish marquis, should be found to give some £2,000 for it. Certainly it has the merit of being free beyond bounds; reminding one of some of Rembrandt's in that peculiar style which seems as if brushes well charged with colour had been flung at the canvas, and a picture produced by lucky hap-hazard. "Nelly O'Brien" (19) makes us relent towards the president. The figure is easy, graceful; the drawing accurate; the finish of dress and accessories quite perfect. It is ever to be regretted that the English master did not leave us many companions for Nelly.—But we must have done.

According to the poet it may be possible to "curdle a long life into one hour;" but we know it to be perfectly impossible to crush what should be matter for a month's study into a hasty commentary, or seek to note at one view every picture of interest and merit exhibited on the walls of Old Trafford. The accumulation of treasure is absolutely oppressive. We must leave many things of worth and beauty without even a word of recognition. However, it is pleasant to know that all are sure of observation and appreciation. What we pass by, our immediate followers may lovingly consider. There is nothing indifferent here; nothing without attraction of one kind or other; and tastes, as of old, are various. Indeed a *taste* for pictures in the ordinary sense seems to be of general and spontaneous growth. Even at this time amongst ourselves the poorest houses have their pictorial decorations—a sheet of the Illustrated News at best, or a gathering of rosy-cheeked groups in blue and yellow; while the houses of richer occupants have their proud display of undoubted—copies; and their modicum of line engravings of horses, dogs, and aristocratic personages. The mere desire to have a picture in a frame we take to be a good sign; the pity is that so little of

what is good for the purpose is to be found in any quarter. But if the people, in this as in other instances, are hungry, and feed on the husks of swine, who are to blame?—It may be their providores. Now it is not possible that of the thousands who wonderingly contemplate the treasures of Art here enshrined some hundreds will not carry away more knowledge and more truth than they brought with them. Henceforth most assuredly they will be charier in their fancies, and desire with the pretty gilt frame, a picture embodying some beauty or sentiment, some *idea* in fine. Photography will greatly aid the encouragement of this improved taste. The outlines and much of the intrinsic worth of great pictures can be reproduced by this method to an almost infinite extent: and the less wealthy becomes owners of works of real art, which now only the favoured of fortune can aspire to possess. The new art, according to all appearance is not likely to go much farther—and so best perhaps. There is a limit still to what science and mechanical ingenuity can effect. We are not yet made quite independent of the soul which is the life of all. The rays of sun light, the carefully prepared fluid, the accurately adjusted board or plate are all ready; but unless the genius of man have first spiritualised the forms, there comes out merely a scenic representation of so many lay figures, but no speaking picture. We can fancy a crew of splendid models *doing* a grand historical picture for the photographer to copy. We can also fancy how a Paul de la Roche, or a Kaulbach, would have transferred the image in his own brain of a similar scene. For the present the professors of the art must be satisfied to aim at nothing higher than copying the thoughts of real artists. Time and labour must be expended in still further perfecting the art: but even thus limited the mission is not insignificant.

Endless indeed are the prospects which appear to open from this same Manchester Exhibition—many the hopes which spring from its existence. No such service has ever been done for art in England. The only service at all approaching in importance Mrs. Jameson has rendered by her works. She has certainly prepared the way for much of the good which has come, and is yet to come. What are dry catalogues, however learned; academic discourses; and methodic classifications of styles, and times, and merits, compared with an earnest, fervent, heart-appelling chapter in one of her books? There is no more helpful literature in our modern times than the Art-Essays

of this gifted woman. With a style to make a dissertation on the state of Timbuctoo a work of interest, and a tone of true womanly gentleness and intelligence sufficient to gain attention from the least informed, she has given an impulse to the study of art, and has pointed out the method of its proper appreciation with a success which cannot be overrated. Speaking from our own experience we can safely assert, that there is scarcely one among our reading acquaintance who does not gratefully refer the awakening of some intellectual power—the recollection of some pleasure which was far more than a mere passing enjoyment—to the writings of Mrs. Jameson. The influence of the individual, and the immense power of every original thinker, be the subject of his speech, art, or morals, or the topic of the day, are most strikingly shown in this case. Mrs. Jameson in her ardent desire and laborious endeavours for the advancement of true art, has actually kindled the flame in the minds and hearts of her readers: she has gained a large audience by the spell of her own peculiar earnestness; and now when she speaks of social interests, the duties of thinkers and workers, hundreds who might have been deaf to the appeal are eager listeners. But with her, in art as in morals, the aim has ever been one—the advocacy of beauty, justice, truth.

The success, in its best sense, of the Exhibition, even up to the present day, is such as to give hearty satisfaction to every Manchester man who has staked a portion of his fortune on the enterprise, and substantially to reward every generous lord and gentleman who has despoiled the walls of his mansion that the multitude might be for the moment as rich as himself in enjoyment. Earlier indeed it was surmised that the public for such an Exhibition was quite limited: and as it happened that during the first months the galleries were visited only by persons well dressed, and consequently of presumed enlightenment, it was concluded that the undertaking must prove a failure. It did not appear to be imagined that the people could not starve for the sake of aesthetic rapture, especially as they knew nothing of the delights of it. No sooner, however, was the price of admission judiciously made commensurate with their circumstances, than crowds of the working population began to pour in; and now we have twenty thousand a day spending their half-holiday in a scene where there is nothing to degrade or corrupt, or even passingly gratify the lower passions

of humanity. Truly we may repeat that those who have had a share in this achievement may be prouder than if they had given so many votes in the House for the Legislative enactment of a measure to suppress vice, or do away with misery ; while they may be equally sure that thousands of pounds flung into the rotatory begging boxes of random charities might purchase less pleasure and less good.

Reading the lesson aright, let us in future weigh more nicely our individual responsibilities ; more dutifully use the faculty we have to aid and further the true education of a less favoured class, and above all talk not so much of the savage, rude, terrible people. The people are *savage* because they are illused, inarticulate, quite artificially debased ; they are *rude* because we of the better sort hold no refining communion with them ; and *terrible* because it may be that our fate, and retributive justice are in their hands. Once more let us believe with an ardent, living faith, that no act of self-sacrifice can be without its immediate result of good, no appeal in vain which is made to the large heart of the people.

ART. X.—THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON AND ITS
PROPOSED AMENDED CHARTER.

1. *University of London. Report of the Senate on the Amended Draft Charter; Together with Communications from Affiliated Colleges, from Graduates, and from Other Individuals, Relating to the Same.* August 1st, 1857.
2. *The Educational Register: A Family Hand-Book, Containing an Account of the Universities, Colleges and Institutions, Foundation and Grammar Schools, Training Institutions for Teachers, The Government Schools of Design. Together with Information and Statistics Relating to the Progress of Education Generally.* Oxford: Parkers. 1855.

There is printed in *The Times* of December 13th, 1836, a despatch dated Whitehall, December 1st, 1836, signed by Lord John Russell, and addressed to the Chancellor of the University of London, in which the following passage appears:—
“You may be assured that on my part also I shall esteem it an honor to co-operate in the advancement of an institution destined to confer the distinctions justly due to proficiency in literature, science, or art, without imposing a test of religious opinions, or binding by the fetters of the seventeenth century the talent and merit of the present enlightened age.”

These were sentiments worthy of a scholar and of a statesman; and it has now, more than twenty years after they were written, come to pass that through not “binding by the fetters of the seventeenth century the talent and merit” of these past twenty years, the 2481 students have matriculated, and thus has the University of London proved, that it was founded, in the words of its charter, “for the advancement of religion and morality, the promotion of useful knowledge, by holding forth to all classes of Her Majesty’s subjects, without any distinction whatever, an encouragement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education.”

The success of the London University has always appeared to us a most fortunate but wonderful circumstance. It was founded at a period when there was hardly any public opinion upon educational subjects. It was reviled and misrepresented by the Tories, and only half supported by the Whigs; it was founded amidst opposition and in spite of every obstacle. The

Dissenter and the poor man, barred at the very portal of the old universities, had rushed the one into fanaticism and the other into sedition. When Henry Brougham, and the other Educational Reformers, were proclaiming that the school-master was abroad, "and that they objected not to the fullest possible illumination of the human mind," every member of the Tory press was ridiculing and maligning the men and their motives; but though founded at this period, and though exposed to all the dangers arising from the Affiliated Colleges, or the possible mischiefs of new and rival universities, the University of London did not fail, its graduates were neither demagogues, nor vulgar pedants, and it can point to names as world-known as any illustrating the rolls of Oxford, of Cambridge, or of our own Trinity College, during the last twenty years.

The subject of the new University was first brought fully before the country in the year 1835, during the administration of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. At this period Mr. Tooke, then Treasurer of University College, and a member of the House of Commons, moved and carried a resolution for an address to the Crown, praying that the College might be erected into a University. It was suggested, and suggested wisely, that this erecting any existing College into a University would afford a precedent for a like erection of any other college, and thus we should have, as in Scotland, rival colleges, running races for support through lax examinations and low terms for residence, to be covered, perhaps, by inferior lecturers; and it was urged upon Sir Robert Peel that he should erect a *new* University: in this, as in other matters, he acted, not upon his own judgment, but upon the promptings of others, and refused to adopt the suggestion.

Lord Melbourne came next into office, and the duty of dealing with the address devolved upon Mr Spring Rice, the present Lord Monteagle, who most unfortunately fell into the hands and views of those members of University and King's Colleges, who were all for what may be called a third class Oxford and Cambridge, and thus the narrow terms of the charter, confining the power of the University to the conferring of degrees on those only who should have spent the two years from Matriculation to the pass Examination at some affiliated school or college.

Having thus narrowed the sphere of usefulness of the University, an endeavour was made by some of the ecclesiastical

members of the senate, to make a theological examination *sine qua non* for a degree, and it was accordingly found necessary to appoint a committee of the senate in 1840, to consider what alterations it would be expedient to make in the charter. In this committee a resolution was carried that, "It is expedient to admit candidates for degrees in arts and laws to examinations, *wheresoever such candidates may have received their education*, under such regulations as the University shall determine, subject to the approval of one of the principal Secretaries of State." This resolution, although carried, was allowed to drop, as all hope of amending the charter at that time was useless; and we record the fact that such a resolution was proposed, merely for the purpose of shewing that seventeen years ago the change now proposed to be made in the amended charter was considered necessary.

The present existing graduates ask to be admitted as members of the corporation of the University, and from the documents issued by them, and now before us, we are perfectly convinced that if that admission takes place, before the constitution of the University is secured upon the broader basis recommended by the senate, it will be scarcely possible hereafter to rescue the nobly designed institution from the clutches of selfish, or narrow-minded, or bigoted men.

As Ireland is very much interested in this question, we have examined the charter, and have enquired into all the facts of the case, and we find that now is the proper time to endeavour to obtain the adoption of the proposed thirty-sixth clause in the new charter, and which is as follows:—"And we do further will and ordain that persons *not educated in any of the institutions connected with the said university* shall be admitted as candidates for Matriculation, and for *any* of the degrees hereby authorized to be conferred by the said university of London other than medical degrees, on such conditions as the said chancellor, vice-chancellor, and fellows by regulations in that behalf shall, from time to time, determine; such regulations being subject to the provisions and restrictions herein contained." So far for the proposed thirty-sixth clause; we now beg attention from Catholic and Dissenting readers to the proposed eighteenth clause. Let it be borne in mind that as the great majority of the educational establishments of the United Kingdom are connected with the Established Church, in progress of time the great majority of the graduates of the University of Lon-

don would belong to that religious persuasion. To obviate the danger of the introduction of any such attempt as that of the ecclesiastical members of the senate, to which we have already referred, a proviso is inserted in the proposed eighteenth clause, "That it shall not be lawful for the said chancellor, vice-chancellor, and fellows, to impose on any person any compulsory religious examination or test." Thus it will be perceived that whilst professing to throw open wide the gates of the University to all, the senate is anxious that at no later period shall the student be forced to retreat by these weapons of the exclusionist—religious tests.

The restrictions, in the proposed thirty-sixth clause, respecting the medical and surgical institutions, keeping still in force all the provisions of the existing charter are wise and unexceptionable. These institutions teach practical arts, and it would tend to no useful end to direct from them those students who must learn those arts somewhere, practically or not at all.

The great question as it appears to us is, will the objects of the founders be more fully developed by opening the University to all, or by closing it against any who shall not have spent the two years between Matriculation and final Examination in an affiliated school? That is, shall schools affiliated have a monopoly of the students of the University? The senate do not consider that they are specially appointed to support any set of Schools or Colleges—they believe, and believe truly, that they are to benefit the youth of the country, not the keepers of certain Educational Institutions. We shall enable the reader to judge for himself as to the manner in which the Senate meet the objections to the proposed Amended Charter, and shall then offer some observations on the figures forming the strong points in proving that the thirty-sixth clause is necessary, if usefulness is to be the object of the University. The *Report of the Senate* states :—

The Senate of the University of London, after carefully considering the Draft of a new Charter forwarded to them by the Secretary of State, have resolved to recommend, among other modifications of the existing Charters, a discontinuance of the restriction which confines admissibility to examination for the Degree of B. A. to the Students of Institutions specially appointed and named beforehand. They have accordingly introduced into the Draft Charter the Clause numbered 36, which provides that they may admit to examination as Candidates for that Degree, on conditions hereafter to

be determined, Students not presenting certificates from any such Institution.

Before transmitting this recommendation to the Secretary of State, the Senate allowed a month to elapse for receiving such representations as any of the Colleges or Institutions, Professors, Graduates, Students, or other parties might desire to address to them on the proposed change. Various representations have accordingly been made or forwarded to them.

Of the 38 Institutions, specially authorized to issue such certificates, 18, comprehending the most considerable, have addressed Memorials to the Senate, disapproving of the alteration. The President of the College at Thurles approves of the change.* The 19 other Institutions have expressed no opinion.

The Professors also of King's College, London, have transmitted a communication to the Senate, deprecating the change. The professors of University College, London, have addressed the Council of their own College, setting forth the grounds of their opinion, adverse to Clause 36, in an elaborate Report.

At a meeting of Graduates, convened for the purpose of discussing the question, Resolutions, protesting against the proposed alteration, were adopted by a majority of 84 to 37. Memorials from the Graduates who composed this majority, and from nearly 450 other Gra-

* The following is an extract from the letter of the Very Rev. Edmond Ryan, President of the Catholic College, Thurles:—

"I judge there should be no Collegiate character required by any University to qualify one for its Degrees. Knowledge, however acquired, should be the test and qualification to Honours in Science and Arts. It is only a few that can, with ease, devote themselves to a formal and systematic following of Collegiate education. The wealthy alone can afford it. The poor student can only endure it. An University, then, in my mind, should nurse and foster talent in all, by placing its honours and distinctions to be the prize of mind and judgment, regardless of the mode of development or formation. This it was in practice, at first, when youth was sheltered and educated with the sole view of learning and its diffusion. As this benevolence of the early patrons of knowledge is impracticable in these days of progress and diffusiveness, I should wish that no restriction, in speculation or practice, be put on knowledge; that its acknowledgment and value be limited by its absence, and not by the shade or colour of its presence. As the University of London was founded on broad popular grounds, what I deem meet in all, I judge peculiarly besitting the London University;—that what all Universities confer on distinguished men of every nation with delight, may not be refused or denied any one of this great Empire, should it be sought by a proof of due acquirement in knowledge. This liberality can neither injure the quality of a Degree, provided the test to the participation of the honours be even and trying, nor the endurance and success of Collegiate training, as society will always supply numbers that can never be otherwise educated or trained."

duates who, though not present at the meeting, agree with that majority, are now before the Senate. These documents embody the reasons of the Memorialists in support of their opinion. Professor Foster, of University College, in a letter to the Registrar of the University, agreeing to a great extent in the views of these Memorialists, suggests a modification of Clause 36.

On the other hand, various individual Graduates among whom are numbered Dr. Barnes, Dr. Bucknill, Dr. Richard Quain, Mr. I. Todhunter, Dr. Edward Smith, Professor W. B. Todhunter, and Mr. J. Robson, have memorialized the Senate, commending the alteration, and trusting that it may be carried into effect—the first four each examining the question in an argumentative paper.

To the same effect is a Memorial addressed to the Senate by 38 Graduates of the University, 60 Lecturers in Medical Schools affiliated to the University, and 31 Undergraduates, praying for a removal of the restriction now in question.

The Senate proceed to review the objections which have been offered against the proposed change—to determine how far these objections are in themselves preponderant, or are founded in accurate views of the legitimate purposes and effective reach of the University of London.

In the reasonings both of the Colleges and of the Graduates, respecting the functions and competence of the Senate, Oxford and Cambridge appear to be assumed, either expressly or tacitly, as the models, to be closely imitated. Because Oxford and Cambridge exhibit a University having relations only with special and recognised Colleges, the like exclusive Collegiate system is claimed for the University of London also, as if without such a system the University of London would be inferior to the two older Institutions. The dignity and efficiency of the University of London appear to be measured by the closeness of its approximation to Oxford and Cambridge, leaving out merely the feature of intimate connexion with the established Church.

In these views the Senate cannot acquiesce. They conceive that the example of Oxford and Cambridge has exercised a misleading influence on the judgment of the present question. Both at Oxford and Cambridge, the University is a really teaching and supervising body, maintaining discipline over the Colleges, and exercising direct authority over the students; moreover the University and the Colleges are in the closest unity and identity, the functions of the former being alternated among the members of the latter. On all these important points, the position of the University of London is not only different, but contrary. It neither teaches, nor supervises, nor maintains discipline, nor exercises authority over students: its functionaries are in no way connected, except by accident, with any College: nor have its Colleges any local or traditional tie among themselves. It cannot become a new Oxford or Cambridge. It may aspire to rival these two Institutions, but it cannot literally copy them. The Collegiate system at Cambridge and Oxford is a vigorous reality, wherein both University and Colleges co-operate as members of the same living organism: the Collegiate system which was as-

signed by the then Government of the country to the University of London, is a mere name, without any effective principle of unity or peculiar co-operation of parts ; having no other positive attribute, in common with Oxford and Cambridge, except the inauspicious attribute of exclusiveness, without the same justifying reasons as may be pleaded by those two Universities

Objectors may say, that this admission places the University of London in a state of confessed inferiority to Oxford and Cambridge. Even though the proposition were true, nothing would be gained by denying or disguising the real state of the fact, or by affecting to copy where we can produce nothing better than a deceitful show of resemblance. But the Senate are far from admitting the inferiority here indicated. That which is different from Oxford and Cambridge is not necessarily inferior. The main and capital test of comparison which the Senate recognise, is, the intellectual value of their Degree—the standard of mental proficiency and learning which it represents. Judging by this test, the Senate are not afraid to declare that the University of London is fully on a par with Oxford and Cambridge : and (so far as in them lies) it shall remain so. The fact of such equality is honourable to the Colleges and their teaching. But subject to that main test, and with a scrupulous care to keep the standard of learning undiminished, the national efficiency of the University of London will also be measured by the number of students whom it graduates. During the first nineteen years of its existence, only about 1050 different persons have graduated at this University in the three Faculties of Arts, Law, and Medicine, collectively ; that is, on the average, about 55 per annum. To exalt its efficiency in this respect, even above the level of Oxford and Cambridge, the Senate claim to be released from those restrictions which have hitherto confined the Degree to the pupils of Colleges specially named. Repudiating all idea of multiplying new enlistments by degrading the standard of admissibility, they wish to invite diligent and accomplished students from all places of education and all tutors indiscriminately. It is for the University of London to proclaim the comprehensive principle, that while testing by strict examination the amount of acquired knowledge, and requiring reasonable evidence of antecedent continuous study, it will no more tie down the deserving student to a few privileged Colleges than to a particular religious creed.

In two of the Memorials from the Colleges, allusion is made to certain proceedings now contemplated by Oxford and Cambridge, for the purpose of admitting to examination students not educated in any of their Colleges. It is understood that these Universities propose to examine extra-Collegiate students, and to confer upon such as pass a certain mark of recognition—yet distinct from the ordinary Degree taken by the Collegiate student, and bearing a different title,—such as Associate of Arts, instead of Bachelor of Arts. The Baptist College at Bristol, among others, recommends that this example shall be followed by the University of London : that students not coming from the privileged Colleges shall be admitted to examination and shall receive a title of recognition ; but that they shall

not be entitled Graduates, nor become members of the Convocation.

The Senate are opposed to any such distinction of rank or title as is here suggested. However suitable it may be at Oxford and Cambridge, it is nowise defensible under the circumstances of the University of London. It is recommended only by that analogy which the Senate have already deprecated as unfounded and illusory—that the University of London with its affiliated Colleges is, or may be rendered, a real counterpart of the composite organism made up of University and Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge.

The authorities of Oxford and Cambridge may see a material distinction between a resident student who has submitted himself for a long period to their teaching, supervision, and discipline—and another student who has acquired all his knowledge without the walls of the University. But the Senate of the University of London can recognise no distinction between two students, the one of whom has passed the two years after Matriculation in one of the thirty-eight favoured Colleges, while the other has passed the same period of time at Harrow, at the Charterhouse, in a respectable private school, with a tutor, or under an erudite parent. Neither of the two have been subject to any teaching, supervision, or discipline, from the University of London; both are alike worthy, on passing an equally creditably examination, of such recognition as that University can bestow. It would be unfair to stamp either of them with a mark of inferiority.

To the same line of argument belongs the point conceded in the Memorial of the Graduates,—that exclusive dealing with the affiliated Colleges is the normal condition of the University of London, but that the Senate may exercise a dispensing power, in exceptional cases; so as to admit individual non-collegiate students to graduation. This is a view of the case which the Senate cannot recognise as either equitable or politic. They are anxious to invite students from the thirty-eight Colleges, and students from other quarters, equally and indiscriminately, under the same conditions of certified previous study and final examination. They cannot acknowledge the propriety of receiving the body of Collegiate students at their great gate as the legitimate comers, and a few non-collegiate students at a separate door, by way of exception and favour. The error against which the protest is, the transplantation of an exclusive Collegiate system from Oxford and Cambridge, where it is an ancient, vigorous and flourishing reality, to the University of London, where it is and ever must be barren for good, and efficacious only in rendering that University inaccessible to the larger portion of British educated youth. This error is noway corrected, and very little softened, by the consent of the Graduates to admit as exceptions a few individual non-collegiate students.

Professor Foster suggests the addition of certain words to Clause 36, providing that students not coming from the affiliated Colleges may be admitted to the Bachelor's Degree, yet only after passing through certain progressive examinations. This might lead to the inference, that these progressive examinations should stand in place of the College certificate: that they should not be imposed

upon students who bring a certificate from one of the affiliated Colleges, but merely upon students educated elsewhere. Such a proposition would be tainted with the same vice of distinctive treatment and implied College-superiority which the University ought to discountenance in every shape. Progressive examinations, as a means of verifying and securing continuous study, appear to the Senate deserving of careful consideration. But if the Senate should ever find it practicable and advisable to establish progressive examinations they can see no reason why such examinations should not apply alike to students Collegiate, and students non-Collegiate.

In the elaborate communication from the Professors of University College, attached to the memorial from the Council of that College, much is said about the value of the College Test and of Collegiate education generally. That a well-conducted College is a most effective and admirable instrument of education, the Senate readily admit. They are persuaded that under the most open scheme of admissibility, a great proportion of their Graduates, and many of their best Graduates, will always come from Colleges. But when upon these premises an inference is raised, that no other form of education except the Collegiate, and that too confined to a few enrolled establishment, is to be recognized as conferring admissibility to a Degree—the Senate must record their decided dissent. They are anxious to make sure of a certain measure of intellectual acquirement and a certain continuity of study, as conditions preliminary to graduation: but they are equally anxious to leave to students themselves or to their parents and guardians full liberty of choice, as to the places where such instruction shall be obtained, or the persons by whom it shall be imparted. Many parents prefer private teaching as a system: some even disapprove, on conscientious grounds, of all schemes which bring together youthful students in large numbers: others are willing to defray the cost of a full measure of education for their sons, but entertain decided preferences for some particular school or teacher. By these, and by many other reasons, a majority of the well-educated youth of England will always be kept out of the Colleges affiliated to the University of London. Yet upon what principle of justice or policy are students so circumstanced to be debarred from graduating at the University? To admit them all, provided only they fulfil the required intellectual exigencies, is the true way of discharging that great and paramount duty which the University owes to the general cause of liberal education.

The Matriculation Examinations taken at the University, from 1838 to 1856 inclusive, afford a mode, however incomplete, of making a comparative estimate of the attainments of the students who come on that occasion, from the affiliated Colleges, and of the students who come from other quarters. Both classes are admitted to these Examinations without distinction; and of those who pass, some of each class voluntarily present themselves to be further examined, for Matriculation with Honours.

In the above-stated period of 19 years, 2481 students belonging to the two classes collectively, passed the Matriculation Examination;

of whom 1571, or 63 per cent., proceeded from affiliated Colleges, and 910, or 37 per cent., from other quarters*.

In the same period at the subsequent Matriculation Examinations for Honours, 480 cases occurred in which Honours were awarded, in 322 of which the student proceeded from an affiliated College, and in 158, that is in $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the cases, from other quarters†. This proportion affords reasonable ground for believing that if, on passing the Matriculation Examination, the students of both classes were admitted as Under-graduates of the University, the non-Collegiate students would, at the commencement of the Under-graduate's career, be not inferior in abilities or acquirements to the Collegiate students,

These non-Collegiate students, who have matriculated with honours are by the existing Charters debarred from afterwards approaching the Degree, unless they choose to quit those teachers under whose tuition they have gathered the first-fruits of University distinction, and then migrate into one of the privileged institutions. Such restriction has the effect of driving away many promising aspirants, likely to do the greatest honour to the Degree.

The Senate will only refer to the arguments, contained in the letters of Messrs. Bucknill, Barnes, Todhunter, and Quain, in favour of enlarged admissibility to the Degree. They have been principally anxious to consider the objections urged from the opposite view of the case, and they are glad to have seen these objections urged by highly competent advocates, so as to make sure that nothing material has been omitted.

After a full review of the whole discussion, the Senate adhere, with undiminished confidence, to the 36th Clause as it now stands in the Draft-Charter. They will transmit the Draft-Charter, with that Clause contained in it, to the Secretary of State; and they will at the same time transmit for his perusal both the present Report, and all the documents before them, on both sides of the question. If he shall adopt their recommendation, they will make it one of their early duties, under the New Charter, to provide proper conditions of admissibility to the Degree. While discarding exclusive preferences, and inviting from all quarters students properly educated—they will seek to guard scrupulously against any degradation of the intellectual standard which the Degree now represents.

* See Table 1.

† See Table II.

TABLE I.

This Table contains a statement of the number of Students who Matriculated in each year from 1838 to 1856 inclusive ; showing how many proceeded from affiliated Colleges and how many from other quarters, and the per-centage of each class of Students.

Year.	Number of Students from			Per-centage of Students from		
	Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarters.	Total.	Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarters.	Total.
1838	22	0	22	100	0	100
1839	24	6	30	80	20	100
1840	67	2	69	97	3	100
1841	56	8	64	87	13	100
1842	61	5	66	93	7	100
1843	64	16	80	80	20	100
1844	64	15	79	80	20	100
1845	74	29	103	72	28	100
1846	72	27	99	73	27	100
1847	102	49	151	67	33	100
1848	104	57	161	64	36	100
1849	100	66	166	60	40	100
1850	111	79	190	57	43	100
1851	119	95	214	55	45	100
1852	115	91	206	55	45	100
1853	118	83	201	58	42	100
1854	115	84	199	58	42	100
1855	82	90	172	47	53	100
1856	101	108	209	48	52	100

TABLE II.

This Table contains the details of the Matriculation Honours awarded in each year from 1838 to 1856 inclusive; showing how many of these Honours were awarded to Students proceeding from affiliated Colleges, and how many to Students proceeding from other quarters; and the per-centage of Honours obtained by each class of Students.

Year.	In Mathematics and Nat. Phil., from		In Chemistry, from		In Botany, from		In Zoology, from		In Classics, from		Total, from		Grand Totals.	Per centage, from		
	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.		Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Total
1838	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	13	0	13	100	0	100
1839	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	8	0	8	100	0	100
1840	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	7	0	7	100	0	100
1841	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	10	0	10	100	0	100
1842	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	9	1	10	90	10	100
1843	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	5	0	10	2	12	83	17	100
1844	4	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	15	1	16	92	8	100
1845	4	0	3	3	3	0	0	0	8	1	18	4	22	82	18	100
1846	7	2	7	3	0	0	1	0	8	1	23	6	29	78	22	100
1847	11	1	6	1	0	0	2	1	2	0	21	3	24	87	13	100
1848	6	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	5	4	12	11	23	52	48	100
1849	5	6	4	3	2	0	3	1	4	0	18	10	28	64	36	100
1850	8	4	5	5	1	1	1	4	8	1	21	15	36	58	42	100
1851	7	3	7	2	1	2	3	0	7	3	25	10	35	71	29	100
1852	10	2	3	4	1	1	0	1	8	3	22	11	33	66	34	100
1853	6	6	7	7	0	2	2	0	7	5	22	20	42	52	48	100
1854	8	1	6	8	3	2	0	2	6	7	23	20	43	53	47	100
1855	8	7	5	8	2	2	1	1	5	7	21	25	46	45	55	100
1856	9	6	3	11	1	1	1	2	5	5	19	25	44	43	57	100

Turning now to the consideration of these tables, (and they are of the very chiefest importance, in fact they prove the whole case for the adoption of the thirty-sixth clause), it will be discovered that during the nineteen years in which the University has exercised its powers of conferring degrees in Arts, Law, and Medicine, only 1050 different persons have graduated in these three faculties collectively; that is, at the average, 55 per annum; and since Parliament has voted about £4,000 a year to the maintenance of the University, which together with the annual value of the apartments at present occupied by the University in Burlington House, will constitute not much less than £5,500 a year, the state has paid about £100 for the making of every new graduate enrolled in the University. In 1856 only 70 Under Graduates took degrees at the University; therefore the present cost of each graduate is about eighty pounds. It must also be remembered that besides the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, and the Scottish Universities, there are only 38 other Institutions affiliated to the University.

Now on carefully examining the very valuable compilation, *The Educational Register*, placed at the head of this paper, we find that there are about 450 Grammar Schools in England and Wales in which, *at least*, Latin is taught, in addition to other subjects, and we have omitted the enumeration of about 150 of the least considerable of these Schools. With the stimulus that would be given to the system of instruction at these Grammar Schools, were the pupils admissible to examination for degrees at the University, we are convinced that, in the course of a few years, they would send forth students of equal *average* attainments with the students sent forth by the 38 non-Affiliated Institutions.

Besides the 450 Grammar Schools, there are enumerated, in *The Educational Register*, 1,500 Private Schools, in England and Wales, in each of which Latin is taught. As, however, the book from which we quote is only a first attempt at complete enumeration, we must add a large per-centage to 1,500 to arrive at the real complete number of such private schools. Assuming, however, that these Grammar and Private Schools amount to only 2,000, the reader can easily understand how largely the number of Candidates for University Degrees would be increased were the restrictive dams removed by the adoption of the thirty-sixth clause; an increase which would be ren-

dered considerable greater by the proposed examination of all persons seeking employment in the public service.

It is particularly worthy of notice that on carefully studying the figures of Table I. above inserted at the close of our extract from the *Report of the Senate*, we find there has been a steady progressive increase in the proportion which the Matriculating Students who do not proceed from affiliated Institutions bear to the whole annual number of Matriculating Students: so that commencing with 0 in 1838, the class of Matriculating Students referred to now comprehends full 50 per cent., or one half, of the entire number of students who matriculate annually at the university: we are enabled to add the table of matriculations for 1857, and shall here give the numbers for the last three years:—

Year.	Number of Students from			Per-centages of Students from		
	Affiliated Institutions.	Other quarters.	Total.	Affiliated Institutions	Other quarters.	Total.
1855	82	90	172	47	53	100
1856	101	108	209	48	52	100
1857	111	113	224	49	51	100
	294	311	605			
Average of 3 years.	98	104	202	48	52	100

Taking Table II., appended to the Report of the Senate, and above quoted, and adding the figures for 1857, we find the Honors awarded, at the Matriculation Examinations, to Students from Affiliated and Non-affiliated Schools, to be as follows:—

Year.	Mathematics, Nat. Philosophy.			Chemistry.			Botany.			Zoology.			Classics.			Total.			Grand Total.
	Affiliated Insts.	Other quarters.		Affiliated Insts.	Other quarters.		Affiliated Insts.	Other quarters.		Affiliated Insts.	Other quarters.		Affiliated Insts.	Other quarters.		Affiliated Insts.	Other quarters.		
1855	8	7		5	8		2	2		1	1		5	7		21	25		46
1856	9	6		3	11		1	1		1	2		5	5		19	25		44
1857	5	2		3	9		2	2		1	2		7	8		16	23		39
	22	15		11	28		5	5		3	5		17	20		56	73		129
Average of 3 yrs.	7	5		4	9		2	2		1	2		6	7		19	24		43

The following table will show the per-centage of honors to students for the average of three years :—

Affiliated.	Other quarters.	Total.
43	57	100

Thus it appears that students from affiliated institutions received at the Examinations for Matriculation Honors fewer honors, in proportion to the numbers of the candidates, than the students from other schools and colleges.

The following tables show the averages clearly and unquestionably, and are of the very highest importance in proving the justice of the case advanced by the Senate as inducing them to contend for the adoption of the Thirty-sixth Clause in the proposed Charter :—

Average of 20 years.					
Matriculating Students from			Per-centages.		
Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarters.	Total.	Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarters.	Total.
84	51	135	62	38	100
Average of 1855, 1856, and 1857.					
Matriculating Students from			Per-centages.		
Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarters.	Total.	Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarters.	Total.
98	104	202	48	52	100
Number of Honours awarded on Matriculation.					
1857, to Students from Affiliated Colleges, 16 ; Other quarters, 23 : Total, 39.					
Average of 20 years.					
To Students from			Per-centages.		
Affiliated Colleges.	Other quarter	Total.	Affiliated Colleges	Other quarters.	Total.
26	17	43	60	40	100
Average of 1855, 1856, and 1857.					
56	73	129	44	56	100

Having thus entered most fully into the statistics of the case of the Senate of the University of London, against some conservative graduates and some proprietors of Colleges and Schools affiliated to the Institution, we think it right to place on record the most able and elaborate argument in support of the Senate from the pen of Dr. Robert Barnes. It is a perfect specimen of close reasoning and of grave eloquence :—

“ *Observations on the Question—Whether it is right and expedient to admit as Candidates for the Degree of B.A. of the University of London, persons who do not bear a Certificate of Study in an Affiliated Institution.* By ROBERT BARNES, M.D., Lond.

“ There is no escape from a solution in the affirmative, if the following propositions be true :—

“ 1. That a certificate of study in an affiliated institution is not reliable evidence of learning or of good moral training and conduct.

“ 2. That a well-devised scheme of examinations is alone sufficient evidence—or at least the only trustworthy evidence, of the fitness of a Candidate for a Degree.

“ 3. That the exclusion of every one who cannot produce a Certificate, operates with great injustice towards many persons who can show evidence of learning as sound, and of conduct as good, as can be testified by a College certificate.

“ 4. That the abolition of the present restriction of University honors to College-certificated men would, by enlarging the basis of the University of London, add to its strength, and extend its public usefulness.

“ I do not propose to discuss each of these propositions *seriatim*. They are so intimately related, that to illustrate any one is to illustrate all the rest. But I beg to submit, in the first place, some considerations relative to the value of a Certificate as evidence of learning and moral training.

“ A. *The Certificate as evidence of learning.*—It may be objected, *in limine*, that to receive a Certificate even as part evidence that a particular Candidate is qualified for a Degree, involves a delegation by the Senate of its proper function to others. Not only is it improper to delegate any part of this duty to any but the duly appointed and responsible Examiners, but it is especially objectionable to delegate it to the authorities and teachers of the institution in which a Candidate has been educated.

“ To accept a Certificate as evidence of learning is moreover absurd, since it would imply reliance upon evidence which is constantly shifting in its character, and which it is impossible to define or estimate. Thus a Certificate from University College may mean one thing; a Certificate from a secluded theological College may mean another thing; and so on throughout the whole list of affiliated institutions. Indeed, no two Certificates, even from the same institution, can be said to mean the same thing.

"As evidence of *acquisition*, then, the Certificate is so fluctuating a quantity as utterly to baffle attempt at appreciation.

"B. *The Certificate as evidence of moral training and good conduct.*

"In this case also the Certificate means so many different things according to the source, that it is insusceptible of definite interpretation.

"College-training at Oxford and Cambridge, where all the College are aggregated together, making one body, the different parts of which control each other, and where the University authorities exercise an extensive control over the students both *in and out of* College, is an intelligible thing, and no doubt a powerful instrument of education. But to attempt to import a similar system into the University of London, where all the conditions differ, presents insurmountable difficulties. The affiliated institutions of the University of London, are scattered all over the country; their heterogeneous characters and constitutions defy a central supervision, or the attempt to subject them to an uniform discipline. The attempt would involve an amount of submission on the part of the Colleges which it would be hopeless to expect, and an amount of labour on the part of the Senate which it is not reasonable to expect.

In some of the Colleges, the students are non-resident; in these the Professors must form their opinions as to the moral conduct of the Students very much upon trust. In other Colleges, for example, some of the theological Institutions, a peculiar standard for trying this moral conduct may prevail. On the Collegiate theory, these theological Colleges ought to take the lead in producing Candidates of the highest Collegiate merit. But will the Graduates from University College admit this superiority? This difficulty in assigning any definite value to a Certificate is insuperable. Is it maintained that in it you have some security that the Candidate is a man of good moral character? It is undoubtedly desirable that, as far as it is possible, care should be taken that degrees should not be conferred upon immoral persons. If a Certificate from a recognized place of education could be made satisfactory evidence of character, this might be a reason for accepting it *quoad* character. Beyond this it should have no acceptance. It may be further urged, that to exclude all but those who can produce a College certificate is to give an arbitrary power to the Colleges which might be made an instrument of oppression. For example, a theological College might refuse the Certificate to a student who had not evinced full acquiescence in the doctrines taught by his Professors. Thus the Certificate might be made the means of excluding a man on the ground of his religious opinions, which is directly contrary to the terms and spirit of the University of London. I have strong suspicions that cases of this kind have occurred.

"For a College to urge, as has been done, that the admission of candidates without a Certificate would be detrimental to the maintenance of discipline in the College, is to advance a plea which defeats itself. A College has no right to use the University as an instrument of discipline. Each institution must find its legitimate modes of enforcing order within itself. If a College withhold a

Certificate from a student on the ground of breach of discipline, or deficiency of knowledge, it usurps the office of the Senate by deciding that he shall not have a degree.

"The assumption that without College-training there can be no effectual guarantee that a Candidate is sufficiently respectable, i. e. of sufficiently high social position, is too manifestly illiberal to need refutation. This is narrowing the question of a candidate's fitness to a test of his parent's pecuniary resources. It is to apply a test of the most invidious and oppressive character, because it has reference, not to the merits of the candidate, but to the accidents of fortune and the conduct of others. It would not be wise to assume that a young man has studied seriously and conducted himself with propriety because his friends have maintained him for two years at a College. But the young man who presents himself for examination in the confidence of knowledge acquired by dint of self-denial and self-reliance, brings the strongest presumptive evidence of intellectual and moral culture.

"It may be said that the value of Certificates as evidence of study and moral conduct, and as a substitute, partial or complete, for examination, has been decided by experience. In exact proportion as Certificates have displaced examination, has the diploma or degree conferred sunk in estimation. At the beginning of this century the University of St. Andrews granted degrees in Medicine without any examination, on the recommendation or certificate of two physicians of repute. At the present day, Degrees in Philosophy may be obtained on certificates from foreign Universities. These degree are not worthless because they are conferred on worthless persons, for this is not always the case. They are not valued by the public simply because it is known that Degrees conferred without examination are no evidence of merit. The possessors of such degrees accordingly take care, whenever possible, to suppress the source whence they were derived.

"At present the College of Surgeons is exceedingly stringent in the matter of Certificates, and correspondingly lax in the matter of examinations. By periodical registration of lecture tickets and certificates of 'diligent study,' the Certificate-system is strained to the utmost. It certainly ensures that the Student shall enter to all the classes prescribed, but no one contends that it secures the continuous study, which is the alleged object. No young man who wants to satisfy the profession and the public that he has acquired sound knowledge and skill, is content with the testimony afforded by his hospital-certificates and passing the ordinary examination of the College. He either proceeds to the Fellowship-examination or to the University of London. The confidence reposed in the Fellowship diploma and the University degree is based entirely upon the known efficiency of the examinations.

"But if it be for a moment assumed that College-training and the College certificate offer trustworthy evidence that the candidate has diligently pursued a 'regular and liberal' course of education, and that he is of good moral character, it is a manifest fallacy to conclude that satisfactory evidence to the like effect can be obtained in *no other way*.

"Is examination alone a sufficient test of the fitness of a Candidate for a Degree?"

"The testimony of men of great experience as examiners is decisively in the affirmative. It is also certain that there is no other test entitled to credit. The whole difficulty lies in framing such a scheme of examination as will adequately test the assimilated knowledge of the Candidate. It is objected that mere examinations cannot sufficiently distinguish between sound knowledge and the temporary rote-knowledge of 'cramming.' Admit this for a moment to be true. The objection applies with equal force to the case of the Collegiate as to that of the non-Collegiate Candidate. 'Cramming' is certainly not exclusively an extra-academical pursuit; and it is absurd to maintain that, if examination fail to detect 'cramming,' a certificate offers the smallest security against it.

"The fact is, that whilst it is notoriously easy to pass, by dint of 'cramming,' a Board whose test is a compromise between examinations and certificates, it is found to be difficult, if not impossible, to pass by this means a Board which relies upon examination alone.

"The injustice inflicted upon deserving persons by the limitation of University honours to Certificated men."

"A fatal objection against the present system is its partiality and inconsistency. It not only excludes the men who have not received an academical education, but also a large number who have enjoyed an academical education in many instances far superior to what can be obtained in many of the now affiliated institutions.

"Westminster, Eton, Rugby, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Charterhouse, Merchant Tailor's, Addiscombe and other great schools annually send forth young men eminently fitted for University degrees, if not immediately on leaving school, at any rate so well grounded that a little subsequent study would fully qualify them. Many of these young men are absorbed by Oxford and Cambridge. But it cannot be doubted that many others who are unable to proceed to residence in the old Universities, would be glad to take degrees at the University of London if the path were open to them. They are now excluded, not for want of qualification, nor for any fault of their own, but because the authorities of the great public schools do not think proper to apply for recognition as affiliated institutions. This exclusion is not less unjust to the students than detrimental to the University, whose interest it is to establish a connexion with the public schools.

"Again, many young men of British families are educated abroad, not from any fault or choice of their own—for the residence or place of education of a young man seldom depends upon himself. These young men may be brought up in foreign Colleges or Universities, and enjoy means of study that cannot be surpassed in the now affiliated institutions.

"There is a large class of educated men most deserving of University honours, and to whom a degree would be of essential service, who are also excluded. It may be true that schoolmasters and ushers may not have enjoyed a Collegiate education, but they have had the

advantage of a course of training which surpasses all others for precision,—that of teaching others. Many men of this class have passed the Matriculation examination with credit. It is both cruel and absurd to exclude them from taking degrees, in order to maintain the empty theory of Collegiate graduation.

“The character and influence of the University are impaired by the present restrictions.

“The influence of the University of London can never be so great as it ought to be until the number of Graduates shall be largely increased. That it fails to take its due share of academic influence is proved by the facts that it barely adds 70 Graduates a year to its calendar, and that its maximum rate of growth seems to be reached. Under the present system the growth of the University of London is cramped and bounded by the developmental force of the affiliated institutions. Unless these grow, the University cannot grow. Not only is the numerical growth of the University limited by the Colleges, but the tone and character of the University are made dependent upon the same condition. Now, the majority of these institutions are necessarily adapted to the special wants of particular classes and sections of the community. Scarcely one can be said to be truly national in character; twenty, at least, are exclusive sectarian theological schools. Hence the mass of the Graduates represent only narrow sectional interests. The University of London, which avowedly held out to ‘all classes and denominations’ of Englishmen the prospect of obtaining Academical Degrees ‘after examination,’ has by the restrictions imposed upon it, and especially by its subjugation by the Colleges, practically excluded in a great measure the largest class of all, that of the Established Church. The presence of this class would be of essential service in tempering the sectarian intolerance which is now preponderant.

“Thus in no proper sense of the word is the University of London metropolitan or national. In this respect it is immeasurably below the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

“By bringing the principle of competition into play, the greatest benefit will be conferred upon both Collegiate and non-Collegiate education. Academical institutions have always been largely indebted to extra-academical teaching. Even at Oxford and Cambridge it is private tuition that makes first class-men and wranglers. Private teaching has always been the most efficient training to make public Professors. Besides this, remote from the seats of learning, scattered throughout the country, are many men of great learning, clergymen and others, who devote all, or a part of their time, to private teaching. Under these men some of the most successful Candidates for the old Universities, and for the scientific departments of the public service, are reared. It would be a great advantage to these gentlemen, to their pupils, and to the University, if the present prohibition were removed.

“There is a class of young men whom it is especially desirable to encourage to pursue a liberal education, and to associate with the University of London, namely, Students in Medicine. Under the

present regulations. Students who wish to proceed in the Degrees in Medicine, are required to pass the Matriculation Examination. Many would gladly proceed to the degree of B.A. if they were rendered eligible. But this privilege is unaccountably confined to the Medical Students of three affiliated institutions. This privilege has justly caused much dissatisfaction amongst the Professors and Students of the great hospital-schools. When it is considered that most Medical Students commence their professional studies at the age of eighteen or earlier, and that the body is recruited from all parts of the country, and even from the colonies, it will be seen that attendance during two years in a institution recognized in Arts is, for the majority, impossible. Many, nevertheless, who are reared in the great public schools, might readily qualify themselves for a degree in Arts, by application during the first two years of preliminary medical studies. Again, under the regulations of the College of Surgeons relating to the Fellowship, it is provided that Candidates 'who shall have taken the degree of B.A. in a British University after examination, shall be required to devote five years (instead of six) to the acquirement of professional knowledge.' It is obviously desirable to link the Fellows of the College of Surgeons in association with the University of London by this bond.

"A similar argument will apply to law-students who are preparing for the bar or to become solicitors.

"There is yet another class of young men whom it is the peculiar duty of a University to encourage, those, namely, who, in despite of fortune, are prompted by innate energy of character to pursue a liberal course of education. Such men may be rare, but to exclude one is an act of injustice to society. In its behaviour to the poor Student, the University of London stands in most unfavourable contrast to the older Universities. By eleemosynary foundations, numerous paths to these are kept open for the access of young men who must otherwise have abandoned all aspirations after literary distinction in despair. The University of London has no foundations of this kind, no such alliances with the great public schools, nothing to attract the 'humble and indigent' Student, and thus to knit to itself the sympathies of every class of the community. This is already a source of weakness. It need not widen the breach between itself and the people by spurning from its doors the Student who, without help from Scholarship or College, has earned the right of citizenship in the Republic of Letters.

"This statement has extended perhaps to a wearisome length. But it leaves the argument for freeing the University from College-monopoly far from exhausted. It remains for me to disclaim for myself, and for those gentlemen who have joined me in the accompanying Memorial, the remotest desire to throw discredit upon the affiliated institutions, or to depreciate the value of Collegiate education. But I earnestly protest against the claim set up, that these institutions are entitled to any sort of protection or privilege in the distribution of the degrees of the University of London. Education, at least, should be free, and the path to academical honours open to all. Protection would, in the end, operate injuriously upon the Colleg

themselves. At best, protection would benefit only those Colleges in which the instruction is defective. It must be for such institutions that a scheme of compromise has been suggested, by which it is proposed to admit College Students to Degrees after examinations fewer in number and of less severity than non-Collegiate Candidates. Nothing more fatal to the interests of the good Colleges could be devised. Were it adopted, the non-Collegiate Graduate would be held in greater esteem than the College Graduate. The latter would come to be looked upon in the same light as the ten-years' man of Cambridge, who, in defect of capacity, has, by an appeal *ad misericordiam*, been gratified by an honorary degree. The scheme, however, is impracticable. It is irreconcilable with the competitive character of University examinations. Young men who seek University honours are anxious to bring into light all the knowledge they possess. They want to show, not only absolute knowledge but relative superiority. This they can only do by courting severe examinations. It would be strange, indeed, to see College Students, whose claim for protection is based upon the assumption of superior merit, abandon the great means of academical distinction to the non-Collegiate Candidates.

"The question then clearly admits of no compromise. Knowledge alone must be tested. There is no substitute for it. The University and the public are not concerned to inquire 'when or where' it was obtained. Corporations have no patent right in the supply. Unlike mere worldly stores, knowledge can hardly be acquired dishonestly, or without elevating the character of him who has achieved it.

ROBERT BARNES, M.D."

We next insert the very able letter of Dr. Bucknill of Exeter:—

"Reply to a Statement of Facts and Arguments against the proposed change, circulated by the Graduates' Committee, and to a Letter requesting the adoption of a Memorial against the change.

"Exeter, June 24th, 1857.

"SIRs,—I regret that I cannot subscribe to the opinions expressed in your circular respecting the proposed changes in the constitution of the University of London, and consequently that I cannot permit my name to be attached to your Memorial against those changes.

"The arguments you have adduced would possess some force, if the principal affiliated Colleges required the residence of the Students, and imposed upon them any discipline of life and conduct. But applied to institutions whose sole function is that of instruction in science and letters, by means of classes and lectures, your arguments appear to me fallacious and invalid.

"Whatever may be the effect of 'bringing together a number of young and fresh minds' in the collegiate mode of life which exists at Cambridge and Oxford, it is not obvious that a casual association upon the benches of a lecture-room 'affords advantages which nothing else can supply, and which are not less valuable than the mere opportunities of study.

"I entirely dissent from your construction of the term 'regular

and liberal education.' You narrow this term to the significance of an education received in an academy or College, or collection of lecture rooms. I take it to be an education of all the mental faculties, by means of a wide and liberal range of study, wherever pursued, or however obtained. Academic education has certainly not always been liberal, and its regularity has often been founded upon its restrictions. The education given in many theological Colleges has been thought to be illiberal, and that given in some secular ones has been called irregular. With few exceptions, Colleges are founded upon some limitation or bias of opinion; and the history of Collegiate institutions disproves the assumption that their education alone is 'regular and liberal.'

"I acknowledge the justice of the distinction you make between the man who possesses 'a moderate, but sound proficiency, in a variety of subjects belonging to literature and elementary science,' and the man who has been 'crammed,' to pass 'two or three not very difficult examinations.' I concur also in your opinion that the former alone is worthy of a University Degree.

"But the assumption that the man of trained mind, and of real knowledge, must necessarily be academically educated, appears to me gratuitous.

"It is, on the contrary, notorious, that while self-educated men are generally well grounded in their acquirements, 'cramming' for examination is the result of a system, which has been satisfied with prescribing a course of mental training, without adopting effective means to ascertain whether that training has been undergone.

"Students believe themselves entitled to a Degree, because they have been through the course prescribed for its attainment; and in some part Examiners have granted the distinction for the same reason. The examination becomes a form which it is possible for negligent Students to pass successfully by means of 'cramming.' A system which mistakes the means of mental training for the training itself, affords examinations which cannot distinguish between the superficial tinsel of mnemonics and the solid metal of real knowledge. But searching and profound examinations, like those of the University of London, cannot be undergone successfully unless by men who have assimilated knowledge, and whose intellects have become vigorous by years of discipline. They render the College superfluous.

"Of late years, the systematized power of testing the effects of mental training has undergone a remarkable development. Even clinical experience, chemical tact, and anatomical skill, are put to the test of practice in the medical examinations of our own University. To test the mental training of the literary Student is comparatively an easy matter. What amount of 'cramming' will enable a man to produce a well-reasoned and well-expressed essay, or a passable copy of Latin or Greek verse? When the old painter presented himself for admission into an academy of strangers, the latter did not ask him—Where have you learnt? but—What can you do? With a piece of chalk he drew upon the wall a perfect circle, and in that simple fact the academy recognised the result of long training, and gladly admitted him among them as a master of their art.

"You suggest, in favour of your Memorial, the ever-powerful motive of self interest; and it must be acknowledged that any one 'having graduated on the faith of an existing system' may feel it a personal loss, and a grievance, if any measures are taken calculated to 'lower the character of the University degree' which he bears. Such an argument might have been used by the Graduates of the older Universities against the establishment of the University of London itself. If admitted, it would impede all educational improvement. A Graduate ought to be prouder of the University to which he belongs, when it is such an one as ours, than of the individual distinction which it has attached to himself; and so long as its high character is maintained, he has no right to charge it with breach of faith for adopting measures to increase the number of its Graduates.

"I am convinced that the abolition of the College curriculum will add strength and dignity to the University of London, which will reflect themselves upon every Member, and thus increase the value of every Degree.

"The place which a University deserves to occupy in the estimation of the public, does not depend more upon the severity and honesty of its examination than upon its success in promoting the extension of education. The abolition of the College test will undoubtedly widen the sphere of the University of London, as an educational institution. It will not only encourage the labourious studies of self-taught men, but it will add a stimulus to the exertions of Students receiving education in institutions which are not, and are not likely to be affiliated; Diocesan training Colleges, for instance. A large number of Candidates, drawn from a wider range of supply, will increase the usefulness and advance the true honour of the University. It will not increase the facility of obtaining a Degree. If needful, a higher intellectual test can be made to replace the amount of exclusiveness lost by the abolition of the money payments represented by a curriculum; for it is certain that a higher intellectual test can be maintained by a University drawing its Candidates from a wide field of supply, than by one whose operations are narrowed by jealous or protective restrictions.

"In the present state of medical education and legislation, the Senate have no doubt acted wisely in reserving the medical degrees from the operation of the proposed changes; but I trust they will take the earliest opportunity to reduce the curriculum of medical study also, to the narrowest possible limits. Hospital practice and the study of anatomy may present difficulties; but a sound knowledge of other departments of medical science can certainly be obtained without the aid of affiliated schools.

"It appears to me that the Senate, in proposing to remove restrictions, and to widen the basis of the University in the manner in which you desired me to memorialize, have adopted the only course by which they could preserve the pretensions and maintain the character upon which the liberal University of London was founded. There can be no doubt that its rivalry has been the main lever by means of which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge have been moved from their time-worn grooves of exclusiveness and

routine. They now advance with newly acquired freedom, and threaten to outstrip their rival in the comprehensiveness of the measures they take to increase their usefulness, and to extend their influence.

"I have recently had the pleasure to assist in an important educational movement, which has commenced in this County, for the examination of youths wheresoever or howsoever they have been educated.

"This scheme, devised by the genius, advocated and promoted by the untiring energies of Mr. Acland, has met with the ready approval of both the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. On Thursday last, the University of Oxford passed the requisite statutes for conferring a new degree of Associate of Arts upon those who succeed in these examinations, and in this manner has adopted in the widest and most liberal extent the very principle which you oppose in that University, whose hitherto undisputed position has been to lead the van of liberal education.

"If the older Universities, with the prestige of antiquity, and the power of wealth, not only offer the inducement of a real collegiate discipline to the candidates for the higher degrees, but invite the alliance and enlist the sympathies of all ambitious scholars striving with difficulties, and of all enterprising school-masters throughout the country—while the Graduates of the University of London impede liberal reforms proposed by the Senate—it is easy to foretell the place which in future the old and the new universities will hold in public esteem, together with their probable usefulness and their prosperity.

"The retention of the college test has been advocated on the ground that the prosperity of the Colleges themselves is dependent upon it. It is very possible the Colleges, whose affiliation you refer to as having been 'most improper,' and whose intrinsic merits are small, may need to be supported by the kind of protective duty which a college test imposes upon students. But the able men who occupy the Professorial chairs in the larger Colleges will repudiate any apprehension that the college test is needful for their protection or prosperity. Their teaching will continue to be in request by the great majority of students. It will be sought for because it presents the readiest and least costly means of acquiring the required knowledge; and also because it is the habitual and recognized method of study. The learned professions draw their recruits mainly from the middle and trading classes. In a wealthy community like our own, the young men of these classes possess pecuniary means sufficient to lead them to adopt, not the cheapest, but the most facile, agreeable, and successful system of acquiring the knowledge demanded from them.

"This is afforded by well-regulated and appointed colleges, whose Professorial chairs are occupied by men distinguished in science and letters. Men, therefore, ambitious to obtain degrees, will continue eagerly to avail themselves of the real facilities for study afforded by Colleges which effectually fulfil their duties as educational institutions.

"The great majority of students possess neither the self-denial nor the ability to educate themselves to the prescribed mark by a course of solitary self-instruction. How small a portion of the candidates for any degree conferred by the University of London, could present themselves for examination with any chance of success unless they had received the advantages of *tuition*! Private tuition being more costly, and less facile than public tuition, it follows that the prosperity of the larger and better colleges is placed in no peril from the proposed abolition of the college test. Exceptions no doubt will be found, or the proposed changes would lose their value. Degrees will be claimed by self-denying solitary students, who have laid siege to knowledge in the midst of hardship and privation. If this country can produce many men of this stamp so much the better for the country. As for the university which they join, they will confer more honour upon it than they will derive from it. The heroic stonemason, who has left us the account of his rugged 'Schools and Schoolmasters,' would have conferred scientific honour on any university.

"I am truly sorry to differ from so many of my fellow Graduates upon the important question here discussed. I am still more sorry to find so many Graduates differing on such a question from the Senate, and advocating the part they do. I had entertained the hope that the admission of the Graduates to a share in the government of the University of London, would have promoted the liberal principles upon which it was founded. To find them opposing a measure as wise as it is liberal, upon avowed principles of self-interest is not a happy inauguration of their admission to a share in its government.

"I am, Sirs,

"Your very obedient servant,

"JOHN CHARLES BUCKNILL, *M.D.* Lond.,
Fellow of Univ. Coll., Lond."

Next we have the letter of Dr. Richard Quain, a spirited, thinking, racy argument :—

"23 Harley Street,
July 8th, 1857.

"GENTLEMEN,—In compliance with the request contained in your second circular, to let you know whether I could sign the Memorial intended for presentation to the Senate of the University of London and to the Home Secretary, of which you had previously sent me a copy, I beg to say that I cannot sign it, because I believe the statements and conclusions which it contains are not correct. I do not believe that the proposed change against which this Memorial is directed will be 'detrimental,' neither that it will 'alter the meaning and lower the character of the University Degrees.' I cannot conceive how it will be injurious to the pursuit of a 'regular and liberal education' to frame, as no doubt the Senate are prepared to do, some better test that such a course has been gone through than that afforded by the Certificate system, which has been repeatedly proved to be unworthy of confidence, and which it is now proposed to abolish.

"It strikes me that throughout the discussion on the change contemplated by the Senate, this (the Certificate system) and the Collegiate system have been confounded. The Senate propose to admit to examination for Degrees in Arts and Laws under certain regulations all who present themselves, whether provided with certificates of having attended lectures or not. This conclusion has been arrived at, no doubt, because it has been found that these certificates are of little or no value. They could be obtained by the idle and ill-educated as well as by the industrious and accomplished, by those who had never entered the walls of a College for the purposes of education, and by those who had conscientiously followed the course required of them. The Senate, no doubt, have learned that many well-educated and able men—men who had been the teachers of those on whom Degrees were being conferred—were prevented from presenting themselves for examination by reason of not possessing these very significant documents. The Senate cannot have failed to see that, though the University has taken a high place amongst educational institutions, it does not fulfil all that was expected at its foundation. There is a consciousness that the number of its Graduates is comparatively few, that its field of usefulness is limited, and that to obtain and hold a position worthy of the present age, there must be given some proof that the enlightened liberality which led to its establishment still exists. I can readily suppose the preceding to be some of the motives which influenced the Senate in adopting the change under discussion, a change which seems to me to be misinterpreted, and to be greatly misunderstood by many to whom your Memorial has been sent for signature. It is said that the Senate propose by the new Charter 'to abolish the Collegiate system.' A thing must exist before it can be abolished. My experience tells me that in the affiliated Colleges the Collegiate system is the exception. The course of instruction differs in these institutions little from that which young men advanced in their studies receive elsewhere from teachers undignified by the title of professors, whilst the residences, so far from being Collegiate, are *extra muros* such as convenience suggests, or circumstances may afford.

"Thus the Collegiate system, as it exists in the older Universities, whether good or bad, is to be found but in name, in the great majority of the affiliated Colleges. With the system, such as it is, the proposal of the Senate seems to interfere only for good. If the Certificate monopoly be abolished, the Senate must find in the mode of conducting and the character of its examinations a test for the soundness and the completeness of the education of those who seek its Degrees. This can be accomplished without multiplying inconveniently the periods, or complicating the subjects of examination. The test must be such as to render 'cramming' *per se* valueless. There is no fear that such an examination being the ordeal, the cha-

* "I say adopting; for though the Senate have been accused of making this proposal as a retaliation for the pressure put on them by the Graduates in seeking Convocation—a perfectly identical proposal was made, warmly discussed and supported by myself and several Graduates, in the Graduates' Committee eight years ago."

racter of the Degrees will be lowered. It is true they may be conferred on some, the depth of whose learning exceeds that of the pocket; but are such men likely by their habits to dim the lustre of the prize for which they had struggled even harder than their fellows? Certainly not. But further, I am satisfied that education will be improved. 'Certificates' being no longer required, a healthful competition will arise between private tuition, public schools, and the Colleges. A Professor will seek to attract pupils to his class by the value of the information he can afford them, and not by the privilege which he enjoys of being able to grant a certificate. The Colleges possess those commanding advantages, which, properly used, must secure for them their full share of educational privileges;—privileges which will be then established on a far more satisfactory basis than that afforded by the wretched monopoly—the certificate system. I have, therefore, no hesitation in denying the accuracy of the assertions contained in your Memorial.

"It may be asked, if these views are correct, why withhold the supposed advantages from the Students in the Medical Faculties? The answer is simply, that there exists no good reason why they should be withheld. The Certificate system in Medical teaching afforded, until very recently, many, and even still does afford not a few illustrations, of the most knavish and deceptive practices. To detail these is at this moment unnecessary. It will be sufficient for my argument to say, that it is quite possible for a Student to obtain a certificate of attendance on lectures, from which he had never carried away a single idea. He may have sat on the benches the legitimate number of hours; he may have been asleep, or if awake, even less profitably employed. He may obtain a certificate of Hospital attendance, though his studies there have been literally confined to the practice of 'walking,' as was their former designation. The class of men who thus go through these forms, and who obtain certificates to the fullest extent, cannot present themselves with the least hope of success for the University Degrees. The reason is manifest. The examination of the University, and not the number of certificates which he can produce, is the test of the man's acquirements. In fact, the Senate have already in a great measure applied to the Faculty of Medicine the system which is now objected to in its application to Arts and Law. The University of London requires scarcely one-half the number of certificates demanded by the other Medical examining boards. The result has been such as to encourage the Senate to extend the principle, and to rely altogether on its examination as the test of the student's acquirements.

"Admirable as these examinations are, and superior to those of other boards, I believe them to be so far susceptible of improvement

* "It has been proposed, at a general meeting of the Graduates, to prevent University College hereafter giving, as it has hitherto done, 'Certificates of Studentship' for attendance on the 'Schoolmasters' Classes.' That is to say, that a Professor lecturing and giving a certificate, 'to one of us,' in the forenoon, should be declared incompetent to give a certificate to the man who attended the like lecture in the evening, because that man during the day had been himself a teacher!"

as to be made a perfect test of what a man's attainments are, and whether they have been acquired by patient and continued study in a practical school. Abolish certificates of attendance on Lectures on Hospital Practice; let the examinations be continued at the intervals now established; let them assume in *all* subjects rather more of a practical and a little less of the mere book-knowledge character, and I do not hesitate to express my positive conviction that the reputation of the Degrees will stand even higher than it does at present. With these requirements teaching must keep pace. The prosy, though perhaps much-respected lecturer, who mumblingly reads for an hour daily from his well-thumbed text-book that which could be mastered by the pupil at home in a few minutes, and whose certificate is the sole attraction, must give place to the man competent to teach;—able to give, not a certificate merely, but to impart the knowledge which the student feels he must possess if he intends to take a Medical Degree in the University of London. Satisfied, then, that the proposed change, if fully applied to the examination in Medicine, will work well, I must express an earnest hope that the Senate may not long withhold these advantages from the Faculty in which I have obtained my Degree.

I remain,

Your obedient servant,

RICHARD QUAIN, *M.D.*,

Ex University Medical Scholar."

"Reasons in favour of opening the University of London.

By ISAAC TODHUNTER, *M.A.*

"Those who advocate restrictions of any kind ought to be prepared to show the necessity or propriety of those restrictions. Now the argument used in the present case appears to be the following:—'A degree of B.A. is not merely a testimonial that the holder has exhibited certain literary or scientific knowledge, but that he acquired such knowledge in a particular way,—namely, by residence at a College, and it is advisable that no person should receive a testimonial of his attainments unless he can show that he has resided in some College.' Now, of all oppressions that a man can suffer, I think the hardest are those which he has to endure *for no fault whatever of his own*. In the present case it is obvious that the question whether a man does or does not enjoy college instruction in his youth is beyond his own control; it depends upon the views of his parents, and generally, finally upon their resources. Thus, in fact, our opponents address a student in such words as these: 'Your parents were not in the enjoyment of wealth, *therefore* we will not give you such a testimonial of your attainments as may be some reward for your industry and perseverance under difficulties.'

"Something very similar to this was adopted by the old Universities before the recent reforms. They made it necessary that a student, before taking the degree of B.A. should declare himself a member of the Church of England. Now very few young men at the age of twenty-one have had their attention turned to theological controversy; they belong to the same persuasion as their parents,

so that they University addressed a nonconformist student in such words as these:—'Your father had the temerity to differ from the Established Church; therefore we will refuse you our certificate of your attainments.'

I should, therefore, like to see the restriction removed, because I think it presses heavily on persons who have not enjoyed the advantage of wealthy parents or Friends.

"Our opponents seem to think, however, that a B.A. degree should not be regarded as an evidence of attainment, but merely of the fact that the holder has had good opportunity for acquiring knowledge. I do consider a B.A. Degree an evidence of attainment: I am not deterred by the imputation of favouring 'cramming' from expressing my belief that if an examination be tolerably rigorous and comprehensive, it is a very valuable training for a student to prepare himself for it, and very creditable to him to pass through it successfully. And I think a degree of B.A. is valuable, because it stimulates a student; and useful to the community at large, because it warrants to them that the holder is a man of some knowledge and of some training. I do *not* think the community at large require any testimony to the fact, that a man's parents were in easy circumstances, and that he is himself consequently in possession of those advantages of address and manner which are acquired by intercourse with polished society. On such points as these the community, if necessary, can judge without any extraneous assistance.

"As I have had occasion above to condemn the old Universities, I may take now the opportunity of showing how very differently Cambridge acts in one respect, to the line proposed by our opponents. Of course our best students here come from the great public schools, such as Rugby, Shrewsbury, &c. Now if a youth of 18 has spent six or eight years at one of these places, it is obvious that his friends must have been in easy circumstances to support him, and that he himself must have enjoyed the very highest advantages in the matter of intellectual training. Now does the University say, 'This class of students ought to be cherished alone, and no person shall receive the testimonial of this University unless he has been through a grammar-school training for six or eight years before he comes here?' Very far from that, we are glad to obtain promising students of any age or from any quarter; and it is notorious that our high mathematical honours are often gained by men who have had few early advantages, and who would scarcely be allowed to compete for our prizes if the theory of our opponents were legitimately developed.

"But again, our opponents seem to attach much importance to what they call the *College system*. They seem to think that the Colleges which are affiliated to the University of London supply something besides instruction which is very valuable, and which would be neglected by the community unless supported by a *protective policy*. This involves numerous points for consideration. In the first place I think the term *College system* is used with some ambiguity. In the old Universities a man is compelled to reside for more than three years within the college walls or under superintendence in adjacent lodgings. He is also compelled to dine at a common table, to attend chapel service daily, to attend one or two lectures

daily, and to conform to regulations about hours and dress and other points. Now here, *College system* may mean something ; the men are compelled to live in a certain way, and to associate very much together ; for there is scarcely any society at all here but that formed by the members of the University. But the College system at many of the components of the University of London is very different ; it means their *attendance at certain lectures for two years*, I think that there is really little here beyond teaching ; I mean that there is not much of that influence and discipline which the older Universities profess to afford, and which they also profess to consider very valuable. I need scarcely say that in the *evening classes* at University College and King's College there is extremely little of *College system* ; I think the term means only attendance on lectures for 120 hours. I would not wish to disparage these evening classes ; very far indeed from that ; I look upon them as *most valuable*, and for that reason that they do enable men in unpropitious external circumstances to present themselves for University examinations. My remarks merely tend to show that the University itself and its two leading Colleges do practically admit that instruction alone is what they profess to give, and to test and reward. I imagine that the only parts of the University of London where a *College system* prevails is in some of those *smaller Theological Schools* which our opponents seem rather to disfavoured.

" It is, I think, quite unnecessary to attempt to support the Colleges, as places of education, by protective measures. I believe in their value ; their station, endowments, and professorial staff will enable them to make the public recognize their value and avail themselves of them. Or, if it could be found that private education, or self-education were more successful in attaining university prizes than college education, the Colleges should be left by their own efforts to recover their pre-eminence.

" I cannot think that any great effect will follow from the step which I advocate. Some few deserving persons will find stimulus and encouragement in the prospect of academical distinction which they could otherwise not have attained. I have assuredly known such cases myself ; but, as heretofore, those who have the requisite means will send their sons to Colleges where they will enjoy the advantages of leisure, and of the lectures of able teachers.

" On the whole, then, I consider the proposed measure a natural result of the constitution and proceedings of the University of London ; I think it leads to no injurious consequences to the Colleges, while it certainly will be a boon to a class of highly meritorious students.

These four last quoted documents are arguments in favor of their views of which the Senate of the London University may well feel proud, as the production of some of the most distinguished members of the Institution.

And now when one comes to consider the reasons urged by the opponents of the proposed change, he is inclined to smile,

and wish that we had John Milton to crush the would-be "oligarchy of twenty engrossers" who would bring "a famine on our minds;" and, measuring to us through their own bushel, would wither our crop of knowledge, new sprung; or that we had a Sydney Smith to flay them with inextinguishable laughter. The council of University College think it is not respectable to grant such degrees as the Thirty-sixth Clause contemplates, but the University of France has granted degrees these ten years to all who pass the examinations, no matter where educated. Take the men who work; the great mindings, the men who make the wealth, or glory, or fame, or learning of England, are they Collegemen?—not they; they had no time for the College training, but the stuff was within them which would have carried the University prize. They had not the money for the tutor, but they had the brains for the examination; through the love of study and through the thirst for knowledge, gratified in the hours snatched from work, or stolen from sleep, they had learned, and they do learn, the wonders of science, or the golden glories of literature, and they come to the scholar's work, not with the crams of the schoolboy, but with the reason, and knowledge, and power of the man whose information is a discovery, and whose learning is a stern, iron reality, worked out in love of science, wrought out in toil and thought, which render him neither a dreamer nor a pedagogue, but a man who loves Knowledge as a mistress hard to win, but prized the more dearly because hardly won.

We do not contend that Oxford, and Cambridge, and Trinity College should be changed in constitution, or that their academic stillness and dignified slowness, or expensive and time-honored adaptation of mediæval foundations to modern fastness, should be despised, changed, or misrepresented; but we do contend that the working, the thinking, the dissenting, or the poorer portion of the people of these kingdoms, should be enabled, on passing the appointed examination, to obtain a degree in arts and laws, no matter how or where they may have prepared themselves for that examination, as respectable and as fully acknowledged as that obtainable by one who has been instructed in any affiliated Institution. In the words of the proposed Thirty-sixth clause we see indicated the best means of carrying out this desirable result—these words are,—“And we do further will and ordain that persons *not educated* in any of the Institutions connected with the said University shall be ad-

mitted as candidates for Matriculation, and for any of the Degrees hereby authorised to be conferred, other than Medical Degrees, on such condition as the said Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and Fellows, by regulations in that behalf, shall from time to time determine, *such regulations being subject to the provisions and restrictions herein contained.*"

ART. XI.—ROME AS IT IS.

Rome, its Ruler and its Institutions. By John Francis Maguire, M. P. London : Longman, 1857.

Whether it be true, as Dr. Johnson asserts, that "A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of inferiority, from his not having seen what it is expected every one should see," we shall not presume to decide. But we may with perfect truth affirm that the man who has seen Rome, has himself enjoyed a very high gratification, and is in a position, by publishing the results of his observations, to confer upon his less fortunate neighbours an inestimable boon.

We do not, of course, refer to those Windbag Tourists who scamper through Italy bullying diminutive postilions because they happen to be little,* and having had their instructions previously briefed from Exeter Hall, are predetermined to see everything only through the kaleidoscope of their foul fanaticism : who look upon the Pope but as the original of that national exhibition which the refined taste and generous feelings of the noble English annually applaud and encourage :† who regard his government as the despotism of the Priest,‡ the continuance of which is calculated to suppress all freedom of thought and action,

* "Whiteside's Italy." The Postilion who spoke was a little fellow, so I bullied him.

† Then the Pope was taken up, chair and all, and carried round the church. I must say I never saw anything out of November, so like the popular English commemoration of the 5th of that month. A bundle of matches and a lantern would make it perfect. Nor did the Pope himself at all mar the resemblance, though he has a pleasant and venerable face, for as this part of the ceremony makes him giddy and sick, he shuts his eyes when it is performed, and having his eyes shut and a great mitre on his head, and his head itself wagging to and fro as they shook him in carrying, he looked as if his mask were going to tumble off.—Dickens's *Pictures of Italy*, p. 172.

‡ If, however, Marshal Oudinot be successful, and the Pope and Cardinals shall be forced back by the bayonet on an incensed people, we may expect to witness a melancholy scene—although not unusual in Italian history, of *outrages* on the part of the *oppressed* against their oppressors, and of *crimes* on the part of the *oppressors* against the oppressed. After the blood which has been shed, there can be no middle course : the moral force of the Pope and sacred college is at an end, and there must be either the despotism or defeat of the Priest.—Whiteside's *Italy*.

to retard the progress, if it do not entirely destroy all traces, of civilization, and plunge us again into that worse than Egyptian darkness, which it is said existed previous to the reformation, and who anticipate its downfall as the avatar of enlightenment, massacre, liberty and red republicanism. With praiseworthy ingenuity they consult only documents, and examine only witnesses likely to sustain the case they have been instructed to make, and having thus collected their *facts* from hostile sources, they rant and rave and foam and choke in antipapal madness through two or three volumes of foolscap, characterised by ignorance, impudence and besotted calumny. With brazen front and lying tongue they will assert there are no schools in Rome.* That the convents are lunatic asylums, whence frequently the victims of oppression rush to bury their sins, their sorrows and their shame, under the waters of the Tiber.† They will relate with pious horror the many ghastly witnesses of sacerdotal villany, to be found in the various conventual establishments of Rome.‡ With nods and winks, by innuendo and bare-faced assertions they will endeavour to excite their readers to believe that the clergy perpetrate the grossest abominations. And then the Inquisition. Thank God we have no Inquisition in England;§ what a *bonne bouche*? How genial—the darkened chamber—the minister of justice—the rack—the headman—the Crucifix—and the Dominicans, with stern and unyielding countenances, to which pity is a stranger, and hearts steeled against every impulse of compassion, witnessing with pleasure the contortions of their victim, as he writhes in the last agonies of death. The horrid dungeons in which

* Of schools I could hear nothing.—Mrs. Trollope.

† When I was at Rome a few years since, the gates of one of the nunneries was opened for some purpose, and one of the nuns rushed frantic forth, escaped all her pursuers, plunged into the river, and there sought to bury her sins, her sorrows and her shame under the waters of the Tiber.—(Nunneries, by Rev., M. H. Seymour, p., 20.) In a pilgrimage to Rome by the same author, "The nun is an abbess."

‡ There were these ghastly witnesses of the sacerdotal villanies of Rome. I mean not to say that we shall find similar evidence in the cells of all their nunneries there; but so long as they are characterised with mystery, secrecy and concealment, so long we feel there is something that requires mystery, something that requires secrecy, something that requires concealment.—(Ibid., p., 21).

§ See Lord Campbell in "Achilli and Newman."

the victims of Papal tyranny have been invariably immured, where those inhuman assassins, under the cloak of religious zeal, perpetrate the most unnatural cruelties, and where were discovered recently evidences which bear incontestable testimony to the frightful tortures that have been endured, and the inhuman barbarity of those who could even tolerate such sufferings,*—and this is Rome in the 19th century.

Neither do we refer to those addle-pated fools, whose mental vacuity frequently leads them to expect in change of scene a relief from that ennui which is their constant companion—but soon they discover that those who travel from such a cause only illustrate the saying of the Poet,

“How much the fool who has been sent to Rome,
Excels the fool who has been kept at home.”

They may climb mountains, dive into valleys, cross seas, but still

“*Cælum non animimum Mutant qui trans mare currunt*,” and they return without advantage to any one but the Courier, declaring in the Sir Charles Coldstream fashion, “There’s nothing in it.” Nor do we consider that those who visit Rome to gaze in wondering admiration at the mighty works of departed genius; whose minds stored with classic learning can, when standing on

“The field of freedom, faction, fame and blood,” recall the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa; who run through gallery after gallery, appreciating perhaps, what they see; who visit the Coliseum, and summon up the shades of martyrs, who, with their blood, sealed their faith in the crucified Nazarene. We do not consider that such persons have seen Rome; they have travelled in the beaten track, over which thousands have passed before. They may have gratified their taste, or veri-

* The day before yesterday the Palace of the Inquisition was opened to the public. There were then seen the horrid dungeons where the victims of the Papacy have been incarcerated. There was to be seen the ragged remains of the dresses not only of men but of women and children. But a subterranean cave occasioned especial horror, covered with remains of bones and earth mixed, including human skulls and skeletons of different forms and sizes, indicating persons of different ages and sexes.—(Brief sketch of the life of Dr. G. Achilli, &c., Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy and Sons).

fied the statements of others, but they have not seen Rome. The gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, the venerable ruins, the glowing canvas, and the breathing statue, all tell of a mighty race long passed away, but they tell nothing of the condition or prospects of a people now existing. It is most true, that he who has not seen these glorious monuments of ancient days, can form no estimate of what Rome was, but having seen them will not enable him to say what Rome is.

Recent events have so pointed our attention to the existing state of things in Italy, that he who would add anything to the stock of our information must leave the high road, which has been already fully explored, and search in the bye ways, the evidence of the good or evil influence of Papal rule. The age is essentially an age of utility, and whilst we are content to seek in guide books, information on the interesting ruins of ancient Rome—we turn with contempt from the moonlight ravings of embryo Byrons, to the unpoetic narrative of every day realities. Hence, we consider that any one who really wishes to interest us by the publication of his experiences, must tell us of Rome, its ruler, its institutions, their objects and the means adopted to carry them out, as they at present exist. We want no theories, as to how under other circumstances these matters might be arranged; we want to know what is being accomplished, and how it is being done.

This is what we consider “seeing Rome” in its true sense, and the man so seeing, and fairly stating to the world the result of his observations, confers upon those who have not had similar opportunities, a boon that cannot be too highly prized. Therefore we hail with peculiar pleasure, the appearance of this admirable book, the title of which we have placed at the head of this paper, and which reflects the highest credit upon the good taste, sound judgment, and impartiality of Mr. Maguire. “Impartiality”—we think we hear some ranters exclaim—“impartiality indeed—nonsense—it is the book of a partizan.” We are not astonished at the exclamation. We all recollect the amazement with which Robinson Crusoe—long estranged from converse with his species—first beheld—after a lengthened interval—the impress of a human foot in the sands of that desolate shore, often pressed by the more familiar companions of his exile. So those who thus exclaim at

our author, naturally feel surprised at the first glimpse of truth's footprint on that track till now trodden only by the Whitesides, Trollopes, Dickensses and Starks. Long accustomed to accept as faithworthy the lucubrations of superficial travellers, who, ignorant of the language, jealously excluded from the sanctuary of native domestic life, remaining stationery but a few months in any place, hedged round with a prickly array of self-sufficient prejudices, possessing no sympathy of religion or feeling with those whom they observe, thoroughly mistake the moral and intellectual character of the Italians, they are struck with wonder at the far different results which the researches of a conscientious and enlightened mind, verified by references which challenge contradiction, exhibit. Inclined by prejudice, by interest and association, to lend a willing ear to any absurdity relative to Rome, the Papacy, or to Catholicism—they prefer to confide in the false assertions of ignorant and misguided zealots, rather than credit a narrative of facts worked out in honest investigation. But if to be truthful be to be partial, we are sure Mr. Maguire will accept the imputation, rather as a compliment than a censure.

Traversing the route usually pursued by visitors to Rome, our author arrived in the Eternal City on the 31st of October, '56. Immediately upon alighting from his carriage, he set himself to collecting materials for his projected work, and naturally directed his first attention to the ruling power, whose policy and the effects of its influence he had determined to describe. The illustrious man, (whose noble designs for the amelioration of his people, though defeated by the blighting treason of those who had sworn to die in his defence, have endeared him to all who sincerely desired the well-being of his subjects; and whose magnanimity while suffering from that most severe affliction to a sensitive heart, the ingratitude of the very persons for whose happiness he had laboured, has excited the sympathy of Christendom,) was born in Sirigaglia, on the 13th of May, 1792. Early manifesting a preference for the ecclesiastical state, his pious mother ardently besought Him who holds in His hands the hearts of men, to assist her son by His grace, in every stage of his preparation for the office of the ministry. Nor were her prayers unavailing, for though when young subject to a most harassing disease, he had been but a short

time admitted to the holy order of deacon, when all traces of the sickness vanished, and being ordained priest he celebrated his first mass on Easter day, 1819.

From the circumstance that Count Mastai had been summoned to join the guard of honour at Milan, has sprung a report, currently received, that he had intended to embrace the military profession. But the fact is, he never entertained any such intention, nor did his disposition prompt him to such a career. Shortly after his ordination he accompanied Monsignor Muzi in his mission to Chili, and two years after his return, having meanwhile presided over the Ospizio of San Michele, he was appointed Archbishop of Spoleto. In this city he founded an orphanage, of an industrial character, which still remains, a monument of his benevolence and charity. Even at this early period of his career, he began to experience the evil of political disturbances; but by entreaties, expostulations, and promises he induced the insurgents to deliver up their arms, which were at once sent to Rome. An earthquake which happened soon after afforded a wider field for the exercise of his charity, and everywhere was the good bishop to be seen consoling, encouraging, and relieving the victims of this terrible calamity. Translated from the see of Spoleto to that of Imola, he was proclaimed Cardinal in 1840. In his new diocese he established a college for the poorer class of ecclesiastical students, he also established an orphanage, similar to that of which we before made mention as established by him in Spoleto. And here we may perhaps be allowed to remark, as we shall hereafter have to draw the reader's attention more particularly to the subject, that all those institutions, whether preventive, reformatory, or industrial, of which we now boast so much, and justly enough; have existed for years in the Papal states. Ever solicitous for the salvation of all, like his Divine Master whose mission was "not to call the just but sinners to repentance," he purchased out of his private means, and suitably fitted up a house, where the lost ones of the world might find a refuge from its scorn, and devote the remainder of their lives to efface, by their penitence, the record of their crimes.

This refuge he placed under the controul of the order of the Good Shepherd, some nuns of which came at his urgent request from the parent house at Angiers. He also

erected an asylum for lunatics which he entrusted to the Sisters of Charity. In the midst of these pious avocations the death of Gregory the XVI. summoned him to Rome to attend in his place at the Conclave. Little did he think that in forty-eight hours he would be placed in the proudest and most perilous position man can occupy on earth. Overwhelming indeed were the sensations which crowded upon the heart of Mastai, when it was announced that he was by the unanimous suffrage of his brethren of the Sacred College, elected to fill that chair whereon so many illustrious saints and sages have sat to judge the people of God : that chair consecrated by the rich libation of martyrs' blood, witness of the rise and fall of many nations, but destined itself to exist to the end of time, unshaken by flood or storm, an indestructible monument of God's promise to man.

Great was the joy which was diffused amongst the people on the accession of Pius IX. who now came to the throne with a heart overflowing with love for his people, and a fervent desire to contribute to their welfare, and to promote the developement of rational liberty. His first act was the proclamation of an amnesty. With the terms on which that great indulgence was conceded, most of our readers are acquainted. Before, however, proceeding to examine the policy of the steps by which His Holiness sought to inaugurate the new era of enlightened progress, the character of those suicidal measures by which his designs were thwarted, and the instruments employed to excite and foster a revolution hostile to the best interests of the people, and destructive of the dawning hopes of Italian freedom, we think it will not be inappropriate here to insert some anecdotes illustrative of that charity, gentleness, affability, and strict sense of justice which are prominent characteristics of his disposition: we give them in Mr. Maguire's own words:—

One day a little fellow, all in tears, attempted to make his way through the ranks of the Swiss guards, to present a petition. The Pope, hearing, the noise, inquired as to its cause, and sent for the petitioner. It was in these words :—" Most Holy Father, my mother is old and infirm. I am too young to support her life and mine. Our landlord, a bad man, will turn us out to-morrow if we don't pay him the four scudi we owe him. Deign to lend them. I will pay you when I am bigger." " What is your name, my good child, and how old are you ?" asked the Pope. " I am Paul ; and I am ten

years old." "What trade is your father?" He's waiting in Paradise for us these ten years," answered the little fellow, with an accent of touching emotion. "And your mother?" inquired the Pope. "She embroiders and prays from morning to night." Having asked the child where he lived, and been told, the Pope desired him to come on the next day, and that he would give him what his mother wanted. In the meantime inquiries were made, which proved that the statement of the child was correct: and when he came again, the Pope gave him ten scudi. "I did not ask you for ten," said the little fellow, and he gave back six. "Take them again, my good child," said the Pope, "and tell your mother I will look after her for the future."

Not content with giving alms in the street, or to those who applied to him personally or by petition, the Pope himself visited many an abode of poverty, and ministered to the wants of its occupants with his own hand. The same hand smoothed the pillow of the sick in the public hospitals (which he always visited without the possibility of his intentions being previously made known), and administered to the dying the last consolations of religion.

One night a person, in a lay habit, entered one of the public hospitals, and being attracted by the groans of a patient, approached the bed on which he lay. The sufferer was a poor French artist, who, feeling that he was dying, was most anxious to have the services of a priest. The almoner was looked for in vain; but the Pope—for it was he—administered the last Sacraments to the poor man, who died in his arms. Next day the almoner was dismissed.

Other institutions were visited in the same manner, and their abuses laid bare to the vigilant eye of one who, even in the most wretched of criminals, recognised a brother. Gentle and merciful to every form of suffering, whether the malady were of the soul, the mind, or the body, the Pope was inexorable to those who oppressed or defrauded the helpless or the poor; and many salutary examples were given, by fine or by dismissal, to officials in charge of the various public institutions, who were soon made to know that the least offence against charity or justice would not go unpunished. And no class of his subjects excited in his breast a livelier compassion than the poor imprisoned debtors, many of whom, no doubt, were the victims of their own folly and extravagance, but many more of whom were victims of the fraud or the tyranny of others. To these his visits were indeed those of an angel of mercy; for his hand flung open their prison door, and his generosity supplied them with the means of commencing a new career.

Ever alive to the great importance of educating the young—a duty to which he had already devoted so many years of his life—the Pope was determined to see with his own eyes how his wishes in that respect were carried out; and scarcely a week passed in which he did not make one of his unannounced and unexpected visits. These visits were made by night as well as by day.

On a day in March, 1847, two priests, who had come in a hired carriage, asked permission to see the schools in a certain street. The teachers were rather annoyed at being disturbed; and one of them

said, "Certainly the Pope would not like strangers to be admitted to the school exercises without an order." "You are mistaken," said the Pope, throwing open his cloak. He then took a seat, inquired into everything, examined the pupils, and distributed prizes to the deserving.

On another occasion he desired to witness for himself the operation of the Night Schools, which had been specially established for artisans, and others who, being employed during the day, could not attend the ordinary schools; and leaving the Quirinal at night, in a hired carriage, and attended by one of his chamberlains, the Pope was enabled to judge for himself of the value of these, the most interesting, if not the most useful, of the Roman schools.

As an instance of the manner in which he corrected abuses and administered justice with his own hand, may be mentioned the following.

Shortly after his accession, as he was going into the garden of the Quirinal, a soldier, on duty held out a regulation loaf. The Pope took it, and found it to be bad. "Do you always get bread like this?" asked the Holy Father. "Always, your Holiness," replied the soldier. "Well, we will look to it." Next day he asked for a loaf of the bread, and found it just the same. He sent for the purveyor, and had him at once arrested and sent to prison, to be tried for the fraud.

Attached though he is to his own family, there is not a single member of it who holds any public office, either in the Papal states, or at any foreign court. Well would it be for these countries, if those possessed of patronage would divest themselves of some portion of that family feeling which prompts them to appoint to offices of trust and emolument, men whose only claim to such employment is the relationship, not always honourable, which they can boast to some noble or distinguished family.

Having thus shown that whilst in his private capacity open as the day to melting charity, in instances where he sees that its exercise will be beneficial, and the object not unworthy his paternal care, he is most careful to avoid anything which would bear the semblance of partiality or nepotism, we shall now proceed to consider him in the character of sovereign, and from his acts judge whether he deserves the censure with which the English press and the English people have latterly been in the habit of assailing his reputation. Summoned to the government of a people long inured to despotism—for we believe the warmest advocate of the temporal power of the Popes, will not have the hardihood to assert, that the Papal rule was not a despotism—however mild that rule may have been, how-

ever paternal the ruler, the form of government was not the less a despotism. We don't mean for a moment to be understood as inferring that the government was tyrannical, we use the term merely as defining a system in which the people have no voice in the management of the state, the assessment of their own burthens, the levying of war or the making of peace, as opposed to the constitutional and republican forms of government in which they possess those rights in a modified or absolute manner. Adopting then this distinction, which we consider tolerably clear and generally admitted, we think we may without danger of contradiction assert that the Papal government was a despotism.

Called then to the head of such a government, his first acts clearly showed his determination to put an end to the previously existing state of things, and to establish in its place a form of government more consonant with the liberal and enlightened ideas of the age, and more consistent with the advancing importance of popular opinion as a power in the state. He was aware, however, that a sudden change from a condition in which the people had no power, to one in which they should possess the entire legislative functions of the kingdom, would be calculated to exercise a prejudicial influence upon the stability of his government, for experience has taught us that a people long unused to the free exercise of their elective functions, rarely perform this important duty with calmness and discretion. The candidate who pledges himself to accomplish the most utopian projects, is alas too often preferred to him, who with more prudence, and greater honesty, is willing to support such measures as will contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his constituents. Nor is this to be wondered at, for have we not ourselves seen in our own country political adventurers, totally destitute of character, manipulate the people for their own personal aggrandizement, and elected on the faith of pledges, which no honest man would accept, and which they never meant to observe; desert on the first opportunity the cause to which they had sworn to adhere, and then seek in the cold shade of office, or the tomb, oblivion of the evils which their perjury produced. Should we then be surprised if the Pope sought to discover whether his people were prepared for those liberties which it was his design to concede. Nor are we to estimate the

concessions he made by those which have been wrung from proud tyrants by the united power and strong arm of a people, already lawfully possessed of freedom, but unjustly deprived of its enjoyment by the unconstitutional encroachments of unscrupulous monarchs. For we should remember that it was the laudable anxiety of a merciful sovereign to endow his subjects with liberty and power which they never before had tasted, and that too without solicitation, by the impulse of his own generous nature, in the hope that thereby he would confer on his subjects the greatest privilege in his power to bestow, and by admitting them to a share in the administration of the state, excite them to combine for the maintenance of a government in whose continuance they would be each individually interested. But this was not to be done by recklessly placing in their hands a power which they could not know how to employ. It is only by moderate reforms, by leading them on gently, step by step, that a people long unused to power can be taught to appreciate its utility. A blind man suddenly restored to sight, cannot at all estimate relative distances, which to a person accustomed to see, are perfectly well defined. The classic authors, over whose pages scholars love to ponder, are nonsense to a child ignorant of the very rudiments of language; but teach the child his rudiments, bring him along through the primary steps of learning, and he will come in time to understand and appreciate those beauties with which the scholar is enchanted. So a young people, or a people in whose government a change is to be made, for they are in relation to the new state of things in a manner born again, must be taught the rudiments of self-government before they can be admitted to the study or application of its more difficult mysteries.

We do not criticise very severely the language of a grammar, nor apply to its style the standard of classical authors: now the first steps of the Pope's reforms may not inaptly be styled the grammar of self-government, and we demand therefore that the concessions of the Pope shall not be tested by the full measure of liberty enjoyed by long established constitutional governments, but that it shall be tried in connexion with the character of the people he was about to enfranchise, and the amount of freedom which they were then fitted to receive, with advantage to themselves and safety

to the state. Tried by such a test, we think that the concessions made were as ample as rationally could be yielded, keeping in mind, at the same time, that they were intended merely as a forerunner of still more ample popular reforms. Having, as we have before stated, inaugurated his government by a general amnesty, he next proceeded to carry out the expectations which his known tendency to liberality excited. Accordingly, on the 19th of April he published a constitution embracing the principle of representative government, and on the 15th of November, 1847, the council therein promised was solemnly assembled, amidst the enthusiasm of the people. The objects of calling together this council were explained, by what is termed a "proprío motu," which was promulgated on the 15th of October previous.

When, by our circular of the 19th of April last, we announced our intention to choose and call to Rome respectable persons, from each province of the Pontifical dominions, our object was to form a Council of State, and thus endow the Pontifical Government with an institution justly appreciated by the other European Governments, and which, in former times, constituted the glory of the States of the Holy See, a glory due to the genius of the Roman Pontiffs. We are persuaded that, when assisted by the talent and experience of persons honoured with the suffrages of entire provinces, it will be easier for us boldly to take in hand the administration of the country, and impart to it a character of utility, which is the object of our solicitude. This result we are certain to attain. Our fixed determination, combined with the moderation of the public mind, must enable us to reap the fruit of the seed already sown. We will thus show the entire world, through the medium of our voices and the press, and by our attitude, that a population inspired by religion, devoted to its prince, and gifted with good sense, knows how to appreciate a political blessing, and express its gratitude with order and moderation. This is the only price we demand in recompense of our constant solicitude for the public welfare, and we confidently hope to obtain it. Trusting in the aid of Divine Providence and wishing our sovereign resolutions to be executed, we have decreed the following of our own accord, having duly considered the matter, and in virtue of our supreme authority :—

"ORGANISATION OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

"The Council of State is to be composed of a cardinal-president, a prelate, vice-president, and 24 councillors, named by the provinces, and who are to have fixed salaries. Each province will return a councillor, Bologna 2, and Rome and its vicinity 4.

"The second paragraph relates to the mode of election and nomination of the councillors.

"They are to be divided into four sections :—first, of legislation ;

second, of finance ; third, of internal administration, commerce, and manufactures ; fourth, of the army, public works, prisons, &c.

" The Council is instituted to assist the Pope in the administration ; to give its opinion on matters of government, connected with the general interests of the state and those of the provinces ; on the preparation of laws, their modification, and all administrative regulations ; on the creation and redemption of public debts ; the imposition or reduction of taxes ; the alienation of the property and estates belonging to the Government ; on the cession of contracts ; on the customs' tariff and the conclusion of treaties of commerce ; on the budget of the State, the verification of the accounts and general expenditure of the administration of the State and provinces ; on the revision and reform of the present organisation of district and provincial councils," &c.

Still keeping in mind that this was but the basis of a reform still more comprehensive, we consider that all impartial and right-thinking persons will see, in this council elements, which if wisely and honestly directed, were calculated to bring about the most beneficial results, and which by careful culture might have been made to produce substantial and enduring improvements in the social and national interest of the Papal states.

The Provincial Deputies who formed this Council met under the presidency of Cardinal Antonelli. The Pope addressed them in a brief but spirited harangue, in the course of which he said, " I have three millions of subjects, as witnesses that I have hitherto accomplished much to unite my subjects with me, and to ascertain and provide for their necessities. It was particularly to ascertain those wants, and to provide better for the exigencies of the public service, that I have assembled you in a permanent Council." To which the Deputies replied in an address, in which the following passage occurs :—" We have often seen reforms imposed by popular exigencies, developing themselves amidst tumults and collisions. Their conquest cost tears and blood. But, amongst us it is the first and most venerable authority of all which wishes to initiate us in the progress of civilization." Having thus concluded the formal part of their convocation, they turned their attention to the transaction of the business for which they had been summoned. Whilst thus engaged in laying the foundations of that superstructure, which he fondly hoped would confer upon his people not merely that momentary pleasure which such a change in a people's prospects is wont to excite, but

that lasting and enduring happiness which results from wise legislation, all were amazed, the eyes of the world were fixed upon this magnanimous sovereign, who untrammelled by forms, however venerable from their antiquity, was anxious to promote the freedom of his subjects whilst preserving intact the sacred deposit which had been transmitted through the long course of eighteen hundred years. The sympathies of every generous nation were excited in behalf of the Pontiff. Addresses poured in upon him, even from those who differed from him in religious belief. America was foremost in this manifestation; from New York there came an address, emanating from Puritans and the descendants of Puritans, expressive of their admiration of his noble conduct, and of a hope that success would attend his efforts to elevate the Roman nation to that position which its ancient glory and renowned achievements entitled it to occupy. But the Pope's course was not free from danger. Austria, naturally fearful of the establishment of a constitutional form of government in the centre of a country, in which she had so large a stake, and dreading that a union of all the Italian states might be formed, under the auspices of the liberal Pontiff, which would terminate her power in Italy, looked with suspicion upon his tendency towards liberal institutions. Accordingly on the plea of protecting the Pope from danger from his factious subjects, she occupied Ferrara, with a large force under Radetzky. This gross violation of the rights of an independent sovereign was met by a spirited protest on the part of the Papal government. Nor was this remonstrance unsupported by more cogent arguments. For though averse from any reference to physical force, the Pope felt it would be highly improper and unworthy his dignity to permit such an interference without displaying his power to resist such encroachments.

He therefore called upon his people and nobly they responded to his summons. Even monks seemed to have imbibed the martial ardour of warriors, and came forth from their silent cloisters to do battle in so holy a cause. All thoughts of reform were for the time abandoned, and the universal cry was, "Let us march against the Austrians." So great was the people's enthusiasm that in reading the history of this period, we almost fancy ourselves

transported to that time when Demosthenes called forth some portion of the old spirit of ancient Athens, and in answer to one of those glorious bursts of eloquence, which the condition of his country evoked—the Athenians as one man cried out, “Let us march against Philip—let us fight for our liberty—let us conquer or die.” But as amongst the Athenians there were worthless and designing men, in whom alas the people too much trusted, who were willing to sell their country to the slavery of the King, so also, there were in the Papal states men base enough to be false to the loyal pledges they had given, base enough to betray their ruler at the most critical period of his struggle for their emancipation, and who having nothing themselves to lose, hesitated not to plunge their fellow subjects into the worst of all slavery, the slavery of their own unbridled passions, excited by evil-minded and designing men, who recognized laws but to violate them, and by whom the most sacred rights of property, of persons and of religion, were ruthlessly trampled upon. In addition to these demagogues, there were also those who, viewing the Catholic Church as the “Scarlet Woman,” and its visible head, as Antichrist in the sense of being the enemy of our Saviour, not in that of his vicergerent,* looked forward to the downfall of the papacy as the first step towards the destruction of that foul superstition of which the Pope is considered the chief priest, and the re-establishment of what they regard as the only pure system of religious worship.

The political demagogues, from the very first moment of Mastai's election, hoped, from his known tendency to liberal institutions, that they would be able to excite the people to demand more than it could be considered safe to grant, and, therefore, they employed the very assemblings of the people for the purpose of expressing their gratitude for the concessions that had been made, as an instrument to create discontent. That arch-rebel, Mazzini, states this very plainly in his manifesto, in which he says—“*Profit by the least concession to assemble in masses, were it only to testify gratitude. Fetes, songs, assemblies, numerous relations established between men of all opinions, suffice to*

* “Anti” has two meanings, one signifies “against,” the other signifies “instead of.”

make ideas gush out, *to give the people the feeling of its strength and render it exacting.*" Thus were the means adopted by a grateful people perverted into a medium for the spread of disaffection, and the introduction of a policy ruinous to true liberty, and productive of the most disastrous impediments to substantial progress. The proposed objects of the association formed by those who acknowledged Mazzini as their leader, are clearly pointed out in the rules by which that association was governed. From them we select the following :—

1. The society is formed for the indispensable destruction of all the Governments of the Peninsula, and to form a single state of all Italy in republican form . . . 30. Members who will not obey the orders of the secret society, and those who unveil its mysteries, shall be poignarded without remission. 31. The secret tribunal shall pronounce the sentence, pointing out one or two associates for its immediate execution. 32. The associate who shall refuse to execute the sentence shall be held perjured, and as such put to death on the spot. 33. If the victim succeed in escaping, he shall be pursued incessantly in every place; and the guilty shall be struck by an invisible hand, were he sheltered on the bosom of his mother, or in the tabernacle of Christ. . . 54. Each tribunal shall be competent not only to judge guilty adepts, but to put to death all persons whom it shall devote to death.

These were the objects for which that association was formed, of which it was proposed that the *image* of the Saviour should be elected perpetual president. The proposition is contained in the following words.

" Il socio L. P. U. propone al circolo popolare di inalzare l'immagine del salvatore come presidente perpetuo e così si puol' denominare Dio e popolo.

Signed, G. Achilli.

Votata fu ammessa per acclamazione."

The members of this club, who, we have heard, were in the habit of corresponding with a nobleman, not distantly connected with some of the leading members of the cabinet of England, though his being the accredited representative of this country has been, and of course truly, denied, worked so well that in a short period they were enabled to effect the great object of their union, the expulsion of the Pope from Rome. The press, which had been freed from the censorship previously existing, set no bounds to its licence, and the mob, growing daily more conscious of its strength,

became "more exacting" in its demands. It would be useless and uninteresting to enter into a detail of the acts by which that foul consummation was brought about which deprived Rome of its ruler, the people of their father. The Pope's prime minister was slain. The Quirinal was surrounded, and although the brave spirit of the Pontiff never quailed, though he declared his firm purpose not to grant anything to clamour, it was evident his authority was at an end, and that none of his acts would be free and voluntary. We extract the following from Mr. Maguire's book; the first, as will be seen, is the account given by the *Daily News* correspondent; the second is from the pen of our author.

But the brutal violence to which his Holiness eventually, though under protest, did yield, will be even more fully understood from the following passages of a letter which appeared in the *Daily News*, written by a gentleman whose communications to that journal excited the greatest attention at the time :—

"At this stage of the proceedings it was evident that the die was cast. From the back streets men emerged bearing aloft long ladders wherewith to scale the pontifical abode; carts and waggons were dragged up and ranged within musket-shot of the windows to protect the assailants in their determined attack on the palace; the cry was, 'to arms! to arms!' and musketry began to bristle in the approaches from every direction; faggots were produced and piled up against one of the condemned gates of the building, to which the mob was in the act of setting fire when a brisk discharge of firelocks scattered the besiegers in that quarter.

"The multitude began now to perceive that there would be a determined resistance to their further operation, but were confident that the Quirinal, if not taken by storm, must yield to progressive inroads. The drums were now beating throughout the city, and the disbanded groups of regular troops and carabineers reinforcing the hostile display of assailants, and rendering it truly formidable. Random shots were aimed at the windows, and duly responded to; the outposts, one after another, taken by the people, the garrison within being too scanty to man the outworks. The belfry of St. Carlino, which commands the structure, was occupied. From behind the equestrian statues of Castor and Pollux a group of sharpshooters plied their rifles, and about four o'clock Monsignor Palma, private secretary to his Holiness, was killed by a bullet penetrating his forehead.

"As if upwards of 6,000 troops of all ranks were not considered enough to reduce the little garrison of a couple of dozen Swiss, two six-pounders now appeared on the scene, and were drawn up and duly pointed against the main gate, and, a truce having been proclaimed, another deputation claimed entrance and audience of the Pope, which the monarch ordered to be allowed. The deputation

were bearers of the people's *ultimatum*, which was a reproduction of the five points before stated, and they now declared that they would allow his Holiness *one hour to consider*; after which, if not adopted, *they announced their firm purpose to break into the Quirinal, and put to death every inmate thereof, with the sole and single exception of his Holiness himself.*"

Who will attempt, on rational grounds, to account for this abominable outrage? If, indeed, the palace assailed with such savage fury had been the dwelling-place of some foul tyrant, stained with the blood of his people—of some hardened monster, to whose ears the cries and groans of his subjects were as sweet music—of some wretch, dead to every good and generous emotion, and whose greatest delight it was to oppress and trample upon those unhappily subject to his sway,—then might the world comprehend and account for the dark doings of this day of shame and terror. But the monarch thus brutally outraged, was the best as well as the most exalted of living men,—in whose breast ever welled a fountain of love, and charity, and compassion,—whose every thought, from the moment that he rose in the morning, till he last knelt to his God at night, was of doing good—how he could improve and elevate his people—how he could promote their temporal and eternal interests—how he could most effectually minister to the necessities of the poor, the suffering, and the sick—how he could most securely train the young in intelligence and virtue, raise up the fallen, and restore the erring to the right path. His was a brow that never contracted in resentment—his an eye that never flashed with anger—his a mouth that never uttered words of scorn or contempt; but, ever gentle, ever merciful, ever good, Pius IX. seemed born to attract towards him the hearts and win the confidence of mankind. But the base and bad took advantage of those qualities which command the respect of the good, and despised the gentle and benign sovereign for the lack of that sternness and that rigour which they could alone appreciate, but which formed no element in the sweet character of the Vicar of Christ.

The plotters had done their work too effectually to allow of hope for their return to reason. The moderate were shocked at the excesses perpetrated in the prostituted name of liberty; but they were powerless in this hour of frenzy, nor could their voice be heard in the wild storm of popular commotion. The power of the Pope was utterly paralysed, and his personal safety in danger. To repeat the words of the Duke d'Harcourt, "The authority of the Pope is now absolutely null. It exists only in name, and none of his acts will be free and voluntary."

The Pope then fled from Rome, and was received by the King of Naples with the most generous hospitality. But the Holy Father was not destined long to remain an exile. By the assistance of the French he was again restored to his rightful throne. We have not entered into any account of the atrocities perpetrated by the republicans. It is sufficient to refer our readers to the principles by which they were guided, and to state that they fully acted up to them.

Those who desire a detail of their acts will find them recounted by Mr. Maguire, and we do not consider it fair in a mere review, to extract such a number of passages as might lead persons to deprive themselves of the pleasure of perusing his graphic work. Our object is rather to induce them to read the book, for we consider it highly creditable in its execution, and most praiseworthy in its design. He himself, in his preface, expresses a hope that this object, viz., the removal of that prejudice which obscures the judgment of many well-intentioned men, may be accomplished by means of his book. He thus writes :

I shall only add, in conclusion, the expression of a sincere and heart-felt hope, that this volume may have the effect of removing from the minds of many honest and well-intentioned readers, the dark veil with which ignorance and prejudice have obscured the truth, —and that these pages may enable the conscientious of every communion to comprehend the character and appreciate the virtues of one of the best of Men, one of the most beneficent of Rulers, and one of the most illustrious of Popes.

The Pope's first act on receiving the intimation that he was free to return, was the publication of an amnesty. He shortly afterwards set out on his return. The whole course of his journey back resembled rather the triumph of a victorious general, than the return of a sovereign who had been expelled, by the desire, as it was asserted, of his people. The citizens of Rome went forth to meet him, flung themselves before his chariot to implore his protection, and such was their anxiety to catch a glimpse of their long absent parent, that the escort which accompanied him could with difficulty clear a passage. Indeed his reception was not unlike that which a family accords to its head, who after a long absence necessitated by untoward circumstances, returns once more to bless them with his presence.

No sooner had he arrived in his dominions, than he set himself to remedy the disastrous evils which the revolution had caused. The greatest misery prevailed in consequence of the depreciation of the currency resulting from the over issue of paper money ; this evil has not yet been completely cured, and its existence has lessened considerably his power of effectually carrying out the reforms he so much desires. The strictest economy was necessary for this purpose, and now fortunately, with the blessing of Providence, he will soon have the gratification of beholding his kingdom in a flourishing condition. The introduction of gas,

and the establishment of railways, to both of which projects he is particularly favourable, will soon place this country on a par with those which boast their forwardness in the race of civilization. The general idea which prevails, that the priests absorb all the offices in the state, is most erroneous, for the proportion of ecclesiastics to laymen, is as one to eighty; and certainly it cannot be said that they engross the wealth of the state, for, from a statistical account furnished by Mr. Maguire, it appears that whilst there are employed even in the ecclesiastical offices of the government, which without any unfairness might belong exclusively to ecclesiastics, *one hundred and sixty ecclesiastics*, at salaries amounting to *thirty-six thousand one hundred and twenty scudi*, there are *three hundred and sixty laymen*, at salaries amounting to *sixty-one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six scudi*. So much for priestly rule, and further:—the people prefer ecclesiastics to laymen, for M. de Rayneval thus writes on this subject:—

But here a curious fact presents itself to our consideration. *The provinces administered by laymen*, amongst others those of Ferrara and Camerino, *are sending deputation upon deputation to the government for permission to have a PRELATE appointed*. The people are not accustomed to lay delegates. *They refused obedience and respect to these latter. They accuse them of confining their interest to their own families*; and there is nothing, even to their wives, which does not give rise to questions of precedence and etiquette. In a word, the government which to satisfy this pretended desire of the population to be presided over by laymen, reserved a certain number of places for them, finds this disposition *opposed by the population themselves*.

As there might arise a misunderstanding from the use of the term "prelate," we think it right to state that the Roman prelates are *not* at all bound to *enter into holy orders*.

As we have now brought the Pope back to Rome, it may not prove uninteresting to place before our readers the course of his daily life. We quote from Mr Maguire:—

He rises before six o'clock, and celebrates Mass every morning in the year. Not content with this act of priestly devotion, he hears another Mass. He then gives audience to his Secretary of State, on matters of public importance, and next to his Major Domo, on the affairs of his household. He next receives the letters addressed to him, which, as I shall have reason to show, are of the most varied character. These he carefully reads, and places in the hands of his Private Secretary, for further information, or to be at once acted upon, as the case might require. At ten, his audiences, properly so

called, commence, and generally last till two. He then dines, his fare being of the simplest kind. At three he frequently drives out, his excursion usually occupying till five. At five the audiences are resumed, and continue till nine, or even to ten, at night. The audiences being over, he then reads his office, just as any ordinary priest, and retires to a bed as simple and plain as belongs to the humblest student in Rome. Besides special audiences, which may occur at any moment, each day is set apart for those of a particular kind, and the transaction of certain classes of business, connected either with the internal administration of the Papal States, or appertaining to those no less grave matters which demand the constant consideration of the Supreme Pontiff. The various fixed audiences which are given at present on each day in the week, may be thus particularised :—

MONDAY.

Morning.—His Eminence the Secretary of Memorials, and the Minister of Arms. The first Monday of the month, the President of the Academy of Noble Ecclesiastics, and the Secretary of Regular Discipline, who has audience also on the third Monday. The second Monday, the Promoter of the Faith. The fourth Monday, the Advocate of the Poor.

Evening.—Cardinal Perfect of the Segnatura, Secretary of the Council, Administrator and Secretary of St. Peter's, and the Secretary of Briefs to Princes.

TUESDAY.

Morning.—Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, Cardinal Pro-Datario, and the Under Datario. On the first and third Tuesdays of the month, the Cardinal Visitor of the Apostolical Ospizio of San Michele, and Monsignor the Almoner.

Evening.—The Master of the Apostolic Palace, and Monsig. the Commendatore di S. Spirito. The second Tuesday of every month, Monsig. President of the Consulta, which is one of the principal tribunals of Rome.

WEDNESDAY.

Morning.—Minister of the Public Works, Minister of the Interior and of the Police, and Minister of Finance.

Evening.—Monsig. the Assessor of the Holy Office, Monsig. the Secretary of the Consistory, Monsig. Secretary of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Monsig. Secretary of Latin Letters.

THURSDAY.

Morning.—Congregation of the Holy Office.

Evening.—Monsig. the Auditor of His Holiness, and the Secretary of Briefs to Princes. Every first Thursday evening, the Secretary of Holy Rites.

FRIDAY.

Morning.—Cardinal Secretary of Briefs, Cardinal Pro Datario, and Under Datario, Cardinal Secretary of Memorials, and Monsig. Secretary of Sacred Rites.

Evening.—Cardinal Penitentiary, and Monsig. Secretary of Bishops and Regulars.

SATURDAY.

Morning.—Minister of the Interior and of the Police, and Minister of Finance.

Evening.—Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Monsig. Secretary of Latin Letters, Monsig. Secretary of the Apostolic Visit. The last of these on the third Saturday of every month.

SUNDAY.

Evening.—Monsig. Secretary of Propaganda, Monsig. Auditor of His Holiness, and Monsig. the Secretary of Studies

Before the above-mentioned morning audiences commence, the Holy Father receives, about half-past eight o'clock, every day of the year, his Eminence the Secretary of State, or in his place, Monsig. the Under Secretary of State.

The charity of the Pope knows no limits. Since his accession to the Pontificate, in 1846, Pius the Ninth has spent; in charitable and pious works, no less a sum than 1,500,000 scudi—a sum fabulous in amount, when taking into consideration the extent of his *private* resources. These consist of 355 scudi a month, or about 4,200 scudi in the year; which would be about equal to £1,000 a-year of English money. But how could he thus spend so much in charity? The answer is ready. Sovereigns constantly receive presents from their fellow sovereigns; these the Pope devotes to the relief of his poorer subjects, and in the foundation and endowment of institutions for their benefit, and this brings us to the second part of our notice.

The institutions of Rome and first of those devoted to education. It is an old and oft-repeated calumny on the Catholic Church, that she is opposed to the diffusion of knowledge, because, it is argued, her dominion is founded on ignorance, and if once the light of learning were permitted to penetrate the darkness in which her subjects are enveloped, her reign would be at an end, and her power completely destroyed. We have said above, oft-repeated, and why? for this reason, that those who put forward these charges, are ignorant, stubborn and self-sufficient men, who, when the statements they make have been refuted and proved untrue, imagine they can produce conviction by a reiteration of their former falsehood. This was a favorite method with James the Second—he asserted a proposition, and as often as wiser people ventured respectfully to show that it was erroneous, he asserted it again in exactly the

same words, and conceived that by doing so he at once disposed of all objections. So those tourists who represent Italy as without schools, and stigmatise Catholicity as opposed to the diffusion of literature, though often convicted of falsehood, hope by the repetition of the lie to give it the appearance of truth, and thus they repeat their statements as James did, or like the schoolmaster described by Goldsmith wish to prove, "That even though vanquish'd they can argue still." We have often heard of persons who have so frequently related some particular story, the facts of which never existed out of their imagination, that they at last from the mere force of habit, came to consider them as having actually happened, and no matter how marvellous the adventure, or how impossible the circumstances of the tale, their anger would be immediately roused, did any one dare to doubt the truth of their narrative.

But with none of these have we any concern, they are mentioned only to be excluded—for they have either designedly or inadvertently misled those who trusted to them. Catholicity is not opposed to intellectual progress, nor on the other hand, is intellectual progress prejudicial to the interests of Catholicism. If knowledge were inimical to the existence of the Catholic Church, its Chief Priest would not be found in the van of educational development. We do not usually furnish with arms the man whom we know has a design on our life—yet the Popes are guilty of this suicidal policy, if learning be opposed to the Church of which they are the head. Throughout the Papal States there is not a town or city that cannot boast of many schools and colleges, and not a few of them possess universities of very considerable celebrity.

Nor has this policy been confined to one Pope. Every member of that long and unbroken line of Pontiffs, from Peter to Pius, has been a munificent patron and encourager of literature, science, and the arts. In fact the entire of their history bears unequivocal testimony to the beneficial effects of their influence. It proves that for three hundred years they combated the darkness and illumination of Greece and Rome, and subsequently withstood and enlightened the depraved barbarism of northern nations that swarmed in countless myriads to break up the unwieldy mass of Roman dominion. It proves that when arts

were almost lost, and science had nearly perished—when polished languages were exchanged for the jargon of barbarous invaders—when human knowledge withered at the foul contact of northern barbarism, and human institutions crumbled into dust before their stormy career; when one overwhelming deluge of ignorance, ferocity, rapine and blood rolled over the beauteous plains of southern Europe, the successors of St. Peter restrained this impetuous torrent. In their dominions science found a sanctuary, knowledge took refuge at the altar, the time-honored rolls of literature were placed within the veil of the temple, and while some endeavoured to civilize the untaught savage, others were employed in collecting and restoring all that was valuable in sacred or profane antiquity. But wherefore should we write upon this theme? Impartial history bears out our assertions, and to that tribunal we confidently appeal. Independently of what history relates, we can best produce conviction by a reference to existing facts, and these are plentifully furnished by our author in the account which he gives of the many institutions devoted to the cultivation of learning, which during his sojourn in the Eternal City, he had an opportunity of visiting. We need not refer particularly to the Irish, English or Scotch colleges. their character is too well established to require comment. The fame of the Propaganda is as wide spread as the countries from which its alumni are congregated. In the recent Polyglot Academy the pupils recited orations in *forty-four* different languages.

With regard to the Roman College we shall allow Mr. Maguire to speak of its operation.

To give anything like a complete account of the Roman College would require a separate treatise in itself. A sketch of a single Faculty will, however, give some idea of the extent of its curriculum, and of the method of instruction. As it is upon the Faculty of Philosophy that the character of a university will be generally found to depend, it will be convenient to take it in this case as an example. This Faculty is conducted by nine professors. The course of instruction extends over a period of three years, and includes the following subjects:—

Logic and Mathematics,	Moral Philosophy,
Elementary Mathematics,	Physico-Chemistry,
Mathematical Physics,	Analytical Geometry,
Philosophy of Religion,	Astronomy,
Differential and Integral Calculus.	

In the first year of this course of Philosophy, the student has to attend lectures on two subjects; Logic and Metaphysics, and Elementary Mathematics. There are three lectures, of an hour each every day; two being devoted to the Logic and Metaphysics, and one to the Mathematics. In the second year of Philosophy, the student attends four courses of lectures; Moral Philosophy, Physico-Chemistry, and Mathematical Physics, for an hour each every day, and Analytical Geometry for half-an-hour every second day. In the third year, the student attends three courses,—the Philosophy of Religion, Astronomy, and the Calculus;—lectures being delivered on each of these subjects every day.

From this statement it will be seen that, as far as the machinery of professorial instruction is concerned, the faculty of philosophy in the Roman College is superior to that of any university or college in Great Britain or Ireland, not excepting Oxford or Cambridge. In some of the universities lately established in this country great stress is laid upon the importance of mathematical studies. Yet we find that even in these institutions, such, for instance, as the Queen's University in Ireland, a single professor is expected to teach every branch of mathematics; whilst in the Roman College there are in general four distinct chairs appropriated to mathematical subjects. It is worthy of remark that many of the text books are written by the Jesuits themselves. Some of these are well known in England; such as the *Principia Calculi Differentialis et Integralis, itemque Calculi Differentiarum finitarum*: auctore *Andréa Curaffu. S.J.*

The metaphysical course is very extensive. It is principally devoted to a critical examination of the various theories of Psychology. The British writers who attract most notice are Locke and Reid; but the greater part of the Psychological course appears to be devoted to combating the fallacies of the German Metaphysicians.

The course of Astronomy possesses many points of interest. In the first place, it is based, to a great extent, on the lithographed treatise which the late celebrated Father De Vico prepared for his class. This gives it a marked character of originality. In the second place, many brilliant discoveries have of late years, as well as centuries ago, been associated with the name of the Collegio Romana; and its observatory has long been acknowledged to be one of the best in Europe. In studying that important part of astronomy which treats of the measurement of time, the student remembers with pride that it was to the founder of the College, to Gregory XIII., we owe the correction of the Calendar. The extent of the astronomical course may be judged from the fact, that it enters fully into such questions as the Lunar Theory, the stability of the Solar System, the Secular and Periodic Variations, the effect of a resisting medium, and the figures of the planets; all these questions, as a matter of course, requiring a familiarity with the highest branches of mathematics.

In the course of Physico-Chemistry, after going through Chemistry proper, and the theories of Light and Heat, the class is occupied with experiments in Electricity, Magnetism, and Galvanism. These experiments are, however, but of secondary importance; the main part of the lectures in these latter subjects being devoted to dis-

cussing the investigations of Ampère, Arago, Faraday, &c., and developing the several formulæ which bring magnetism and electricity into the domain of mathematics.

It is not, however, so much with establishments of this character that we have to do—what we chiefly desire to know, is how the poor and humble are situated with reference to this, the greatest boon that can be bestowed on man. And truly it is a great gift. It raises man above the level of the common herd, elevates his thoughts, directs his judgment, teaches him to subject his passions to the government of reason. It is the hand-maid of religion; without religion knowledge is a curse, but when united, they refine our nature, sanctify our aspirations, make ambition virtue, and bring us nearer God. For this purpose and to show that our statements are not mere gratuitous assertions unsupported by facts, we shall again quote Mr. Maguire, and although our present extract may appear long, we make no apology for its insertion. Beginning at the beginning, the first part of the quotation refers to elementary education.

Until the year 1597, when the illustrious Saint, Giuseppe Calanzio, opened the first gratuitous school for the poor, which he did in the neglected district of Trastevere, elementary education in Rome was entirely in the hands of the masters of the regionary, or district, schools, who were then partly paid by the State, and partly by a small weekly stipend from their pupils. Miserable, however, as the payment of the regionary teachers was, they stoutly resisted the benevolent exertions of the Saint in favour of gratuitous education; nor could he have overcome the many difficulties which were placed in his path, and which were attributable to various causes, if he were animated by a less ardent zeal, or were endowed with a less energetic spirit. In the course of his charitable ministrations to the poor, he saw that which we all see at this present day—namely, that ignorance was the fruitful source of misery and vice; and, Catholic Priest as he was, he resolutely girded his loins to encounter that very evil of intellectual darkness which he believed to be the worst enemy of the Church. His efforts were attended with the success which they merited; and to those efforts, followed, as they have been, to this hour, by the exertions and sacrifices of numberless successive benefactors of youth, are due that noble system of *gratuitous instruction* which forms one of the most striking and hopeful features of modern Roman civilisation.

Leo XII. placed the elementary schools under the control and jurisdiction of the Cardinal Vicar; and, by his bull of 1825, the private schools, otherwise the regionary schools, were subjected to a strict system of supervision. These latter are held in the private

houses of the masters, who if the number of their pupils happen to be sixty—beyond which number no one school can contain—must employ the services of an assistant ; the calculation being, that one teacher cannot properly attend to more than thirty scholars. The course of education varies in different schools, according to the age, condition, or necessities of the pupils. In general, besides the usual system of reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechism, are included the elements of the Italian and French languages, Latin grammar, geography, sacred and profane history, &c. The religious education of the child is never overlooked in these schools, though under the management of laymen ; for not only do the pupils attend mass every morning, but they are various religious practices observed during the day. Punishment, which is strictly limited to beating on the hand with a small rod, is rarely administered, and is in many schools absolutely dispensed with. The masters must submit themselves to an examination, in order to test their competency ; and the duty of making this examination, is entrusted to a Committee of Ecclesiastics, delegated by the Cardinal Vicar.* The same Committee likewise exercise a general superintendence over the schools, their discipline, and their system of education. In case of the illness of a master, a substitute, paid by the State, attends in his place ; and the State also contributes an annual sum to provide rewards for deserving pupils. The number of the regionary schools is rather on the decrease than otherwise ; but this decrease is owing to a cause in the highest degree favourable to a more widely-diffused system of education—namely, *the increase of gratuitous schools*. The average, for some time past, has been somewhere about 50 schools for boys of the private and paying class, with 80 masters and assistants, and less than 2000 scholars. The exact number of regionary schools at present is 49.

The saintly founder of the gratuitous schools was actively assisted by other ecclesiastics—who were equally determined foes to ignorance ; and before God called him to his reward, in the ripeness of a glorious old age, he had the happiness of beholding many free schools crowded with the children of the poor, and the organization of a number of religious and charitable associations devoted to their care.

From those " Pious Schools" many others sprang ; and now, in every part of Rome, there are gratuitous elementary schools suited to the wants and necessities of the population, with systems of educa-

* It would be advisable if the example of Rome had been followed in England ; for it appears, by the last Census Report, that such an examination of teachers as I have above referred to, is much required in the private schools of the latter country. Mr. Horace Mann says—

" In the case of 708 out of 13,879 schools, the returns were respectively signed by the master or mistress with a *mark*. The same is noticeable with respect to 35 public schools, most of which had small endowments." Mr. Mann truly remarks, that " the efficiency of a school depends unquestionably more upon the efficiency of the teacher than upon any other circumstance."

tion adapted to various occupations and different branches of industry. Among the most prominent and successful conductors of elementary education, are the Fathers Scolopi, the Fathers Somaschi, the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine, and the Christian Brothers—all of whom have a number of flourishing schools under their charge.

There are then the Parish Schools, one of which, at least is to be found in every parish of Rome. These schools are under the immediate control and direction of the Rector, or Parish Priest, who uses his best influence to induce the attendance of pupils. These schools alone afford a vast educational provision for the children of the poorer class.

Besides these, there are several schools in the care of societies of various kinds, but whose chief object is the education of youth. Of these, may be mentioned the Society *degli Asili d' Infanzia*, which has two asylums, or educational establishments, for boys; one in Trastevere, and the other in Regola. Also, the Society of Private Benefactors, amongst the principle of whom is Prince Doria; and they have an admirable institution entirely maintained at their own charge.

The Roman Conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul has lately opened a flourishing school for the education of boys; and it is certain to use every exertion to extend the sphere of its operations.

The Christian Brothers, or Brothers of the Christian Schools, have taken strong root in Rome, and are there, as in all other countries where they have been established, amongst the most zealous and successful of the teachers of youth. To the Catholic reader of these countries, more especially of Ireland, their wonderful success, in elevating the tone and character of the working classes, is well known; and in Rome, their reputation, for the possession of all those attributes which can constitute zealous and conscientious teachers, is fully as high as it is elsewhere. These men are the very chivalry of the intellectual army of modern times; and yet their order is one of the many educational institutions which have sprung from the bosom of the Catholic Church—the reputed friend of darkness, and champion of ignorance! Some notice of the origin of this order may fitly introduce an allusion to their success in Rome.

The Christian Schools of France owe their origin to the zeal and piety of the Abbé de la Salle. This distinguished ecclesiastic was born at Rheims on the 30th of April, 1651, of parents of the highest respectability. Resolving to devote himself to the service of religion, he accepted a canonry in the Cathedral of Rheims, and, at a suitable age, was raised to the priesthood. Seeing the spiritual destitution of the children of the poor, and the very inefficient means for their instruction which the existing schools afforded, he determined on devoting to their reformation all the time which his other duties left at his disposal. He assembled a small number of teachers, induced them to adopt a kind of community life, presided at their studies, and used every effort to qualify them for the discharge of their important and onerous obligations. He soon found, however, that his new undertaking would demand all his time and attention. He therefore resigned his canonry, sold his patrimony, and distributed its proceeds to the poor; brought the teachers to reside with him in his own house, and laboured with them in the

conducting of the schools. The fruits of his teaching soon became manifest ; the schools attained a high reputation, and numerous applications poured in on the good Abbé for communities of such efficient teachers. A noviciate, or House of Probation, was established in which the junior members of the society were educated and trained to their respective duties ; and in a very short period the Institute spread itself throughout the principal parts of the kingdom.

Rules and constitutions for its permanent government were now drawn up ; religious engagements for a limited time entered into ; and the title of " Brothers of the Christian Schools" adopted. In 1702 the saintly founder sent two of his brothers to Rome, in order to form an establishment in the Holy City. His object in doing so was (according to his own declaration) to place his Institute under the auspices of the Holy See ; to have more ready access to the feet of Christ's Vicar, for the approbation of its rules and constitutions ; to attach it for ever to the imperishable and infallible Church ; and to give testimony of his inviolable attachment to the Centre of Unity, at a time when so many were found ready to limit its prerogatives, and question its authority. The undertaking was, after some time, successful. An establishment was formed. Another was given by Pope Benedict XIII., by whom the society was approved and confirmed in 1715. From that time it continued to flourish, until the disastrous period of the Revolution, when the decrees of the National Assembly, which proscribed religious societies, compelled the brothers to disperse, and scatter themselves throughout the kingdom. Some took refuge in Italy, and were received into the houses existing, but the successes of the French arms in that peninsula deprived them of even this protection. Of the numerous establishments which had been possessed by the society, two only, those of Ferrara and Orvietto, now remained ; and to their existence was owing the revival of the body, when the decree of the French Consul permitted the brothers again to assemble in community.

In 1801 they opened an establishment in Lyons. Other establishments followed. In 1815 they reassumed the religious dress ; and from that period to the present, they have been increasing in numbers and efficiency, diffusing blessings around them in every locality which has been favoured with their pious and edifying labours.*

Actively patronized by successive Popes, including Leo XII. and Pius IX., the brotherhood, having been reinforced from France, greatly extended the sphere of their labours. They now, in 1857, possess five houses in Rome ; in each of which there are 500 pupils, or, in all, 2,500. They have, besides, a school for the sons of the

* By the latest authoritative returns we possess (those of 1844), we find that in France they have 658 schools ; in Belgium 41 ; in Savoy 28 ; Piedmont 30 ; Pontifical States 20 ; Canada 6 ; Turkey 2 ; Switzerland 2 ; besides several in the United States of America. The number of children in daily attendance at their schools exceeds 200,000. Since the date of this return, the number of their schools and scholars has been greatly increased. The schools of this order in the United Kingdom afford education to somewhere about 30,000 boys.

French soldiers; and also a boarding-house for boys who are intended to fill situations in shops and other places of business.

Morichini bears the highest testimony to the value of these schools, and commends the zeal and ability of the masters, and the docility and affection exhibited by the scholars. Indeed, he goes so far, in his praise of the schools of the Christian Brothers, and of the manner in which they are conducted, as to assert that the boys have been known to go home grieving when the following day happened to be a holiday! If this be so, never was there a more eloquent tribute offered by pupils to their teachers. The Brothers do not confine their labours exclusively to their own schools, but attend to some others which have been lately established, either by the act of the Pope, or by the assistance of private individuals.

Kay (the Travelling Bachelor of Cambridge), in his *Education of the Poor in England and Europe*, published in 1846, says of the educational system of the Brothers of the Christian Schools:—

“The education given in their schools is very liberal, and their books very good. The Brothers consider that if they neglect to develop the intellect of their pupils, they cannot advance their religious education satisfactorily; they consequently spare no pains to attain the former development, in order that the latter, which is the great end of their teaching, and of all instruction whatsoever, may not be retarded.”

To many of the Roman monasteries there are colleges or schools attached, in which the students, during their course of study, assume the dress of the order, without however becoming members of it. Thus the Benedictines, at S. Calisto; the Regular Canons, at S. Pietro in Vinculi; and the Greek Basilians, at Grotto Ferrata, in the neighbourhood of Rome, whose schools are frequented by many children from Rome.

Adjoining the Mamertine Prison, there is a School of Design for those who are preparing for any branch of the carpenter trade. This school is of very ancient date, and was founded by the Arch Confraternity of St. Joseph.

Whilst there are thus schools provided for those who have time to devote during the day to the acquisition of knowledge, there are others called night schools, in which those who are occupied all day may indulge their desire of acquiring knowledge. In fact none others can gain admittance into these schools except persons thus circumstanced. The number of these schools is thirteen, and the pupils attending them is not less than 1,600. We again refer to our author, who thus speaks of them:—

These schools are sustained by various means and resources; by private contributions by grants through the commission of Supplies, and by certain ecclesiastical funds temporarily conceded to them by the present Pope; taken from the treasury of the *Dataria Apostolica*, and from the Office of Briefs and Memorials. Amongst the benefactors of those valuable institutions, His Holiness is the princi-

pal ; he gives to them 120 scudi annually, out of his *private* purse. The example of the Pope is imitated by the cardinals, the nobility, the clergy, and other classes of the community.

The ordinary teaching comprises reading, writing, arithmetic ; with a knowledge of the principles of design and practical geometry, both of which latter are applied to the ornamental, useful, and mechanical arts. Eight years of age is the earliest period at which a boy can enter the school, but he may attend it until he is established in life. In their mere educational character and results, these schools will stand a fair comparison with schools of a somewhat similar but more ambitious character in France and Belgium ; but in one respect—the moral and religious training of the young workman—the Roman Night School stands by itself. In most of the schools elsewhere, religion is not even thought of ; but in Rome it is made a primary consideration ; and the most efficacious means are adopted, especially through religious societies, or congregations, under the guidance of clergymen, not only to ensure to the Night Scholar a thorough knowledge of the principles of his religion, but to induce him to the fulfilment of its obligations.

The cost of each school is about twenty scudi per month, or 240 scudi a year. This sum serves to procure oil for the lamps, paper, ink, and books—all of which are given gratuitously to the scholars. The principal items of expense are the rent, the furniture, and the salary of the “guardian.”

The first of those schools was established in the year 1819, by a poor artizan, Giacomo Casoglio, a carver in wood, who gathered together a few idle boys who were playing on the banks of the Tiber, and whom he induced, by kind words and little presents, to follow him to his home. There he communicated to them what little he himself knew of the rudiments of secular knowledge, and also instructed them in the truths of religion. He was aided in his pious efforts by some good ecclesiastics, who threw themselves with ardour into the work ; and, ere long, the humble artizan had many imitators, who excelled him in knowledge and influence, though they could not in charity.

In 1841, the number of schools was eight, and of scholars 1,000 ; but, in 1856, the schools had increased to thirteen, and the scholars 1,600. Pius IX., from the first year of his pontificate to the present time, has ever evinced the greatest anxiety for the spread and progress of those schools, the number of which he has personally assisted to extend. And not only does he contribute liberally to their support, but he has on several occasions visited them, without having given any previous notice of his intention ; and minutely enquired into their system of education, their discipline, and their operation, and also examined several of the pupils, the best of whom he distinguished by rewards given with his own hand.

It may be added, that the utmost care is taken by the masters that the pupils do not ramble about the streets at the conclusion of their studies. In general, they are accompanied to their homes by the masters, as is the custom in the Pious Schools. Examinations are held every year, with a public distribution of prizes by the hands of

eminent persons ; and the prizes are always of a useful character, so as to assist the humble parents of the pupils. The elder boys are conducted to the public hospitals, and there encouraged to the pious duty of ministering to and comforting the sick. In fine, every effort is made by those who are entrusted with the management of these schools, as teachers, directors, or superintendents, to fit the pupil for a life of industry, honesty, piety, and active benevolence.

There is a school also for Deaf Mutes, founded by Don Pasquale di Pietro in 1794, on the system so successfully adopted in Paris. It is under the direction of a Cardinal, and is managed by a competent staff. Another Institution for the education of vagrants, is well worthy the attention of those interested in Industrial Schools, Ragged Schools, or Shoeblack Brigades. It is the Institution called "*Tata Giovanni*." The description of it is as follows :—

Towards the close of the last century, there worked at the sacristy of the Vatican Basilica, as a mason, an humble and illiterate but religious man, Giovanni Borgi, who, after his day's toil, was in the constant habit of attending the sick in the hospital of *Santo Spirito* which lies in the same direction. Indeed, such was the zeal with which he performed this office of charity, that he spent entire nights by the bedside of the sick, and frequently fell asleep over his work in the day. On one evening, as he accompanied a procession of a religious confraternity through the city, his attention was attracted to a number of wretched boys whom he saw lying on the steps of the Pantheon, and crouching under the benches of the fowl market near that building, after having wandered about all day, barefooted and in rags. These were partly vagrant children, who had run away from their parents ; children whom their parents had abandoned ; or poor orphans, who were utterly destitute. Commiserating their unhappy state, Borgi took some of them to the ground floor of the house in which he himself resided ; and having clad them, with the aid of alms which he collected, he apprenticed them to useful trades. Two good ecclesiastics having observed his conduct with admiration, assisted him, as well by counsel as by money. The little asylum soon afforded shelter to forty boys, when it was removed to a convenient house, one of the friendly priests paying the rent. It was now assisted by a society, which was formed to aid it, and which, by voluntary subscription, contributed more than 100 scudi a month for its support. Thus aided its organization was further developed in 1784. Giovanni called the boys "sons," and they called him "*Tata*," which is a vulgar word for father ; and hence the name of "*Tata Giovanni*" given to the institution. Pius VI. highly approved of the good work, and having purchased for the institution the Palazzo Ruggi, became its principal protector, and was most kind to Giovanni—who now frequently took up idle and dissolute youths by force ; which so alarmed the beggars, that one had only to say to the importunate—"Fly, fly ! here is *Tata Giovanni* !" in order to scatter them at once. The

institution was now increased to 100 boys. They rose at an early hour, heard mass, and then received a loaf of bread, after which they went to their respective shops ; to which TATA frequently went round himself, in order to enquire how his " sons " were going on. At the *ave maria* he stood at the entrance door, with a bag in his hand, into which the boys dropped what they had earned during the day. Though ignorant himself, TATA knew the value of learning ; and he induced a number of benevolent persons, lay and clerical, to teach the boys in the evening. The school lessons were followed by the rosary ; and then came the frugal supper—at which, through humility, Princes of the Church frequently served as the attendants of these poor children. The rule of TATA was strict ; nor had the proverb, " Spare the rod and spoil the child," a more firm believer than himself. His care of the boys was unceasing. He walked through their dormitories all night, and did not seek repose till the morning. During this time he did not by any means neglect the sick at *Santo Spirito* ; and if he could not contrive to go himself to the hospital, he was sure to send some of the older pupils to perform that office of charity. TATA, though strict, was also considerate ; and frequently, especially on festival days, accompanied his " sons " to the country, where—though old, short, and thick-set, blind of one eye, and his quaint head covered by a scratch wig—he was not ashamed to join in their sports. After fifteen years of sublime perseverance, this good man died ; but not until he saw his labour crowned with success, and his cherished institution established on a firm and lasting basis. The work, so nobly begun, was well followed up by patrons of rank and influence ; and though the place was changed, and another institution amalgamated with it, it preserves to this day the familiar name of its founder, *Tata Giovanni*. The plan of sending the boys out to work having been found inconvenient, workshops were formed in the establishment ; but the old system was again restored. TATA, rude and illiterate as he was, was endowed with great good sense ; and in no respect did he more strikingly manifest this fine quality than in the wisdom with which he allowed the boys to select the trade to which they had the greatest inclination, for which they evinced the greatest aptitude, and that best suited their capacity and strength. The soundness of this principle is practically recognised by its continued adoption. At twenty years of age, the inmates of the asylum are dismissed ; and not only are they well educated, carefully trained, and thoroughly practised in their respective trades ; but they have, in their savings,—being the surplus over a certain daily charge for their support,—the means not only of providing tools and instruments necessary for their calling, but for the purchase of clothes, a bed, and other necessary articles. Besides the elementary studies, in which the boys are thoroughly grounded, they are also taught geometry and the principles of design. Well may the orphan boy bless the memory of that poor ignorant mason, who, under a rough exterior and even repulsive manner, concealed a heart of the tenderest compassion and the loftiest charity. May the name of TATA GIOVANNI be long honoured on this earth !

Pius IX., while yet a simple priest, presided over this admirable school, from motives of the purest charity, and in order to do good to a class for whom he ever felt the profoundest sympathy. It was his ordinary custom to dine off the humble fare provided for the boys, as he sat at the head of their table.

But above all, and before all, is the grand school of San Michele now a Conservatorio di Belli Arti.

Besides training a number of boys to different branches of the purely mechanical arts, it frequently contributes to the great world of art some of its most distinguished ornaments. For instance, it was a former pupil of San Michele who lately completed the beautiful monument to Gregory XVI., now in its place in St. Peter's, and which no one can regard without a feeling of genuine admiration, for the exquisite grace of the figures that adorn it. In the vast and comprehensive seminary the visitor may observe its pupils engaged in the most varied and opposite pursuits. Here they are learning some simple handicrafts—there, the highest branches of art. In one hall, a number of boys are weaving carpets, of the most costly texture and elaborate design; in another department, other classes are cutting cameos, engraving on steel and copper, or engaged in modelling a bust or a group, or chiselling it into its enduring form out of the pure marble of Carrara. You leave the hall where some incipient Canova is learning the first principles of his immortal art, and, passing to another part of the building, you hear the quick stroke of the carpenter's hammer, or see, drying in the open air, a piece of cloth that has lately received its colour in the dye-vat. The wise principle of this noble institution is to allow the boy to adopt the pursuit most congenial to his tastes, or best suited to his capacity—not compelling the youth who feels within him an instinctive longing for the beautiful in art, to toil and drudge at some mere mechanical pursuit; nor training another to the profession of an artist, instead of conferring on him a purely mechanical trade. The illustrious Howard, who speaks of "this large and noble edifice" with admiration, remarks that when he visited San Michele, there were in it about 200 boys—"all learning different trades according to their different abilities and genius."

To secure admission to this institution, a boy must be an orphan, a native of the Roman States, and not over twelve years of age. Occasionally, boys are admitted for a small pension, not exceeding sixteen or seventeen shillings a month; and for this small sum they are fed, clothed, and given a sound literary education, a trade, or perhaps a profession. Intercourse is freely allowed with their relatives, so that family ties, where they exist, should be kept up. The education given to the boys is that which best adapts them to the situation in life which they are destined to fill. Besides other branches, music is carefully taught; and perhaps the stranger, who visits Rome, could enjoy no greater treat than that afforded on the occasion of the great festival in honour of the Patron Saint of the institution, when the choir, entirely composed of the pupils, performs

the splendid music selected for the day, which is celebrated with unusual pomp.

The boys seem to be happy and contented, as indeed they well might be ; for the treatment which they receive from their superiors is kind and affectionate in the extreme. Persuasion, not force, is the rule of the institution. That they were fine healthy-looking little fellows, I can say with certainty ; and the manner with which they replied to such observations as were addressed to them by the ecclesiastic who kindly conducted me through the greater portion of the vast building, was frank, self-possessed, and most respectful—which manner was in itself a good test of the training of the pupil, and the conduct of the master.

To understand the value, or the result, of that artistic training which the higher classes of the pupils receive, one had but to pass through the stately apartments of the Cardinal Protector, the learned and venerable Tosti. These apartments principally consist of a number of halls and galleries, enriched by a splendid collection of works of art and articles of vertu—a great number of the former having been executed by the pupils of the institution. Besides paintings and engravings, many of evident merit, were some beautiful busts, groups, and bas-reliefs. A lovely little chapel, all of the purest marble, was also the work of their hands. Amongst the most exquisite of the works of art, not of modern execution, was a group in silver, representing the scourging of the Redeemer in the hall of Pilate. It stood about nine inches high, and one glance was sufficient to tell that it came from the hands of a master ; for genius was stamped upon it most unmistakably. The artist was the famous Benvenuto Cellini.

Writing of this noble institution, Morichini justly says :—"The hospital is a perfect polytechnic school, a perfect conservatory for arts and trades, and which the genius of the Popes had established a century in advance of the most cultivated nations of Europe."

In another branch of the same establishment, there is an extensive conservatory for girls, who are gratuitously maintained, and taught everything necessary to their future condition. They are carefully trained in a knowledge of the more domestic duties.

Independently of that portion of San Michele, devoted to the instruction of female children, there are many other institutions in which they receive a sound literary and moral education, and are trained to industrial pursuits. The religious order of the Presentation is entirely devoted to the teaching of the poor. In Ireland its Convents are very numerous, and the anxiety with which our Bishops seek for the establishment of branches in their respective dioceses, bears ample testimony to their usefulness. We believe the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin is particularly fortunate in the possession of numerous Convents of this order, a good fortune for which it is chiefly indebted to the illustrious Dr.

Doyle ; and the zeal and piety of his successors has contributed largely to the spread of this invaluable order. There are convents to which the education of the higher classes is chiefly confided ; but we may safely say that in none is the literary and moral culture of the poor neglected. The educational statistics prove that the standard of education is very high, higher than that of any country in the world ; for whilst those best able to form a judgment have decided that one in eight is a satisfactory proportion, the statistics below will show a proportion of one in *six*.* This in a country whose religion is the religion of ignorance and superstition, and whose sovereign is the head of a vile system of idolatry, hostile to the diffusion of knowledge and the propagation of the gospel.† Ah ! it would be well if those who rail at us would, before they seek to extract the mote from our eyes, remove the beam from their own. If those who talk of ignorance would look at home, they would find ample scope for the exercise of their superabundant zeal which now, alas, seeks vent in propagating an apocryphal religion in *unknown* countries, and whose charity is not content except when supplying *anonymous* savages with flannel jackets, and moral pocket-handkerchiefs. If they who pervert the law of peace which they commission themselves to preach, would reduce to practice

* Cardinal Morichini states that, in 1841, there were in Rome 27 institutions and 387 schools for the instruction of the children of the poorer portion of the public. Of these, 180 were for children, or infants, of both sexes ; and, of the remainder, 94 were exclusively devoted to males, and 113 to females. The total number of scholars in *elementary schools* amounted, at that time, to 14,157. Of these, 3,790 were of the infant class ; and of those of more advanced years, 5,544 were males, and 4,823 were females. In *gratuitous* elementary schools, 7,579 received their education ; namely, 3,952 boys, and 3,627 girls. In schools *paying a small pension*, there were 1,592 males, and 1,196 females—making a total in such schools of 2,788. Of the 387 schools referred to, 26 belonged to religious communities of men, and 23 to religious communities of women. The rest belonging to, or were conducted by, seculars. In addition, 2,213 children, of both sexes, learned the rudiments of education in special conservatories and hospitals.

The figures which are given exclude students in the universities and higher colleges.

† The sacred Scriptures are published in the vulgar tongue in Italy, and those who wish may read them.

the doctrine, which when rightly interpreted it plainly inculcates, they would never be found exasperating their fellow subjects by blasphemous libels upon a creed which eighteen centuries of persecution, proscription, bloodshed and death, the rack, the gibbet, and the blazing cauldron have not sufficed to weaken or destroy; which has outlived heresies, survived the defection of kingdoms, and which, if His promise be true, shall exist to the consummation of the world. Let those who say we are idolaters search their own hearts, and they will discover that there are idols, which they worship, more debasing even than logs of wood, or blocks of stone, or rags of canvas, and they are SELF AND MAMMON.

More could we write upon this subject and yet not convey our abhorrence and the abhorrence which all right thinking men feel, of that foul fanaticism which prostitutes the pure name of religion to the promotion of the base ends of intolerant faction, and under the falsely assumed sanction of her authority, perpetrate the grossest outrages on private feelings and public decency.

We shall return to our book. It is much more agreeable than the thoughts which are suggested by the course of conduct that is being pursued within the jurisdiction of the most civilized nation in the world. The care of the sick is one of the practices embraced in the ordinance "to love one another," which our Lord denominated a great commandment. It is also one of the tests by which our claims to enjoy eternal happiness are to be tested. In the sublime account which the inspired writer gives of that dreadful day, when time shall be no more, he represents our Saviour as addressing the beatified in these words, "I was hungry and you gave me to eat, I was sick and you visited me," &c., and when these faithful followers demanded of their Judge, when *He* was hungry, or when *He* was sick, &c., he replies, "As often as you did it to one of these my least brethren you did it to me." Can it then be wondered at that those who adhere to His law and obey His precepts should be found most anxious to avail themselves of every opportunity which presents itself to render themselves acceptable in His sight and to acquire a claim to share in His glory. We should therefore expect in Catholic countries numerous examples of the performance of those acts which are known to be so pleasing to Him. Nor shall we be disappointed.

And as in other respects Rome surpasses all countries in manifesting her desire to do everything which tends to the honor of God and the advantage of His creatures, so also is she foremost in this most laudable work. No where perhaps will you find hospitals private and public, so numerous, so well conducted, and so admirably adapted to the purposes for which they were erected. From the large number visited and described by Mr. Maguire, we shall give a few as examples of their general character and the manner in which they are conducted, and first "*La Consolazione*."

This hospital which was founded and afterwards enlarged by Cæsar Borgia was the smallest of the many through which I went, and yet, to me, its size appeared very great; for the chief ward in the establishment for the men was about 200 feet in length, and contained 62 beds. To this great hall the present Pope lately added a new wing, in which 16 beds were placed, ready for use; but of the 78 beds then made up, and ready at a moment's notice, not more than 21 were occupied. Such, however, is the great width of the principal hall, or ward, that a double row of beds might be easily placed at each side, as is done in the great hospital of *Santo Spirito*, and to a certain extent in the other hospitals. The width being about 40 feet, two rows of beds at each side—the head of the second bed being placed up to the foot of that next the wall—would not occupy more than 24 or 25 feet, thus leaving a great passage, of at least 15 feet, in the centre; so that in this hospital there might, at any moment, be 156 beds ready for the reception of patients. It was at the time entirely devoted to surgical cases, such as fractures, wounds, burns, &c. I carefully noted that, not only was the building lofty in proportion to its length, and thoroughly ventilated, but that a most liberal allowance of space was preserved between each bed—generally, an average of 5 feet. Of course the curtailment of this space between the beds would still further add to the power of accommodation, in case of necessity. The beds looked good, clean, and comfortable, and the entire building partook of the same character; although, to the eye of one accustomed to timber flooring, a dull red brick, or tile, while eminently useful in a warm country, does not at first sight make the most favourable impression. Six secular clergymen constantly reside in a house attached to the hospital, which is also attended by Jesuits, and other religious orders. A number of novices are likewise in unceasing attendance upon the sick. In this, as in all the Roman hospitals, there is a little Chapel—the altar of which is visible from every side—in which mass is daily offered up for the benefit of the patients, who also assist at the rosary, and other religious exercises. It is scarcely necessary to remark how much this salutary provision for the comfort and consolation of the sick aids the efforts of human skill in the favourable treatment of disease, and to what extent it assists in the operation of the cure. To the patient, whose body is tortured by pain, or

whose mind is prostrated by the effects of the malady, the consolation of hourly spiritual ministration is a blessing great beyond expression,—such, indeed, as those in rude health cannot by possibility appreciate. It is at a moment of the kind that the gentle voice reaches his heart, and the word of whispered counsel touches his inmost soul.

The hospital for women is divided by a street from that of the men. It had 24 beds in immediate readiness, besides ample resources in case of necessity; but of the beds so prepared, not more than 9 were occupied. The low wailing moans of one poor woman, whose breast has been fearfully scalded, and who had been only that day taken in, were most painful to hear. The unhappy sufferer evidently struggled with her anguish; but it frequently overmastered her, and a sharp cry occasionally testified to its severity. A religious community had the charge of this branch of the hospital, and several of its members were busy about the beds of the patients, or employed in various duties necessary for their comfort. The beds were neat and well kept, and the place quite clean.

The next is that of San Galicano, which unites the advantages of an hospital and a school, for while the health of the body is attended to, that of the mind is not neglected.

The Hospital of San Galicano is interesting in many respects, but in this respect more than in any other—that it exhibits, in a very striking manner, the admirable solicitude which the Church evinces towards the young. This hospital was established for, or is devoted to, the treatment of cutaneous diseases of all kinds. Originally, it was a hospital for leprosy—a disease of which, happily, little is now known in Rome. It was founded in 1722 by a pious priest, Emilio Lami; was enlarged in 1754 by Benedict XIV.; and owes many of its improvements to the benevolence and vigilance of Pius IX. Its present accommodation is for 60 men, 54 women, and 30 boys—in all 144; but the number of patients at the time of my visit did not exceed 104, of which number the boys constituted more than one-third. The latter were then engaged in play, in a spacious yard; and if I were to judge of their condition by their vivacity, I might safely predict for them a speedy restoration to health. The disease seemed principally to have assumed, with them, the character of 'scald,' as they all wore on the head a close-fitting linen cap. Their dress was dark and serviceable, and decidedly comfortable. Some persons may deem it a great calamity, that the treatment of the disease with which these children are afflicted generally extends to the term of a year, or even a year and a half; but their ideas might undergo a change if they learned that the education of the young patients was as strictly looked to, as if they were attending a seminary, instead of being the inmates of a hospital. The boys are placed under the care of the Brothers of St. John of God, by whom they are taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and are thoroughly grounded in catechism and Christian doctrine. In fact, they undergo a course of education and a course of physic at one and the same time: and when they leave the hospital cured, they also leave it educated. The same may be said of the girls; with this difference, that, in addition

to the literary and religious instruction which they receive, they are also taught useful work of various kinds. At the time I visited the institution, I saw about thirty girls, whose ages varied from three to fourteen years, receiving instruction in catechism from one of the Sisters of Charity, to whose management they are happily entrusted. Some of the children had been sent in from the country, for the advantage of the better treatment which the hospital afforded, and, being the offspring of poor parents, living in remote and sequestered districts, were generally ignorant at the time of their admission; but, thanks to the care taken of them by their excellent teachers, they were then progressing in intelligence as in health. Old and young hear Mass every morning, and attend the rosary and other devotions during the day. The two establishments—male and female—presented a pleasing appearance of neatness and cleanliness, valuable as a remedial adjunct, but perhaps still more valuable in its influence on the tastes and habits of its youthful inmates. I was shown the separate bath-rooms for the children of both sexes. In the boys' department there were six baths of white marble, over one of which was carved the ominous word "*Leprosia*;" but as there had been no case of that frightful malady in the hospital for two years before, that bath enjoyed a state of fortunate exemption from use.

There is a hospital devoted to the reception of pilgrims who are wont to resort to the seat of the Apostles at particular periods. It was founded by St Philip Neri, in 1550. In 1825 the number of pilgrims who received hospitality was 263, 592. The San Spirito however surpasses all others, not only in its extent, but in its antiquity.

To go through this magnificent hospital, which is not only the greatest but the most ancient of the existing Roman hospitals, was the work of several hours. It is said that it owes its origin to the patriotic charity of a Saxon King, who, having abdicated his throne and become a convert, took up his abode in Rome in 728, and there founded a hospital for the relief of his countrymen. It was restored by Innocent III., who confided it to the Brothers of the order of S. Spirito, from which it derived its name. To enlarge and enrich it, was the grateful task of many successive Popes. Benedict XIV., in 1751, added a museum and anatomical theatre: Pius VI. endowed the museum liberally with the choicest specimens; and Pius VII. added dissecting rooms, baths, and many other requisites. The present Pope has made this noble institution the object of his special solicitude, and effected the most important reforms in its management and administration. Amongst the most valuable of the reforms effected by Pius IX., was the appointment of twenty Capuchin Priests to its spiritual assistance. To render their connection with the hospital complete, he had a house built for them within the enclosure; so that at all hours, of the night as well as of the day, some members of the body might be in the wards, and in attendance

on the sick. A community of Sisters of Charity also aid in the pious work, as well as manage the working details of the vast institution—which, besides the hospital for the sick, also contains a hospital for the reception of deserted children, and a conservatorio for children of the same class, who, after being nursed outside, are restored to its care. The magnitude of the hospital, properly so called, may be best understood when I state that there were 780 patients in its extensive wards on the day that I passed through them; that there is accommodation for twice that number; and that in case of an emergency—such as might arise from the sudden outbreak of disease—it could be made to receive 2000 patients! I took the number then in the hospital from the register, which was courteously exhibited to me by the Sister in whose charge it was, and by whom it was kept in a manner to excite admiration even in a London banker. Two of the Sisters were at the same desk; and both kept an account of every article given out of the storerooms, or supplied from the kitchen—itsself a curiosity—and, in fact, of every detail connected with the daily management of the vast establishment. In another part of the building, the Prelate in charge has his apartments, and to him the officers in charge communicate all necessary particulars, as well as receive orders and instructions at his hands. My application, to be permitted to go through the different departments, found him in the midst of his affairs, giving audiences and despatching business—business involving the welfare of not less than 2000 human beings. No sooner was the request made than it was granted, and orders were at once given that every part of the immense establishment should be thrown open to my inspection—a permission of which I fully availed myself.

The halls in this hospital are of enormous size, and afford space to two rows of beds on each side, leaving from fifteen to eighteen feet in the centre. Here, as in other hospitals which I had seen, the beds were clean and comfortable; and such was the effect of good ventilation, that I failed to perceive the least unpleasantness of odour, such as is a matter of common occurrence even in hospitals of great pretension. The same remark I can safely make of the other Roman hospitals which I visited; and in a quick perception of offence to the sense of smell, I am too painfully acute for my own comfort. I did not consider the mortality by any means in excess, but rather the contrary; for in a hospital of 800 patients, many of whom, both medical and surgical, had been received in a bad state, the deaths for the last three days were but eleven—that is, four on the first day, four on the second, and three on the day of my visit. The medical and surgical staff is fully in proportion to its requirements, care being specially taken that professional aid may be had at a moment's notice, during every hour of the four-and-twenty. It would be quite unnecessary to represent in detail the several features of this hospital: and it will therefore be sufficient to say, that they are adapted to the great ends proposed—the comfort, the consolation, and the cure of the patient.

I must not, however, omit referring to its really fine museum, abounding with the most beautiful preparations, natural as well as

in wax, of all parts of the human frame, and exemplifying the effects of various kinds of disease on its principal organs. I was particularly struck with some preparations which displayed in the most startling manner the virulence of what I may unprofessionally term the *poison* of cholera. Two or three of the great organs of the human body were, in one place, represented in their normal or healthful condition; and similar organs, which, having discharged their separate functions regularly and healthfully before they were blasted by this fell disease, were shown dried, like leather, and shrivelled up to a tenth of their original size. But a further and still more striking illustration of the terrific power of the disease was exhibited in the skull and great bones of a patient who had fallen a victim to it in 1853—which were as blue as if they had been purposely dyed of that colour. The poison had not only withered up cartilage and muscle, but had penetrated to the very bone.

Curiously enough, these preparations, as well as the other interesting objects that enriched the museum, were pointed out to me by one who had covered himself with distinction, by the skill, humanity, and untiring zeal which he displayed in his treatment of cholera patients in the year to which I refer. At that time Dr. Ceccarelli was a young man in his profession; but such was his skilful treatment of the disease, that he effected many cures which at the moment appeared wonderful. At length, he himself yielded to its force, and the effects of almost matchless exertion; but to the bedside of the now illustrious patient rushed numbers of his brethren, to watch over a life eminently precious to humanity and science; and ere long the Holy Father had the satisfaction of rewarding, with his own hand, merit and worth to which he was keenly and gratefully sensible. The particular preparations of which I have spoken bore upon them the name "Ceccarelli;" but it was not until I had parted from my courteous guide, that I learned by whom I had been accompanied.

There are many other institutions which it would occupy too much time even to name, and we shall therefore hope that our readers will be satisfied with those we have selected, and allow us to proceed to consider the prisons. In England for many years the prisons were in a frightful state of demoralization. Those who were guilty only of trifling offences were associated with those who had been convicted of the most fearful crimes. The consequence of such a connexion was, naturally, that those poor creatures whom poverty impelled to satisfy the cravings of hunger in disregard of the laws of property, or whose innocence made them the easy dupes of crafty wretches, who are constantly on the watch for such victims, became in time as hardened as their companions, and before their period of imprisonment had expired found themselves involved in an inextricable web of vice.

Formerly when these poor creatures were arrested, probably in their very first crime, they were put within the influence of the example of those individuals already steeled against repentance, and thus all hope of reform was extinguished. Latterly a new system has been adopted, and is likely to be attended with beneficial results, if persons possessed of judgment and not likely to be influenced too much by appearances be intrusted with the conduct of those Reformatory Prisons. But let not those "fire-side philanthropists, great at the pen," who extol everything English as the acme of perfection, permit themselves to be deluded into the notion that there is anything new in this, or that England deserves credit for originality of invention. Nothing of the sort—Reformatory Prisons have been established in Rome for more than 150 years. We do not mean to depreciate England—far from it—she has done as well as she could. Neither do we desire to elevate Rome; we merely mention the fact, lest those who are engaged in this particular duty here should suppose they were doing something wonderful and never before attempted in any country in the world. To relieve them from this hallucination we shall just extract a few descriptions of prisons in Rome: and first the Termini.

The door was opened by a Lay Sister of the order to which the control of the establishment has been entirely confided. The order is that of the *Sœurs de Providence*, one of those noble institutions of which Catholic Belgium has been so gloriously fruitful. It is specially devoted to the care of jails, hospitals, and schools; its mission being to reclaim the erring, to succour and console the sick, and to enlighten the ignorant. I had the advantage of an introduction to the Rev. Mother, whose honest, kindly, and most intelligent countenance was a passport to immediate confidence. Under her guidance, we—for I was accompanied by friends, some of whom were deeply interested in the object of the visit—were conducted through the building. We first passed into a great open space, in which the prisoners are allowed to take exercise and recreation at regulated hours. And if those who have formed to themselves fearful notions of Italian prisons and Italian "dungeons," had only stood within that vast enclosure—certainly two English acres in extent—and beheld it so warm and cheerful as I saw it, overhung by a cloudless sky, and lit up by a bright sun, their preconceived notions would have received somewhat of a shock; for a place more unprison-like I never beheld. A few of the prisoners were at that moment sauntering about this open space; others were in the chapel; more were confined in the infirmary; but the great body of them were assembled in a vast apartment, arranged in the manner of an ordinary school, and were engaged in various descriptions of female work, from the

making and repair of the clothes of the inmates, to the fabrication of the most beautiful and costly varieties of lace. Three or four Sisters superintended the employment of the prisoners, and completely controlled them by their presence. When I first visited the prison, no regular uniform had been attempted, although it was in immediate contemplation, and was to have been adopted in a few days; and, therefore, had I been suddenly introduced, without having previously known the nature of the establishment, I should have at once pronounced it to be an industrial school for adults, under the superintendence of a religious community—so little did there *appear* of any system of punishment, or even of restraint. But, here and there, amongst those silent rows of quiet-looking women, there were some whose hands had once been red with blood, and who, in their forced seclusion from the world, were then expiating the gravest offences against the laws; offences prompted, in most instances, by fierce and sudden passion. I was pointed out two in particular, who had been guilty of “assassination;” and their dark and sullen features were in terrible harmony with their crime. For three years the Sisters have had the management of this institution, with its average of more than 200 inmates; and beyond their own unaided influence, and the protection of a solitary sentinel, who keeps guard over the gate, there is no means of controlling this large body of women, who in Ireland would certainly, and with propriety, be classed as “able-bodied.” There was some difficulty experienced at first, and not a little serious danger either. In fact, there was a regular rebellion on the occasion of the Nuns undertaking the management, as the prisoners fiercely resisted their authority. To such lengths did the prisoners proceed, that one of the Sisters was thrown down by them, and another was struck violently on the face. Fortunately for the cause of order, and the future peace of the prison, the presence of mind displayed by the Sister who had been struck, speedily put an end to the tumult. She quietly said to the excited woman by whose blow her cheek had been reddened—“You have slapped me on the one cheek; now slap me on the other,” at the same time deliberately turning her cheek to her furious assailant. In an instant, there were two parties in the prison, whereas there was but one a moment before. The gentleness and courage of the Sister were irresistible in their appeal to the better part of their rude nature, and a majority at once ranged themselves on the side of order; and from that moment to the present, the authority and influence of the Nuns have been complete and undisturbed.

At the time of my visit, there was but one of the prisoners in solitary confinement. Her immediate offence was that of striking another prisoner. On our expressing a wish to see the cell and its inmate, it was cheerfully complied with. The bolt of the exterior door was withdrawn, though not without some difficulty, by the small hand of the Sister who accompanied the Superior; and, as we entered the cell, which was well lighted, we saw a young woman sitting on a low bed, working, with a cushion and bobbins, at a fine description of lace. She at once respectfully stood up, and smiled brightly at the Reverend Mother, who addressed some words of

remonstrance to her in a frank and kindly manner. Her features were regular, and her eyes peculiarly bright, imparting to the face the appearance of one liable to strong and violent excitement. One of the party interceded for her with the Superior; and upon his intercession having been favourably received, his hand was eagerly and respectfully seized by the liberated captive, and kissed after the fashion so common in Italy when acknowledging an obligation. In answer to an inquiry as to the nature of her offence, we were informed that she had assassinated some person in a moment of terrible excitement. But I afterwards learned that she was a married woman, and that, having discovered, under peculiar and aggravating circumstances, that her husband was unfaithful, she suddenly caught up a knife that lay within her reach, and stabbed his paramour to the heart. We did not perhaps expect such a revelation; but the impulsive manner and easily-lighted-up countenance of the woman made one readily comprehend with what rapidity the mind might have prompted and the hand executed even a deed of blood. Indeed she afterwards thanked the Superior for having placed her in solitary confinement, and thus afforded her time for reflection; for such was the frenzy roused in her by her quarrel with the fellow-prisoner whom she struck, that she said she could no longer control her passions, and that, had she not been forced away, she would certainly have done her a mortal injury.

We were shown through the various dormitories, which were of immense size, lofty, airy, and well-lighted. In one room, which was over 40 feet square, there were but 18 beds, neatly arranged, and cleanly in their appearance, as well as comfortable in their materials; and in another, which was 60 feet in length by 40 in width, there were not more than 25 beds. The infirmary, chapel, and refectory, were large in proportion, and kept in a condition of perfect cleanliness,—the necessary result of such superintendence and such control as the wisdom and humanity of His Holiness had provided for this important institution.

When it was first handed over to the Nuns, a few of the prisoners were in a state of great ignorance, some of them being unable to read. But since then their proficiency in reading and writing, as well as in useful and ornamental needle-work, has been most remarkable; and their conduct has also been almost uniformly good. The Superior stated that nothing could be more edifying than the piety of their demeanour when assisting at the death-bed of a fellow prisoner, or their eagerness in sharing in the religious ceremonies appointed for that solemn moment. In fact, a dozen feeble women, acting under a sense of religious obligation, and animated by tender compassion for human misery in its most painful form, have succeeded in acquiring the most salutary control over more than 200 of their ruder fellow-creatures, not a few of whom are expiating offences of great enormity, and who perhaps at one time recognized no law but that of their fierce and untutored natures. It is unnecessary to say that *religion* is the potent agent by which gentleness and docility are insured, and amendment is being steadily accomplished.

The brothers of mercy preside over an interesting institution, intended for the reformation of juvenile offenders, and vagrants of the worst class—the prison of Santa Balbina. Visiting it after the hours appointed for labour or study, I saw several of the boys in the play-ground, a large open space, in which they roamed about freely, and indulged in harmless sport; but under the watchful eye of a brother, whose manner towards them was of that paternal kind which, while exciting confidence, also commands respect and ensures obedience. The entire number of young prisoners was 97 on the day I went through the institution. But, really, the term “prisoner” does not exactly describe their condition, save so far as they are under a certain restraint, and cannot leave until permitted to do so. They are all taught to read and write; many of them are employed in a vineyard and garden belonging to the establishment; and the rest are occupied in various industrial pursuits, suited to their state in life. The rule by which they are governed, and which they cheerfully obey, is that of all others best calculated to effect their reformation. The separate cell system is in a great measure carried out in this prison; the extensive dormitories being divided by rows of small apartments, perhaps about 6 feet by 5, wired in at the top, and in front. By this arrangement ventilation and thorough separation are obtained at the same time. This plan has been also adopted in the Catholic Reformatory now in operation at Hammer-smith. The boys much prefer this separate system to that of open dormitories, the idea of the little room being *their own*, as well as the duty of keeping it in order, in some degree exciting a feeling of self respect. The brothers say “they can do anything” with the boys; such is the influence which they possess, and, above all, the confidence which their motives inspire, even in the breasts of the most corrupted. The severest punishment, unless for an attempt at escape, is confinement for a short period; and it may be mentioned that there is but one “guardian” attached to the prison, and that he is stationed at the outer door.

There is another prison which is of a peculiar character, embracing as it does an asylum for the young and innocent, a refuge for those who have fallen, and a prison in which are incarcerated those females who have been convicted of various crimes, and adjudged various terms of imprisonment; it is the asylum and prison of the Good Shepherd.

I would desire to notice somewhat in detail one of the most interesting of the Roman reformatory institutions—the Asylum and Prison of the Good Shepherd. It is a splendid establishment, of immense size, quite modern in its construction, being one of the many grand monuments which the Pope has erected during his reign. There formerly existed here an institution for female penitents, who had voluntarily sought an asylum from the misery and horror of a profligate life, which was under the direction of a community of Augustinian Nuns; but within the last three years the vast building

erected by Pius IX. has been completed, and handed over to the Nuns of the order of the Good Shepherd, twenty of whom entirely govern and control its three distinct and separate departments—one called the Preservation Class—the other, the Voluntary Penitents—the third, the Prison for those condemned to various terms of confinement. At the time I visited the institution, there were sixty of the first class, fifty-five of the second, and sixty-five of the third—in all 180. There was not even a sentinel stationed at the gate, as is almost universally the case with establishments in which condemned persons are detained; and not a single man, or indeed guard of any kind, was to be seen within the walls. The exterior door was opened by one of the Nuns, who summoned the Superioress; by whom, personally, every portion of the vast building was readily and courteously exhibited, and fully explained.

In the first large apartment which we entered, there were assembled between thirty and forty of the young persons comprehended in the Preservation Class, and whose ages ranged from four to upwards of twenty years. Several of them were orphans; others were children of parents then in prison for offences of various kinds; and a few were the children of depraved parents, from whom they were rescued by being placed in this asylum. Special care is taken that no really bad characters are admitted into this part of the establishment, lest they should have an opportunity of corrupting those old enough to receive the moral contagion; and, indeed, the appearance and manners of the girls, as they stood silently and respectfully before one of the Sisters, from whom they were then receiving religious instruction, was calculated to impress even the casual visitor with an idea of their innocence. They were nearly all pleasing-looking, and not a few had faces full of actual beauty, and that of the true Roman type. These children and young girls are taught to read and write, to make up accounts, to be expert in plain and other work; and it is scarcely necessary to add, that their moral and religious training is the first care of their gentle and affectionate guardians. Many of the girls wore collars of merit suspended round their necks, and to some of them was delegated the authority of Monitresses. Their dormitories, through which I passed, were large, lofty, cheerful, admirably ventilated, and kept in a state of the most perfect neatness. A well-kept and sufficiently spacious garden is attached to this branch of the establishment, for the exclusive use of this class—a high wall separating the garden appropriated to the second class, or Voluntary Penitents.

Perhaps the term Voluntary Penitent does not strictly apply to the entire of this second class; for a considerable number of them had been brought in by their parents, in the hope of checking them in a course of folly or of guilt. The rest had, of their own choice, sought a refuge in the asylum; and a number of both were then in the infirmary ward. Should a parent desire to place an erring daughter in this asylum, application is made to the Cardinal Vicar, within whose jurisdiction it is, and, upon his consent being given, compulsion might be had recourse to, in case resistance were attempted.

A description of the daily existence of this class of inmates may be interesting, as illustrative of the system adopted for their reformation.*—They rise in summer at five, and in winter at half-past five. After a short time spent in mental prayer, they hear Mass, and then commence work—always of a useful and profitable character. During their work they frequently sing pious hymns, which lighten their labour, and keep the mind away from thoughts which it would not be well to encourage. Before breakfast—which is invariably eaten in silence—they make an examination of conscience; and, during the repast, a chapter of a good work is read. One of the Sisters overlooks this as well as the other meals, which always commence and terminate with prayer. After dinner, the Penitents enjoy an hour of innocent recreation, a Sister being present. They are not allowed to speak in whispers, nor are they permitted to indulge in vain or idle discourse, much less to allude to improper or dangerous subjects. After recreation, prayers, reading, and study, follow. They then resume work, at which they continue till the time arrives for saying the rosary, which is said in common. At half-past six or seven, they sup, equally in silence, and during the reading of a pious book. Another hour of recreation follows; and at nine o'clock they say their night prayers, and retire to rest. Silence is observed in the dormitories, and indeed always, except during the hours of recreation. The Penitents do not speak to any visitor, other than a father, mother, guardian, or person who has placed them in the institution, except in the presence of a Sister. They practice humility, obedience, and mortification; they have the use of good books; they confess weekly, and communicate monthly; they control even their gestures, and comfort themselves with grave and modest demeanour. When going from one place to another, they walk two and two; they call each other "sister," and they each serve in their turn. The profit of their work is all their own.

In each dormitory, as in all the dormitories of the establishment, one of the Sisters has her bed placed; so that, as a lamp is kept burning throughout the night, her watchfulness over her charge may be said never to cease.

The third compartment is the Prison, which has its chapel, its refectory, its work-room, its hospital, its dormitories, its schools, and of course, its kitchen. In the hospital, there were several wretched women, different ages, expiating, in various stages of physical suffering, their career of vice. The women in this side of the building were all prisoners, having being condemned by the tribunal of the Cardinal Vicar to various terms of imprisonment, from six months even to twenty years. The only woman then condemned for this latter period was remarkable for her tall stature, and a certain wildness of the eye. Her offence was that of infanticide—a very rare

* A similar system is adopted, perhaps with some modifications, in most of the Houses of Refuge in Rome.

and exceptional crime in the Papal States, and one which excites peculiar horror when it does happen. It may be also said, that it is one to which the precautionary policy of the Government allows no kind of excuse ; for the establishment of a great Foundling Hospital affords an easy opportunity of disposing of illegitimate offspring, otherwise than by assassination, as is too commonly the case in England. Upon this important question the most opposite opinions are entertained—some holding that the facility of getting rid of the shame and the burthen of maintaining the offspring of illicit connexion is an incentive and a boon to immorality ; while, on the other hand, the singular infrequency of the crime of child-murder is triumphantly appealed to as the result of a policy as merciful as it is indispensable. Several of the women, then in the prison, had been condemned for periods of five and even ten years. In the infirmary ward were some elderly women, who had been detected keeping houses of bad character and ensnaring young girls to their destruction ; and these venerable sinners had been each condemned to imprisonment for a period of five years. One old and rather repulsive-looking woman, who had been convicted of selling her own daughter to infamy, was undergoing a sentence of imprisonment for *ten* years. I mention the offence and the punishment, as indicating the vigilance and rigour of the tribunal presided over by the Cardinal Vicar, who, as the Guardian of Morals, takes cognizance of all glaring instances of their infraction. Among the other prisoners, were wives against whom charges of incontinence had been made and proved by their husbands. Considering, then, the character of many of the prisoners, it was a matter of amazement to learn with what facility they were controlled, and to see the flimsy nature of the locks by which alone the doors of the work-rooms and dormitories were fastened. I examined several of them with curiosity ; and, on drawing the key from the lock of one of the principal wards I found it was just about the size of that used for an ordinary bedroom of a private house in England or Ireland. In each dormitory was placed the bed of the Nun, little more than its curtains distinguishing it from the beds of the prisoners. In one dormitory I counted as many as twenty-eight beds. And to maintain authority over, and ensure the obedience of, their twenty-eight occupants, there was but that one Sister ; unless the aid of a “ guardian ”—one of the prisoners, raised to that rank for good conduct—might be relied on in case of necessity. But though some difficulty had been experienced in the commencement, when the institution was first handed over to the Sisters, none whatever is felt at present ; for the rudeness, and even violence, of the past has altogether disappeared, and the entire of the prisoners are remarkable for their docility and ready obedience to the orders of the Nuns. The Superioress stated that there never was an attempt made to escape ; and, on being asked what she could do in case a number of the prisoners determined to set themselves free, she answered, with a quiet little shrug, —“ There would still be no fear, for the majority, being well disposed, would at once take part with the Sisters.”

In this prison it is deemed unnecessary to adopt the separate or cellular system, from the fact that one of the Nuns is always on the watch, and may at a moment obviate any inconvenience which could

arise from a number of the prisoners sleeping in the same apartment. In conclusion, I may safely assert that, in all respects, this prison—in which the same industrial, literary, moral, and religious training is carried out as in the two other departments of the establishment—will stand comparison with the very best in the United Kingdom. Of itself, it is an admirable illustration of that reformatory spirit of which Pius IX. is the origin and the inspiration.

It would be tedious were we to refer more particularly to the multifarious institutions in Rome. There is no class in the community towards which the heart of the Holy Father so inclines as the criminal class. He feels that the mission which has been confided to him is the same which our blessed Redeemer assumed when He declared that He came not to call the just but sinners to repentance, and faithful to that sacred duty, Pius loses no opportunity, neglects no means, to recall those sheep who have strayed from the fold, and bring them again within its saving protection. He is, therefore, foremost amongst those desirous to promote every sort of Reformatory, and has constantly proved himself most anxious to contribute to their comfort and happiness. When Bishop Wilson was about to return to his diocese, after having paid his homage to his Holiness, the Pope thus addressed him:—"Be kind, my son, to all your flock and Hobartown, but **BE kindest to the CONDEMNED.**"

One word more and we shall conclude. When railways were first thought of in England, they were opposed by a large majority of the people, who ridiculed the notion of travelling by such a means, even at the rate at which it was then proposed to run. The idea that passengers could be conveyed at the rate of twenty miles per hour—which is now considered "wretchedly slow"—was then scouted as preposterous. But when Mr. Stephenson hinted that he thought he *might* be able to go thirty miles an hour, human nature could stand it no longer, and even the educated classes of the community declared that no person could travel at such a pace and live. A writer in "The Quarterly" of that time expresses a hope that "Parliament will, in all Railways it may sanction, *limit the speed to eight or nine miles an hour, which we agree with Mr. Sylvester is as great as can be ventured on with safety.*" That is not long ago, yet now it is not thought too much to travel forty and fifty miles an hour. We have stated this in

order to check that absurd fashion of attributing to the Papal government a systematic hostility to material and intellectual progress.

The real cause of this backwardness is, that the resources of the Papal States are not large, nor, as yet, is the speculative enterprise of the people equal to the risk of great undertakings. Hence railways have to be constructed by foreign speculators with foreign capital. The consequence of this is, that from the inability of some and the roguery of others, *concessions* have been passed from hand to hand, to the indignation of the government and the disgust of the people. There is another and a more operative cause, *i. e.* the liability to revolution. Few would wish to invest capital in a country where by a revolution their investment might be rendered not merely valueless but costly. Here is a specimen of English consideration. A revolution is created and fostered by the English ministry—it is useless now to *deny it*, for even their friends admit it—in Italy, and the Italians are called “priest-ridden,” because they won’t embark their money in schemes which may at any moment be rendered unproductive by the agency of a ruffian protected by the English Government. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks, railways are progressing in Italy. Pius IX. was from the first anxious to encourage the introduction of railways, and ere long, no doubt, he will have the satisfaction of beholding a vast net work of railways covering his territory.

Gaslight is another of those discoveries which, though for some time known in England, have been but recently adopted in Rome. We have heard its absence humorously accounted for, by the desire of the priests to conceal their gallantries. Poor fellows, there is no chance for them now; gas has been brought into Rome, is used in the public streets, even the Pope lights his palace with it, and pays £40 per month for the *quantity* he consumes. The electric telegraph has gained a position in this land of darkness, and is found very profitable, as the nett revenue for 22,383 messages sent over the line was 18,780 scudi.

We have now done. We have extracted copiously because we considered ourselves justified in so doing, in order that those who read our paper may be induced to put away from them any little prejudice they may have, and because we think that the object of the author will be

best attained by giving as extensive a circulation as possible to the statements he makes, supported as they are by facts and references which can easily be ascertained to be existent or non-existent, true or false, by those who desire to refute or substantiate the allegations of our author. Mr. Maguire has been of course at St. Peter's, and seen all the antiquities of Rome. But as these have been described by every tourist, we have no concern with them. We shall conclude then by recommending every one of our friends to read attentively, Rome, its Ruler and its Institutions, and we promise them they will derive from its perusal, pleasure and information.

Whilst writing this paper we read with surprise not unmixed with regret, a letter addressed to Mr. Maguire, and purporting to be written by His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman, in which the following passage occurs:—"I need not say that, by this work, you have nailed your colours to the mast, and become the Pope's champion, in the House as well as out of it; and I am sure you will not allow him to be vilified by any one, however lofty."

We must altogether dissent from the application of this sentence to the book or its author. When we say of a man that "he nailed his colours to the mast," we mean to convey—and every one so understands the phrase—that he has embarked in a hazardous venture, encompassed by dangers, escape from which can only be secured by the destruction of the obstacles which threaten his safety, and when finding himself unable to succeed, he has nailed his colours to the mast as a declaration that though conquered he would never surrender. This is not the case in the present instance; this is no forlorn hope—God forbid it should be. Mr. Maguire has merely recounted facts—facts as accessible to others as to him, had others the same inclination to examine them, and the same honesty in admitting their existence. We cannot induce ourselves to believe that Mr. Maguire is *now* more bound "not to allow the Pope to be vilified" than, from the first moment that he was capable of forming an opinion upon the subject, he was bound to defend the Pope against any unjust accusations with which he may have been assailed. Mr. Maguire is *not* now "the Pope's champion." He has been, is, and we trust will continue to be, what every honest man ought to be, the advocate of justice and the champion of truth.

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ART I.—DECLINE OF PORTUGUESE POETRY.

SECOND PAPER.

1. *Poezias varias de Andre Nunes da Sylva.* Lisbon: 1671.
2. *Laura de Anfrisio por Manoel da Viegas Tagorrra.* Lisbon: 1627.
3. *Sonetos de Francisco de Vasconcellos Coutinho, na Fenix renacida.*
4. *Varias Poezias de Antonio Telles da Sylva.*
5. *Rasgos Metricos, varias Poezias, de A. Antonio da Lima.* Lisbon: 1642.
6. *Henriqueida, pelo Conde, da Ericcyra, D Francisco X. de Menezes.* Lisbon: 1741.
7. *Obras di Claudio Manoel da Costa.* Coimbra: 1768.

Andre Nunes da Sylva, son of Francisco Nunes da Sylva, and Marianna da Cruz, was born at Lisbon in November 1680, just ten years before the liberation* of his country from the Spanish yoke. Portugal was then at a very low ebb; at home oppressed and degraded, abroad losing her power in her colonies, where her once victorious arms met with many reverses, in Ceylon, in South America, and on the coast of Africa, all by the mal-administration of her Spanish masters. During her 60 years' subjugation Portugal lost ground to such an extent, that during the two centuries that have elapsed since her deliverance, she has never been able to regain her former position. A Portuguese author (Vieyra) compared the state of Portugal under the Spanish domination to that of

* Of which we have written in our first paper, IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, for October 1857.

Israel in the Babylonian Captivity. It was apparently disgust at the seemingly hopeless state of things in the mother country that induced Francisco da Sylva to emigrate to Brazil with his wife and son, then a little child. The emigrants, however, were not destined to find peace in their adopted country : Brazil was invaded by the Dutch, under Count Maurice of Nassau ; they were generally victorious, and took possession of the greater part of the country ; but subsequently in the Peace of 1660 the Dutch renounced all their claims. Meanwhile Francisco da Sylva took up his residence at Rio Janeiro, as the strongest position, and in due time placed his son André for his education at the Jesuit College in that city, where he made great progress both in the Classics, and in Philosophy. As he grew towards manhood, the young student determined on devoting himself to the Church, and wished to study Divinity and the Canon Law in the land of his birth. And accordingly he resolved, at the age of 20, on returning to Portugal, which was then (in 1650) enjoying its independence under a native King, John IV.

In the month of July young da Sylva embarked for Lisbon, on board a vessel belonging to a fleet of 22 sail. After a long and stormy passage, the voyagers, when they came in sight of Lisbon, and hoped their troubles and trials were over, experienced a great disappointment on finding their entrance into harbour barred by a hostile English fleet, under the celebrated Republican Admiral Blake. Charles I. had been beheaded : Cromwell reigned in his stead, and had ordered Blake to sail in pursuit of the unfortunate King's nephews, the Princes Palatine, Maurice and Rupert, who took refuge in the Tagus from his ships. Blake sent in a letter to John IV., requiring him to dismiss the Princes from their asylum, and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to burn the Portuguese ships. The King's Counsellors advised him to consent to Blake's proposal ; representing to him, that in his precarious situation, on a throne scarcely yet firm, and engaged, as he was, in a serious war with Spain, it was too hazardous for him to make an enemy of so powerful a state as England. But the King was generous ; he sympathised with the faithful adherents of fallen royalty, and being supported in his sentiments by his eldest son, Don Theodosius, in opposition to all the rest of his advisers he refused to molest the Palatine Princes. Expecting Blake's vengeance, the Portuguese made all necessary preparations for

defensive measures; batteries were erected on the Tagus, Regiments stationed along the coast, and 13 vessels of war were hastily equipped, under the command of Antonio Siqueyra Varajao, with whom the fugitive Princes united their ships. Blake weighed anchor, and put out to sea. Siqueyra sailed to the mouth of the Tagus, and remained there some days, but seeing nothing of the English, he returned to Lisbon, where he was received with loud murmurs, for not having pursued Blake and engaged him; he was removed from his command by the King, and was replaced by Don George de Melo. Siqueyra gave on this occasion a proof of magnanimity which deserves to be remembered. Instead of retiring in disgust, he went as a volunteer on board the ship he so lately commanded and served under his rival, to show that it was not from pusillanimity, but prudence that he had returned to port.

Some skirmishing, approaching and retreating, pursuing and fighting, now ensued between the English and Portuguese Armaments. *Sur ces entre faites*, the Brazilian fleet (which had treasure on board) came in sight; it was immediately attacked by Blake; a sanguinary engagement took place in which the English were victorious; they burned the Brazilian Admiral's ship, and captured a number of vessels, among which were several richly freighted merchantmen, in one of which was Andre Nunes da Sylva. The prisoners were carried to Cadiz by the conquerors: but an accommodation having taken place between John of Portugal and the English Government, the Portuguese were all set at liberty. Da Sylva, weary of sea-faring, made his way by land, from Cadiz through Algarve to Lisbon; there he remained a while to recover from all he had endured on his voyage, and then repaired to Coimbra and entered upon his theological studies; and was admitted into Orders in 1656. He dedicated himself with zeal and sincerity to the duties of his office, and was esteemed as a pious man. But he did not forsake Belles Lettres: he lectured at the University on Tacitus, and on Camoens, and was universally admired, as a lecturer, for his splendid voice, correct elocution, and graceful action.

In 1684, when he had arrived at the age of 54, his strong religious feeling impelled him to enter the Cloister of the Theatine Monks, where, without taking the vows, however, he lived for 20 years in strict observance of the Rules of the Order.

In the course of his long life he witnessed many remarkable

events : the protracted war between Spain and Portugal for the independence of the latter, which was carried on with great ferocity by the Spaniards, and with the utmost determination and bravery by the Portuguese, who displayed on many occasions the spirit of ancient chivalry ; the death of Don Theodosius, heir to the throne (1658), as much beloved for his good qualities, as his next brother was hated for the opposite : the change in the character of John IV. from a hopeful king to an apathetic egotist ; the accession of the ill conditioned Alfonso in 1656 ; the marriage of his sister, Catherine of Braganza with the English king, Charles II, the deposition of the weak and vicious Portuguese monarch, and the elevation of his brother, as Pedro II. and the marriage of the latter, by dispensation, with the divorced wife of Alfonso.

At the age of 74, Nunes da Sylva had an attack of Paralysis, which in four days proved fatal ; he died May 3rd, 1705.

His writings were very numerous : among the principal are, *Orations*, *Academical letters*, *Sermons*, *Essays on Rhetoric*, *Lizarda*, a novel in Spanish, and great numbers of *Sonnets*, some of them secular, but the majority religious. His works, both printed and in MS. are preserved in the library of the Theatines in Lisbon.

We shall translate a sonnet of his, inspired by the recollection of the perils he endured in his unfortunate voyage from Rio Janeiro to Lisbon.

DEVOTIONAL SONNET.

When on his voyage, fraught with toil and care,
The prudent Greek 'mid fearful quicksands pass'd
He clung, bound closely, to the sturdy mast,
That sav'd him from the tyrans' fatal snare :
Thus I, as through this world's wild sea I fare,
Where tempters, rocks, and treach'rous shoals abound,
Thou, Saviour, have I safety ever found
Clasping thy Cross the refuge from despair.
In error's maze help me, Almighty Father !
Deliver me from blind delusion's power,
That I of this blest tree the fruit may gather—
And since a rude mast could in peril's hour
Ulysses succour, how much more should be
Of safety in Love's sacred sign for me !

We have inadvertently omitted to introduce in his proper place a poet who belonged to the early part of the 17th century, Manoel de Viegas Tagarro a native of Evora, a fine town and Archiepiscopal See in the province of Alentejo. Though passed over by Bouterwek and Sismondi, Viegas merits some notice here, as being considered by Portuguese critics to have produced verses superior to the general style of his period. His

principal performance, which is called "Laura de Anfriso," consists of four Eclogues and books of odes, connected by a slight thread; it has been commended as containing much erudition and philosophy under a veil of poetie fictions expressed with elegance and propriety. The fragment we translate, we have selected for its pastoral simplicity, premising that in the original the versification is very pleasing.

THE BIRDS.

Birds! warblers blithe and free,
How merrily ye flit from tree to tree,
And in the green boughs swinging,
Your loving carols singing,
Fill the light breezes with your melody.
Amid the summer groves
Ne'er may your feathered loves
To your fond voice a strain as fond deny;
Ne'er may ye meet the hidden snare
That fowler's cruel hands prepare;
Never by fate untimely may ye die;

So let your hearts, sweet Birds,
Thrill to the accents of my love complaining;
List to my broken words, [sing.
And hear my tuneless lyre without disdain-
Time was that with its tender sound
It charmed the winds that howl'd around.
Now, while with pitying ear
My mournful lays ye hear,
Pour forth a soft yet melancholy strain,
That with the minstrel-lover's sighs
In concord sweet may harmonize.
Sing with me e'en as though ye felt my pain;
That transient sympathy with grief will
give
Zest to the ceaseless joys in which ye live.

Francisco de Vasconcellos Coutinho, though born in the island of Madeira, of a family resident at Funchal, was sent to Portugal for his education, matriculated at the university of Coimbra, studied Canon law, and took a degree as Bachelor. But he loved poetry, notwithstanding; and composed with less affectation than the majority of his countrymen in the 17th century. Barbosa Machado in his *Biblioteca Lusitana*, lavishes extravagant praises on Vasconcellos, but in simple truth he may be commended for often writing fluent, graceful and thoughtful sonnets, generally free from the disfiguring conceits that were so prevalent in the decline of the Portuguese muse, and when led away by the taste of the era, he did err, it was not to so great a degree as was common among the Gongorists and Marinists. We translate one of his Portuguese sonnets in which he asserts his opinion, that a mourner suffers more from the sorrow of which he speaks, than from that which he buries in silence. Bouterwek considers the idea false, though pleasingly expressed, but we think the applicability of the sentiment depends on *disposition*; to some characters a pent up grief would be fatal, they need the relief of words.

SONNET.

Sorrow increases by complaint; but weak
And weaker grows when mute it doth remain:
And thus, since recollection doubles pain,
He suffers less who bears in silence meek.

Grief may forget while it forbears to speak,
 For words prevent forgetfulness—beneath
 The chain of silence sorrow loses breath,
 But waxes strong when words to utterance break.
 So, if remembrance but augmenteth woe,
 And he who speaks awakens memory,
 Pain is less keen when pent in close restraint,
 For in the calm of silence is repose.
He gives grief power who leaves its current free,
Renew'd, and fed, and cherish'd by complaint.

But Vasconcellos could himself be influenced by the prevailing error of straining after far-fetched conceits; and there cannot be a greater proof of the degeneracy of Portuguese Poetry in his days, than the display of bad taste in the sonnets we are about to translate from the pen of one who is capable of writing so much better. In the sonnet on Phillis playing on the guitar, the ideas are *bonâ fide* disagreeable: the lady *strikes* her guitar, and the ill-used instrument wails aloud; and the poet draws a strange and *outré* comparison between himself and the guitar, as both being victims of the lady's cruelty. We have not ventured in our translation to render this somewhat coarse imagery as broadly as it is expressed in the original.

SONNET.

PHILLIS PLAYING ON THE GUITAR.

This lyre sonorous,* whose sad melody
 Holds in suspense th' enchanted soul and ear,
 Is but an emblem of my doom severe,
 For the same power hath smote both it and me,
 Yea, stricken both—in delour we agree,
 From the same tyranny hath sprung our care;
 This tender plaint doth breathe upon the air,
I, fetter'd to one thought, no more am free,
Phyllis, thy pity do not still deny,
 The rigour that condemns me mitigate,
 For though alike in woe the lyre and I,
 Far different is the tenor of our fate:
This, in its mournful utterance finds relief,
I, in my silence feel more deep my grief.

The companion sonnet is also in bad taste, but not so disagreeable as the foregoing: the subject, however, a nightingale perching on a guitar while a lady was playing, is utterly unnatural, and the allusions to "false notes" in the sixth line is an unworthy pun, and somewhat of a satire on the lady's music, vocal or instrumental.

SONNET.

TO PHILLIS.

On the arm of whose Guitar a Nightingale perched while she was playing.

See Phillis how this charmed Nightingale
 The stricken chords sweet plaints thus following,
 Perches upon the lyre to hear thee sing,
 And with enchanted gaze thy beauty hail.

* "Essa Lyra Sonora."

Thus in most perfect music to regale
 Is his—yet false notes might he learn from thee,
 For me thou dost not sing—thou would'st not see,
 Save with distasteful glance, my visage pale.
 Well may the enamour'd nightingale pursue
 Grief's touching harmony, that to the arms
 Of yonder Lyre his guide doth haply prove;
 Thus let not Minstrel's heart its anguish rue;
 For blest reward to peace each sorrow charms,
 That leads him to the arms, the voice of Love.

Antonio Telles da Silva, born at Lisbon in May, 1667, was of noble blood. His father was Manoel Telles da Silva, first Marquis of Alegrete, Count de Villa Mayor, and Lord of the Bed Chamber to the Portuguese kings, Pedro II. and John V., and his mother was Donna Louisa Coutinho, daughter of Nuno Mascarenhas, governor of Castello da Vide, a town of the province of Alentejo, two leagues from Portalegre, lying in a plain between two mountains. Antonio Telles gave indications of talent from his childhood: at an early age he assumed the military habit of the Order of Malta, but afterwards entered the university of Coimbra to study ecclesiastical law. He distinguished himself by his abilities and his application: in 1694 he became licentiate of the university, and in the same year archdeacon of Lisbon. Though sincerely attached to his clerical profession he loved poetry, and wrote both in Latin and Portuguese. In disposition he was mild, discreet, generous and affable: and his family cherished hopes of his attaining to high dignities in the church, as well from his own merits as from the interest of the noble house from which he sprung. But these expectations were disappointed by his untimely death at the age of 32, in August, 1669. He was buried in the family vault in the Carmelite convent at Lisbon.

The specimen that we select for translation from among his sonnets, is a very fanciful one; and though somewhat in the fantastical spirit of his time, is ingenious and pleasing. Seeing a sun-flower growing beside a laurel, he adopts it as a classic subject, allegorizing love and hate; the former typified by Clytie, who loving the sun-God, but being disdained by him, was changed into a sun flower, whose face is ever turned towards the object of her adoration; the latter passion (hate,) symbolized by Daphne, who flying from the proffered but disdained love of Apollo, was turned into a laurel. The sonnet, too, is interesting from the obscure personal allusions it contains, hinting at a disappointment in love, by circumstances which occasioned that love to be replaced by something originally disagreeable to him. He complains that for *him* the story of

Phœbus was reversed: the bright flower shrunk from *him*, but the tree with its harsh trunk wooed him. He would seem to intimate that a hopeless love was the cause of his entering the church, and devoting himself to a life of celibacy. The allusion to the proud beauty which he desires may be softened by the example of mild beauty, is obscure, but seems connected with some entanglements of love, in which fair ladies of opposite characters were concerned.

SONNET.

On a Sun-flower growing beside a Laurel.

Here, Phœbus! pure affection can't thou find,
 E'en where of hate thou justly may'st complain;
 Thee with fond love a flower doth follow fain,
 Here, where thou'rt shunn'd, contemn'd by tree unkind.
 See Clytie, all to tenderness resign'd
 Doth close by harsh unyielding Daphne stand
 Then sooth'd by sight of beauty soft and bland
 Let not proud Beauty chide with ireful mind.
 I love in vain—me doth love vantage never,
 And since I banish'd hope, no longer mine,
 That which I love not, now pursues me ever.
 How different, Phœbus, is thy fate and mine!
 Thee the rude trunk repels; the flower loves thee;
 Me woos the trunk; the bright flower shrinks from me.

Alexandre Antonio da Lima, the son of Francesco Mendes Barbosa e Lima, and Josepha Theresa de Moura, was born at Lisbon in January, 1699. He distinguished himself by his scholarship in Latin, but relieved his serious studies by the composition of poetry. His ruling inclination was for the comic style, of which, however, it is difficult to give specimens, as his *Vis comica*, depends so much on word-play, and puns, which are almost always untransferable from one language to another, and on allusions so exclusively national that it would require an intimate acquaintance with the people of Portugal, as well as the language, to appreciate the wit of a great part of Antonio da Lima's comic effusions. One epigram, from amongst the most intelligible, we will translate for the reader's amusement, premising that in Spain and Portugal a barber's shop was always an emporium for gossip, news and scandal.

EPIGRAM.

On a prattling censorious Barber.

While thou'rt tattling so glibly, and cutting away
 Good fame, and respect, with each word thou dost say,
 Come shave off my beard with thy tongue, for I ween
 The best of thy razors is scarcely so keen.

But the idea of this epigram is not very *recherché*, the comparison of a cutting tongue to a razor, readily suggests itself to the mind, in any country, and in any language wherein a razor

has a name. We remember, long ago, a lady in a collegiate city, (*not* in Ireland,) whose censorious propensities were under no controul, but who was making sad complaints to a gentleman of the "cutting" and "slicing," prevalent among her neighbours: "in fact," she observed, "this street ought to be called razor street." He quietly replied, "yes, madam, and you are the edge of it."

But we will seek among Antonio da Lima's serious poems for a more pleasing specimen. Here is our translation of one, the subject of which has a natural interest for all hearts. The versification, (in the original Portuguese,) is sweet and flowing, and the ideas are tender and graceful, and free from those affected conceits that marked the degeneracy of the Portuguese muse.

SONNET.

On a Rose growing upon the grave of a young Girl.
 If Nature placed this flower upon the tomb
 As Beauty's image, how inaptly here
 The type of Beauty's triumphs doth appear,
 With root that groweth mid sepulchral gloom.
 Would Beauty floral honours fain assume
 E'en thus in ashes?—ah! that self same Rose
 Proud of its charms, this hour too plainly shows
 How brief its pride, how fleeting is its bloom.
 To mark how soon the flower of human life
 Hastens to its fading, from its very birth,
 Is lesson stern, with undecivings rife
 Lo here one flower! dead, buried deep in earth;
 Another newly-born—how near are they,
 The one that died, the one that's born to-day.

Among Antonio da Lima's works are, "the New Enchantments of Love," "Metrical Sketches;" some elegies,—A burlesque academic oration, delivered in the academy of the elect (*Escolhidos.*) in Lisbon, &c., &c., &c.

We have now to speak of one who earnestly devoted the advantages of high rank, respectable talents, long life, and a good education, to support and animate the decaying literature of his country.

Francisco Xavier de Menezes, 4th count da Ericeyra, was the son of Don Louis de Menezes, 3rd count da Ericeyra, and of Donna Joanna de Menezes, only child, and heiress of his uncle don Fernando de Menezes, 2nd count da Ericeyra; but before we proceed in our notice of Francisco, 4th count, we would say somewhat of his father Don Louis (or rather Luiz) both on account of his own merits and on account of his generous appreciation of the military merits of one who was to him an alien in country and in creed, one who died the death of

the brave in an Irish battle (though not fighting for Ireland) and who found a grave on Irish ground—we mean Schomberg. Don Louis was a man of literary tastes and of soldierly spirit; at an early age he entered the Portuguese service, and distinguished himself in the war of Independence by his courage and his military talents, and eventually rose to the rank of General of Artillery. In the year 1660, the count de Soure having gone to France to seek aid for Portugal, was permitted to engage Schomberg,* then employed in the French army, together with a small, but valuable, body of men under Schomberg's command; among them was a number of good Engineers, and Bombardiers; Schomberg's force was afterwards increased by a body of Englishmen, recruited in England for the assistance of John the IV. On Schomberg's arrival in Portugal, he repaired to the province of Alentejo, the chief seat of the war, and inspected the fortified places; and in his observation of the various vantage posts displayed so much acuteness, that the Portuguese Officers became jealous, and circulated injurious reports against him, and especially represented that he had taken up his quarters at Elvas, instead of joining the main army at once, because he felt himself incompetent to draw up a plan of battle. His evident talent, however, and his courteous manner, conciliated the friendship of Count de Atougia, governor of Alentejo, and Don Louis de Menezes. Though despising his slanderers, he soon left Elvas for the main army; and achieved some brilliant successes against the Spanish Cavalry, under the celebrated General Don John of Austria. The Queen Mother, then regent of Portugal for her son Alfonso, was inspired with so much confidence in Schomberg, that she gave him large discretionary powers over the Portuguese Cavalry, permitting him to choose from that body whatever officers and soldiers he wished, to accompany him on his enterprizes. This favour so excited the jealous wrath of Alfonso Furtado de Mendoza, General in chief of the Cavalry, that it would have broken out into

* This General was the son of an English mother (of the house of Dudley) by a German noble, and was of the Protestant faith; having forfeited his patrimony in Germany, by serving under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden in the 30 years' war, he was compelled to serve in various foreign armies; as Holland, France, Portugal, Brandenburg, &c.

violent excesses but for the steady support given to Schomberg by Don Louis de Menezes.

In 1661 while the Marquis de Marialva, General-in-Chief of the Portuguese Troops, was absent in Lisbon, his place was filled by Schomberg, who surprised and took a valuable convoy, of 100 waggons, laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, sent from Talavera to Badajos, for the use of the Spanish Garrison there. The many good services which he effected with his French and English soldiers, only excited the more and more of envy and ill-will; Marialva, in particular, loved to controvert his opinions, and thwart his operations; but Don Louis de Menezes steadily adhered to him in councils of war, and bravely supported him in battle.

In June, 1663, the Portuguese were encamped on the heights above the Degebe, a river which rises in the Mountains of Ossa, and flowing eastwards, falls into the Guadiana near Monçarez. The Spaniards under Don John of Austria, encamped on the opposite height. Schomberg, with his quick military eye perceived, by the plan of the enemy's camp, that it was the intention of Don John to cannonade the Portuguese, and then to cross the river. He immediately ordered all the fires to be extinguished, and in silence and darkness changed the whole disposition of the Portuguese Camp, so as to save it from the enemy's guns, and guarded the right with musketeers and cavalry, and the left with two regiments of English infantry, and some horse; while Don Louis de Menezes, earnest in his co-operation, quietly and quickly erected three batteries on elevations that commanded the whole of the opposite camp.

When morning dawned, nothing could equal the surprise of the Spaniards, on discovering the evidence of the midnight labours of Schomberg and his friend de Menezes; nevertheless, they attempted to cross the river, but were completely defeated, and they retired along the banks of the Degebe, Schomberg following them, and pitching the Portuguese camp opposite to theirs, in so masterly a manner, that Don John of Austria could not help frequently expressing his admiration at the skill of his antagonist.

Throughout the Campaigns, the plans of battle, and of encampment, were all the province of Schomberg; of whom the French writer, La Clede, in his History of Portugal, says that he was indefatigable, and always foreseeing every contin-

gency : but that the superiority of his genius, instead of inspiring the Portuguese with emulation and gratitude, only occasioned envy and jealousy, which vented themselves in calumnies ; still nothing could affect his sense of military duty, and still he found a steady colleague in Don Louis de Menezes ; and both farther proved their good qualities at the decisive battle of Ameyxal in the Campaign of 1663.

This action commenced with affairs of out posts, in which the Portuguese were successful, and Schomberg earnestly advised the Count de Villa Flor (then commanding the Portuguese) to take advantage of the confusion among the enemy to charge, assuring him of a complete victory ; but Villa Flor's jealousy induced him to refuse. Don John of Austria profited by Villa Flor's error to post his troops favourably on hills, divided from those occupied by the Portuguese, only by a valley so narrow, that the peasants of the district call it The Canal ; and he hastily threw up batteries, which, however, Don Louis de Menezes held in check, by immediately erecting others exactly opposite. After some hours cannonading, Don Louis, perceiving that the enemy's fire slackened, urged upon Villa Flor to follow Schomberg's advice for a general engagement ; and at length, induced him to consent. The battle was furious and obstinate ; the English, in particular, are pronounced by La Clede to have performed prodigies of valour, and the Spaniards were utterly routed. The spoils of the victory were immense in gold, silver, jewels, arms, ammunition, horses, artillery, and standards, among which was the magnificent standard of Don John, bearing on one side the arms of Castile, and on the other, the sun communicating his light to the moon, surrounded by stars, with the Spanish motto,* "*Si no es Sol sera deidad.*" The Portuguese lost some persons of rank, and 1000 soldiers ; 300 of the French were killed, and a great number of English, with their best officers ; and Schomberg's son, who served under Don Louis de Menezes, was wounded. It was a decisive engagement ; for though the war continued for nearly five years afterwards, the Spaniards never recovered the ground they lost by this signal defeat, and the Portuguese carried their arms into Spain itself.

In 1664 they besieged Valencia de Alcantara, in Spanish Estramadura ; the place was vigorously cannonaded by Don Louis de Menezes, who made a breach in the walls, which Schomberg and his English mounted the first, and planted their standard. After a sanguinary contest, the Spanish Commandant

* If not the Sun, a Deity.

Don Juan de Carrera, capitulated, and the garrison marched out on St. John's day (Midsummer). By a singular coincidence, Don Juan de Carrera, happened to have commanded at Evora, which he had been obliged to evacuate, by the artillery of Don Louis de Menezes, on St. John's day, in the preceding year ; and now, on quitting Valencia de Alcantara, Don Juan addressed de Menezes, in a complimentary manner, "Don Louis, where do you wish me to be on next St. John's Day, that you may come and dislodge me?"

After the reduction of Valencia de Alcantara, Schomberg was anxious to quit Portugal, on account of the perpetual annoyance he received from the Marquis de Marialva ; but he was induced to remain in the army by the solicitations of Don Louis de Menezes, who used all his influence to soothe and sustain him ; and he (Don Louis) bore such testimony, at the Court of Lisbon, to the good services performed by Schomberg, and the French and English under his command, that even the young and negligent King recognized his merits, and gave him the title of Count de Mertola, in 1665.

When the Independence of Portugal was established by the Peace of 1668, Schomberg returned to France,* rewarded for his services by the Portuguese Government with some empty honours, and still more empty excuses for the non-payment of the sum promised to him.

The restoration of peace, afforded to Don Louis de Menezes (who became third Count of Ericeyra, on the death of his uncle and father-in-law, Don Fernando, about 1690) leisure for his literary pursuits. He wrote "Portugal Restored," a history of the Revolution, which is of good repute ; an account of the Campaigns during the war ; some academical discourses and orations ; various small poems in Spanish, and a variety of papers on military, poetical, and familiar subjects, besides other works.

Don Fernando, the second Count, had distinguished himself, as Governor of Tangier in Africa, by his vigorous defences of that place against the frequent attacks of the Moors. He also

* He left France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, served again in Portugal, then in the troops of the Elector of Brandenburg, and finally accompanied William of Orange, where his successes did not, on the whole, equal the expectations raised by his former career ; but age had abated his energies ; he was 82 when he fell at the battle of the Boyne.

cultivated literature, and wrote many works ; amongst them, a History of Tangiers ; a History of Portugal, in Latin ; a memoir of Mary Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal (wife of Alfonso' and of Pedro II.) in Latin and Portuguese ; Sundry Poems in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and Latin ; "Lisbon Conquered," an Epic, sundry papers, Academical, Military, Mathematical, &c., a poem on the Victory of Ameyxal, &c., &c.

The long war, which, for upwards of 27 years, had raged in Portugal, was inimical to the progress of literature ; the country suffered by fire, sword, and famine, and the attention of the people was absorbed by their calamities on one hand, and by their desire for national independence, on the other. King John the Fourth, had done what little he could for the aid of letters, but the reign of his son and successor, Alfonso the Fifth, only added to the misfortunes of the nation. When he assumed the reins of Government from the hands of the Regent, his mother, he treated that prudent, courageous, and patriotic Queen, with contempt and insolence, abandoned himself wholly to the sway of the most unworthy favorites, and led a flagitious life, characterised by incapacity, ferocity, and tyranny ; he constantly spent his nights marauding about the streets of Lisbon, with his wicked companions, committing gross outrages, without respect to rank, sex, or age. He openly exhibited his hatred and jealousy of his more discreet brother, Don Pedro ; and factions of various kinds arose, to distract the minds of the Portuguese.

The marriage in 1666, of Alfonso with Marie Elizabeth, daughter of the Duke of Nemours and Aumale, brought no improvement, but on the contrary, an aggravation of evils. The King and Queen soon betrayed a mutual aversion, and openly lived on the worst of terms ; she complained (and with reason) of his brutality ; and he averred that she had given him good grounds for dislike ; and especially objected to her close intimacy with Don Pedro, who (ostensibly from compassion) sedulously paid her respect and attention.

At length this state of affairs produced disorders in the government that became insupportable. At the commencement of 1668, an Assembly of State in Lisbon declared Alfonso unfit to rule, caused him to be arrested, and placed under restraint, and appointed Don Pedro Regent. The Queen, who had previously laid *her* complaints before the French Government, sued for and obtained a divorce, in the month of

March, and prepared to return to France; but there was some difficulty about refunding her dowry, and she allowed herself to be persuaded by the Council of State into marrying Don Pedro (by dispensation from the Pope), early in April. Alfouso heard in his prison-palace the sound of the wedding bells, and enquired of his attendants the cause of their ringing: on being informed, he seemed shocked, but said that he was grieved for the sake of his poor brother, who would soon have cause to regret as bitterly as he himself had done, his marriage with the divorced Queen; then after a moment's reflection, he desired one of his suite to convey his congratulations to Don Pedro and his bride! In the following year Alfonso was carried into banishment to the Island of Terceira.

Besides all these occurrences which were naturally detrimental to the well-being of letters, it is to be remarked that the cause of learning suffered in the Church by the refusal of Rome (owing to Austrian intrigues in favour of Spain) to issue Bulls for the consecration of Bishops in Portugal: all the episcopal functions were discharged by a Bishop *in partibus*, the Bishop of Targo; there was no reward, no aim for men of erudition. In 1667, on the election of Clement the Ninth to the Pontificate, Don Pedro's ambassador induced that Pope to issue the necessary Bulls; but the long interregnum had been very injurious; the inferior Clergy neglected learning, and the effects of this negligence continued to exist after the cause had ceased,

Don Francisco Xavier de Menezes, fourth Count of Ericeyra, second Lord of Ancião and eighth of the House of Lourical, and who inherited or attained various other titles, civil and military, was born at Lisbon in January, 1673, during the regency of Don Pedro, and about five years after the termination of the War of Independence. He was a precocious child, and fond of acquiring information; and he enjoyed great advantages among his near relatives, who were all persons of education and ability. His grand-father, Don Fernando de Menezes, taught him Latin, his father Don Louis, Italian, his mother French, and his grand-mother, Donna Leonora Philippa de Noronha, Spanish; and in these languages he was able to speak and write as fluently and as correctly as in his own Portuguese. By the time he attained his ninth year he was well informed in Grammar, Mythology, and Prosody, and had some skill (somewhat of mechanical skill) in the construction of verse, which at that early age he displayed at a meeting of

a literary society called the Academy of the Improvisors ("*os Instantaneos*") whose members were astonished at the facility with which he acquitted himself in the tests to which he was subjected, in *Bouts rimes*, acrostics, the construction of difficult metres, &c.

In 1688, when our young scholar was about the age of ten, Don Pedro, the Regent, became king by the death of his brother, Alfonso, who had been brought back from Terceira in 1679, and confined in the palace at Cintra. It is said that with his last breath, Alfonso cited his divorced wife to follow him without delay, before the awful judgment seat, there to render account of the evil she had done him. She was then lying on a bed of sickness, and did actually expire in five days after Alfonso, who died on the 12th of September, and the Queen on the 17th. Some time before her death, she had manifested a dislike to her second husband (as Alfonso had predicted) on account of his infidelities. Don Pedro endeavoured to give a stimulus to literature, to commerce, and to all national interests; but the energies of Portugal were enfeebled; her power in India had fallen into decay, her maritime affairs were in a state of ruin, and her literature declined.

Meanwhile young de Menezes continued his studies; he applied himself to Mathematics and Geography; and also, though not intended for Holy Orders, to Theology, Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law, and to various other departments of literature, with so much zeal, that before he was 21 he was celebrated, even beyond the limits of Portugal, for his attainments. In 1693 the Academy dos Generosos, which had been discontinued during the depression of the nation, and which now endeavoured to revive, elected him, a youth of 20, its first President—and its last; for it ceased to exist as a society before it could require another.

De Menezes was desirous of adding the laurels of Mars to those of Apollo; numbers of his family had been soldiers, and he wished to follow in their footsteps; indeed "Menezes" is one of the most historical names in Portuguese records; it is it is to be read in almost every page, designating persons of note, statesmen, soldiers, ecclesiastics, literati. The wishes of the Aspirant found accomplishment in the war of the Spanish succession, in which the King of Portugal at first aided with France to put Philip, Duke of Anjou (grand-son of Louis XIV.) on the throne vacated by the death of the

childless Charles II. of Spain ; but he changed his policy in 1703, and joined with England and Austria in favour of the Archduke Charles. De Menezes (now fourth count of Ericeyra) entered the Portuguese army in 1704, and served in all the ensuing campaigns, in which he gave proofs of personal valour ; but in this war the Portuguese gained neither glory nor advantage. They had no General able to compete with the celebrated Duke of Berwick opposed to them by France ; they did not fight with the same spirit and obstinacy as in the War for Independence, and they did not combine well with the English Auxiliaries who were sent to their assistance under the Duke of Schomberg, son of the more renowned man of whom we have before written. The younger Schomberg found his advice so slighted, and his plans so thwarted, that he was reduced to a mere cypher ; and at last King Pedro requested Queen Anne to recall him to England, as he made himself troublesome, in looking for the arrears of pay due to his deceased father.

In the campaign of 1704 a Portuguese general opened secret negotiations with the Duke of Berwick, and actually gave him constant private intelligence of the strength, movements, plans, &c., of the Portuguese army, thus enabling Berwick to defeat them. The cause assigned by the traitor for this perfidy was, that the war with Spain at that juncture was injurious to the interest of his own Sovereign ; and the best means of inducing him to make peace was to disgust him with the war by his reverses !* This considerate and loyal subject was more of a casuist than a soldier.

Though in 1706 the Portuguese penetrated to Madrid, and proclaimed Charles III, they were quickly obliged to retreat from that capital ; in the December of that year Don Pedro died, and was succeeded by his son, John V., then but 17 years old : *he* concurred in his late father's policy, and continued the war, in which the Portuguese did more harm than good to their Allies, and in fact ruined the cause of the latter by occasioning their defeat at the decisive battle of Almanza in 1707, where the Portuguese Cavalry fled precipitately at the first charge, leaving the English and Dutch wholly exposed to the attacks of a superior

* The Earl of Peterborough wrote to Queen Anne, that in the Councils of Portugal the only friend the Allies had was the King, and that *his* influence was very inconsiderable.

force, led by the Duke of Berwick. Though the war was protracted for five years longer, the Allies in the peninsula never recovered from the effects of the discomfiture, which was complete.

The peace established by the treaty of Utrecht, gave the Count of Ericeyra leisure to follow his literary pursuits. He wrote a history of the campaigns of Don Pedro, and an account of the taking of Miranda in 1711, one of the few successes which the Portuguese had to boast. In 1714, in the literary conferences held at the residence of the Papal Nuncio in Lisbon, the count lectured on the General Councils of the Church, astonishing his hearers with his profound knowledge of Ecclesiastical History. He received from the Fantastic Academy of Arcadia the empty compliment of election to membership, under the romantic name of Ormanro Paliseo; and much more to the credit of his fame he was nominated Fellow of the Royal Society of London. The King, John V., was very anxious for the restoration of literature, and founded the Portuguese Academy of Sciences in Lisbon, and afterwards the Portuguese Academy of History. To the former of these the Count was appointed Protector, and Secretary in 1717; and one of the five Directors of the latter in 1721. In 1734 he added to his various titles, civil and military, noble and literary, that of Major-General.

To the fine library that he inherited from his father he added upwards of 15,000 printed volumes, and 1,000 MSS, besides globes, and various scientific instruments. He generously gave access to his library to all who requested it; and was remarkable for the courtesy and candour with which he received all persons who sought information from him.

He translated Boileau's Art of Poetry, from the French, for the use of his countrymen; he wrote on the tides, and the system of Newton; on the causes of earthquakes; on the various systems of the world; on Mathematics, on Theology; many Academical Papers, dissertations, criticism; parallels between illustrious men; the lives of his father, Don Louis, and his grandfather, Don Fernando de Menezes; the Secular History of Portugal; some religious compositions; comedies; various poems; and many other works, certainly too tedious to enumerate. His principal work, *A Henriqueida* (The Henriad) must be mentioned by itself in another place.

All the principal literati in Europe corresponded with him.

Louis XV. sent him the catalogue of his Royal Library in five volumes; and also twenty-five volumes of plates of the most remarkable objects of interest in Paris. Pope Innocent XIII. sent him a highly complimentary brief; the Academy of St. Petersburg presented him with twelve volumes of the writings of its members, accompanied by a most gratifying official letter.

The Count of Ericeyra, presented himself to his countrymen in the noble aspect of a man zealously using all his advantages of wealth and rank for the improvement of their minds, and for the renovation of the national poetry, the decay of which he saw, and lamented. But he was not able to effect what he so ardently desired for the Portuguese muse; he possessed considerable general abilities, varied acquirements, and great industry, but not poetic *genius*; and a superior genius was then needed to give an impetus to the poetry of his country. In early life he had conceived the idea of writing a national Epic, as a companion, if not a rival, to that of Camoens; he intended that his poem should be more correct, more consonant to the rules of poetic criticism than the *Lusiad*. He termed it the *Henriqueida*, or *Henriad*, choosing for his hero, Henry, Count of Burgundy (father of Portugal's first King, Alfonzo Henriquez). The story of the Poem consists in Henry's determination to free Portugal from the Moors, then its masters; his combats, sieges, battles, victories, love adventures, &c. In imitation of Virgil (of whom the Count of Ericeyra was an enthusiastic admirer) Henry like *Æneas*, visits a sybil, and braves great perils in a secret and solitary expedition to explore the place of her seclusion, in order to learn from her his own destiny, and that of Portugal. But Ericeyra's sybil, unlike Virgil's, is a Christian, and her prophetic powers give a romantic and mysterious interest to the poem, which concludes with the taking of Lisbon by Henry and his army. But this Epic was a failure; the judgment passed upon it by critics is, that though more correct, more regular in plan than the *Lusiad*, it has not the energy, the feeling, the poet's enthusiasm that pervade the poem of Camoens: that the versification of the *Henriqueida* is good, the narrative pleasing, the characters well managed, the interest well sustained, the descriptions well drawn,—but that these merits are counter-balanced, and over-balanced by the fatal effects of utter coldness, tedium, and evident laboriousness. Camoens wrote *con amore*, Ericeyra *cum labore*. Francisco Manuel, a high authority in Portuguese cri-

ticism, says, that he always felt himself under much obligation to the Count of Ericeyra, for whenever he (F. Manuel) was in danger of passing a restless night, he opened the Henriquida, read a little, and was soon lulled to sleep by the influence of the gentle opiate. After this we fear the reader will hardly thank us for translating any specimen of this "weariful" Epic; he will hold us worse than Dogberry, who bestowed only his *own* tediousness on his friends, while we offer a double portion, the Author's and Translator's; yet as it may be useful in the way indicated by Manuel, we may venture on a scrap or two from Ericeyra's poem, which begins "literally" "I sing of arms, and that illustrious man who gave to Portugal the commencement of royalty;" a sufficiently close imitation of the opening of the Eneid.

"Arma virum que cano, Trojæ qui primus ab oris
Italian, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
Litora."

Our first fragment shall be from the

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYBIL'S GROT.

The thorny branches of Avernine tree
Did that dire cavern's entrance well defend,
And interlacing roots, that seem'd to be,
Like Gordian knots, entwin'd till time
should end;
And rocks pil'd to the skies, eternally
With glassy ice bespread, that to ascend
Not truest foot of nimblest beast might dare
Or daring, fall—to fall was fatal there.

And land and sea in horrid strife forbade.
With clamours wild, th' advancing step
would fain
The myst'ry of that fateful cave invade;
The strongest, firmest fortitude in vain
Would nerve itself to listen undismayed
To that loud roar of rocks and surging main
Where earth and ocean all their rage, their
might,
Against one solitary heart unite.

The following is from the combat between Henry and the Moorish King:—

THE COMBAT.

The rapid crystal torrent that o'erflows
And drowning vales, doth to the hill tops rise,
The lightning that with flashing brilliance glows,
Fires the tall tower, and sends the sulphurous skies:
The fierce north wind that in its fury blows,
Affrights the sea, and turns the brook to ice,
Deucalion's deluge, sudden, mighty, dire,
The flames of Etna, not Vesuvius' fire.

These, though with powers destructive swift they spread
Around them ruin, desolation, fear,
And almost seem to threat, with efforts dread,
The blest exemption of the starry sphere,—
Yea, these might scarce exceed the ardours shed
Through the heroic breasts that kindled here—
At the fierce onslaught, fierce in power and will,
Earth trembled, and the orbs of Heaven stood still.

The strong broad shields caught every beam of light
On their refulgent globes: the arms that held
Them thrill'd with the wild impulse of the fight,
As each his foe attack'd, and each repell'd,

Thrill'd those proud arms ? yet were the bucklers bright
 Immoveable, as are the rocks of eld.
 By valour urg'd, in vigorous action strain'd,
 The arms might thrill, but firm each heart remain'd.

The *Henriqueida* was the work on which the Count of Ericeyra rested his chief dependance for fame. He began it in his prime, and made it the labour of his life, constantly touching, re-touching, correcting and altering. He finished it in 1738 (when he was 65), and had the satisfaction of seeing it printed in 1741, two years before his death, which took place at Lisbon in December, 1743, when he wanted but one month of completing his 71st year. He was buried at Lisbon, in the great chapel of the Convent of the Annunciation, which was under the patronage of his noble house. He had married, early in life, Donna Joanna Magdalena de Noronha, daughter of Don Louis da Sylveira, 2nd Count of Sarzedas, and Councillor of State, and of Donna Mariana da Sylva de Lencastre (or *Lancaster*), a title derived into some noble Portuguese families by intermarriages with descendants of King John I. of Portugal and his wife Philippa, daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his first marriage.* The family left by the Count of Ericeyra consisted of, 1st, Don Louis Carlos, fifth Count of Ericeyra and first Marquis of Lourical, and twice Vice-Roy in Portuguese India; 2nd, Don Ferdinand, who entered the Church, and was a doctor of Canon Law, but changed the secular for the monastic habit, in the Seraphic Order, under the name of Brother Antonio da Piedade; 3rd, Donna Constanca Xavier Domingos Aureliana, who married Don Joseph Felix da Cauha e Menezes.

A cotemporary of the Count of Ericeyra, less favoured by fortune than that noble, was able to do more, by example, for the improvement of Portuguese poetry: for though he had not the endowments of rank and wealth, he had the advantage of the Count in poetic genius; his poems are read where those of Ericeyra are unknown, for they were the effusions of feeling, not the compositions of study. Claudio Manoel da Costa, son of John Gonzales da Costa, and Donna Teresa Ribeiro de Alvarenga, was born, in 1703, at Mariana, an episcopal city of the Minas Geraes (General Mines), a district in Brazil little favorable to the muses, being altogether devoted to the mechanical and prosaic occupation of mining. After receiving

* With Blanche, sister of Henry IV. of England.

the rudiments of his education at Mariana, he was sent to the Jesuit College at Rio Janeiro to study Philosophy, Latin, &c., and afterwards he went to Portugal, and spent five years at the University of Coimbra, where talent was then almost unknown, learning at a very low ebb, and poetry only tolerated when in the fantastic tinsel style of the Gongorists. These circumstances were serious obstacles to the formation of a poet; but Manoel da Costa did not require to *form* himself, he was born with the *feeling* of poetry; and though he could not entirely free himself from the contagion of the bad taste reigning around him, yet only a few traces of it are to be found in his writings; his judgment was too good to revel in conceits and extravagancies.

While at Coimbra Da Costa studied Canon Law; but what was more to the purpose of a poet, he learned Italian, and took great delight in Petrarch and Metastasio. He subsequently returned to Brazil, and continued his poetical pursuits among the mines, lamenting the sordid spirit of pelf that pervaded his country. His poems are admired for the sweetness, elegance, and flow of their language (which must necessarily suffer by translation), for their grace and sensibility, and their pleasing imagery. His Portuguese sonnets are considered some of the best that had appeared in that language for a century; he also wrote several in Italian, but none in Spanish, contrary to the fashion of the time. His elegies (*epicidios*) are pleasing and natural in sentiment, but dull in versification. His eclogues are admitted to contain many beauties, but are somewhat monotonous, and pastorals have now but little interest. His lyrics, written in the Italian style, are the most generally admired of his productions. An essential difference between the works of Ericeyra and Da Costa is, that the former are *compositions*, the latter *effusions*; the first were the offspring of the *mind*, the others of the *heart*.

But we must now attempt some translations from Da Costa, though we feel we cannot do him justice:—

SONNET.

TO LOVE.

Love! 'tis short time since I with joy receiv'd
Thy glorious visions that my soul delighted,
No fear of treachery then my pleasures blighted,
But all thy sweet-voic'd flatteries I believ'd,
Myself wax'd equal to my bliss—high heav'd
My heart, and, as my hope's increas'd, expanded,
And in thy proffers, tender'd liberal handed,
I deem'd life's chiefest, dearest weal achiev'd.

But happiness soon fall'd me, past and gone—
 Delusion's splendid fabric, ruin'd, void
 I saw, by disenchanting, Trath o'erthrown,
 How alighty built! how easily destroy'd!
 But ah! why marvel at my hopes' decay,
 When in capricious Beauty's hands they lay!

The following sonnet, on the altered feelings with which Da Costa looked upon a once familiar and favorite scene, will remind the reader of the similar sentiments expressed on a similar occasion by Sir Walter Scott in his pleasing stanzas beginning with,

“The Sun upon the Wierdlaw Hill,
 In Ettrick's Vale is sinking sweet.”

The Scotchman and the Brazilian both complain that the landscape has lost its former beauties; and both discover that the change is not in the scene but in their own feelings.

SONNET.

ON REVISITING A FAVORITE SCENE.

Where am I?—where?—on unfamiliar ground?
 How alter'd is the scene—I cannot trace
 One well-known feature here on Nature's face,
 As sad and timidly I gaze around.
 Here play'd a fountain with its lulling sound;
 Once, Mem'ry tells me, by its side I lay—
 Where stood dark heights a vale is seen to-day,
 Time! in thy lapse what wondrous change is found.
 The trees, that flourishing so fresh and fair
 Made Spring eternal, I no longer see.
 Not e'en remains one trunk decay'd and bare,
 I err: my once lov'd scene this cannot be.
 Heart! marvel not—my griefs are with me here,
 And by their fatal spell all things deform'd appear.

Here is a strain of pretty and earnest invocation

SONNET.

TO INEZ.

Inez!—where art thou, Inez!—where, oh where
 Can'st thou by this adoring heart be found?
 The more with searching gaze I look around,
 The more, alas! to seek thee I despair.
 Could I, at least, upon this balmy air
 Hear but thy name, floating like Music's strain,
 “Inez!” methought it breath'd—delusion vain!
 “Inez,” I heard it—nay, no voice was there.
 Caves, hollow trees, thickets so close and green,
 If in your shade she hides her from mine eye,
 Reveal the lovely one, withdraw your screen;
 Vainly I call: no echo deigns reply.
 The pangs of absence am I doom'd to bear?
 Inez, where art thou?—Inez! where, oh where?

Da Costa had been elected “ultra marine” or (beyond-sea) member of the Arcadia, by the very ugly name of *Glauceste Saturnio*, (Glauceste from the Sea-God Glaucos, we suppose,) and as the theme of the Academy was “Love still love,” he was bound by his membership to find, or to fancy, a nymph

for his homage; but from the earnestness of his strains, we incline to think his Inez was something more than an Arcadian vision.

We proceed to translate a

CANTATA.

INEZ AT THE FOUNTAIN.

Thou see'st not, Inez dear,
Upon this fountain clear
Thine imag'd charms—no, false is the re-
flection;
It lets us not discern
Thy rigour cold and stern;
It only shows sweet traits that win affection
But hither turn thy radiant eyes;
Turn them, fair tyrant, on my breast;
See how my heart all broken lies,
And my soul mourns in wild unrest.
See on my pale and care worn face
Of grief and pain the deep'ning trace:
Mark the wan tint
Mark sorrow's print,

Then, Inez, then relentless maid,
Thus shalt thou view
Distinct and true,
Thy beauty's portraiture display'd.
Let not the pleasant fount beguile.
Like fairy spell, thy raptur'd sight,
Too tranquil is the fountain's smile;
Its crystal shines too calm and bright.
E'en as thou see'st thy beauties here,
The woe thou'st wrought, so could'st thou
see.
Perhaps the pain, my Inez dear,
In both our hearts would equal be.

We shall now attempt a specimen of Da Costa's playful style.

ROMANCE.

My Shepherd maid! I sit alone
Beside the gushing river,
And think upon an hour that's gone,
Yet fresh in memory ever.
I griev'd to mark thy scornful air;
My hopes in dust were lying:
But did'st thou e'er
Heed love's despair,
Or list a lover's sighing?

Thou, that art cause of all my grief
Dost watch me, close and zealous;
Of many a Nymph, but Phillis chief,
Who fain would charm me, jealous.
What changes o'er thy face so fair

Fleet, with each moment flying;—
But wilt thou ne'er
Heed love's despair
Nor, list a lover's sighing?

Anita graceful, mild, and gay,
Collecting flowery treasure,
Takes sweetest bud, and greenest spray
And groups them for my pleasure.
Rose would with smiles my heartensnare;
To put is Julia trying;
While thou dost ne'er
Heed love's despair,
Nor list thy lover's sighing.

There are some plaintive stanzas addressed by Da Costa to his lyre, at a later period of his life, which we should wish to present to the reader on account of their grace and pathos; they have been so charmingly rendered in Sismondi's *Literature of the South of Europe*, (by Roscoe) that for us to attempt another version of them would be worse than superfluous; we shall, therefore, beg leave to borrow the above named* translation for the reader's satisfaction; and thus appropriately close our notice of Da Costa with his farewell.

ADDRESS TO THE LYRE.

Yes! I have lov'd thee, O my Lyre!
My day, my night-dream, lov'd thee long!
When thou would'st pour thy soul of song
When did I turn away?

* All the other translations in these two papers are by the writer.—Ed.

'Tis thine, with thy bewitching wire,
To charm my sorrow's wildest mood,
To calm again my feverish blood,
Till peace resumes her sway.

How oft with fond and flattering tone
I woo'd thee through the still midnight,
And chasing slumbers with delight,
Would vigils hold with thee;

Would tell thee I am all thine own,
That thou, sweet Lyre, shalt rule me still;
My love, my pride, through every ill,
My world of bliss to me.

Thine are these quenchless thoughts of fire,
The beamings of a burning soul,
That cannot brook the world's control,
Or breathe its sickening air.

And thine the raptures that inspire
With antique glow my trembling frame,
That bide me nurse the wasting flame,
And court my own despair.

For the present we lay aside our Portuguese Decline and Fall, but we shall perhaps again return to the history of the literature of Portugal; a literature far more noble and interesting than those unacquainted with its beauties and its importance can at all imagine.

ART. II.—A FRIEND OF SAINT FRANCIS DE SALES.

1. *Grand Traité de l'Esprit du Bienheureux Saint François de Sales.* Paris, MDCLXIII.
2. *Le Directeur Désintéressé.* Paris, 1680.
3. *La Vie Symbolique Du Bienheureux François De Sales, Eveque et Prince de Geneve. Comprise sous le voile de 52. Emblemes, qui Marquent le caractere de ses principales vertus, avec autant de Meditations, ou Reflexions pieuses, pour exciter les ames Chrestiennes et Religieuses à l'amour et à la pratique des memes vertus.* Par M. Adrien Gambart, Prestre à Paris, Aux frais de l'Auteur pour l'usage des Religieuses de la visitation, et à la disposition de celles du Faux-bourg saint Jacques. MDCLXIV.

Jean-Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, and the friend and biographer of Saint Francis de Sales, was not more unlike the Saint than was James Boswell unlike great old Samuel Johnson ; and yet the kindness with which the Saint and the Sage regarded their worshippers was as remarkable, as its results were important to posterity.

St. Francis de Sales was born at the Castle of Sales, in the diocese of Geneva, August 21st, 1567. He was descended from one of the most ancient and noble families of Savoy. Having taken a doctor of law's degree at Padua, he was first advocate at Chambéry, then Provost of the Church of Geneva, at Annecy. Claudius de Granier, his bishop, sent him as a missionary into the valleys of his diocese, to convert the Zuinglians and Calvinists, and his sermons were attended with wonderful success. The Bishop of Geneva chose him afterwards for his coadjutor, but was obliged to use authority before he could be persuaded to accept the office. Religious affairs called him afterwards into France, where he was universally esteemed ; and Cardinal du Perron said, "There were no heretics whom he could not convince, but M. de Geneva must be employed to convert them."

Henry IV., being informed of his merit, made him considerable offers, in hopes of detaining him in France ; but he chose rather to return to Savoy, where he arrived in 1602, and found bishop Granier had died a few days before. St. Francis then undertook the reformation of his diocese, where piety and virtue soon flourished through his zeal ; he restored regularity in the monasteries, and instituted the order of the Visitation in 1610,

which was confirmed by Paul the Fifth, 1618, and of which the Baroness de Chantal, whom he converted by his preaching at Dijon, was the foundress. He also established a congregation of hermits in Chablais, restored ecclesiastical discipline to its ancient vigour, and converted numerous unbelievers to the faith. At the latter end of 1618, St. Francis was obliged to go again to Paris with the Cardinal de Savoy, to conclude a marriage between the Prince of Piedmont, and Christina of France, second daughter of Henry IV. This princess herself, chose de Sales for her chief almoner; but he would accept the place only on two conditions; one, that it should not preclude his residing in his diocese; the other, that whenever he did not execute his office, he should not receive the profits of it. These unusual terms the princess was obliged to consent to; and immediately, as if by way of investing him with his office, presented him with a very valuable diamond, saying, "On condition that you will keep it for my sake." To which he replied, "I promise to do so, Madam, unless the poor stand in need of it." Returning to Annecy, he continued to visit the sick, relieve those in want, instruct the people, and discharge all the duties of a pious bishop, till 1662, when he died of an apoplexy at Lyons, December the 28th, aged fifty-six, leaving several religious works, collected in 2 vols. folio. The most known are, the 'Introduction to a Devout Life,' and 'Philo, or a treatise on the love of God'. Marsollier has written his life, (2 vols. 12mo.) which was translated into English by Mr. Crathorne: Francis was canonized in 1655.

No two men could be more unlike than St. Francis and Camus; yet the beautiful simplicity of Camus's character, and the almost childlike love which he bore to the Saint, seem to have attracted the latter towards him in a very remarkable degree. It was the prime object of Camus to imitate the virtues of his friend, and to record the lessons of wisdom, and truth, and holiness falling ever from his lips. Some of these records it is our intention to introduce before we enter more fully upon an account of Camus and his writings.

"In speaking of brotherly correction (says the good Bishop Camus), St. Francis gave me a lesson which I have not forgotten. He repeated it often, the better to impress it on my memory. '*That sincerity*,' said he, '*which is not charitable, proceeds from a charity which is not sincere.*' A worthy saying, worthy of being deeply considered and faithfully remembered.

"It is better to remain silent than speak the truth ill-humouredly, and so spoil an excellent dish by covering it with bad sauce."

"I asked St. Francis if there were no other way by which I might discern from what fountain reproaches flowed. He, whose heart was wrapped up in benevolence, replied, in the true spirit of the great apostle,—'When they are made with mildness—*mildness is the sister of love, and inseparable from her.* With this idea St. Paul says, She beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. God, *who is charity,* guides the meek with his counsel, and teaches his ways to the simple. His spirit is not in the hurricane, the foaming cataract, or the tempestuous winds; but in the soft breath of the gentle zephyr. Is mildness come? said the prophet; then are we corrected. I advise you to imitate the good Samaritan, who poured oil and wine into the wounds of the unhappy traveller. *You know that in a good salad there should be more oil than vinegar or salt.* Be always as mild as you can; a spoonful of honey attracts more flies than a barrel of vinegar. *If you must fall into any extreme let it be on the side of gentleness.* The human mind is so constructed, that it resists rigour, and yields to softness. A mild word quenches anger, as water quenches the rage of fire; and by benignity any soil may be rendered fruitful. Truth, uttered with courtesy, is heaping coals of fire on the head; or, *rather, THROWING ROSES IN THE FACE.* *How can we resist a foe whose weapons are pearls and diamonds?* Some fruits, like nuts, are by nature bitter, but rendered sweet by being candied with sugar; such is reproof, bitter till candied with meekness, and preserved with the fire of charity.'

"St. Francis always *discouraged professions of humility*, if they were not *very true and very sincere.* 'Such professions,' he said, 'are the very cream, the very essence of pride; the real humble man wishes to be, and not to appear so. Humility is timorous, and starts at her shadow; and so delicate, that *if she hears her name pronounced, it endangers her existence.* He who blames himself, takes a by-road to praise; and, like the rower, turns his back to the place whither he desires to go. *He would be irritated if what he said against himself were believed;* but from a principle of pride, he desires to appear humble.'

"I esteemed my friend (resumes excellent Camus) so highly that all his actions appeared to me perfect. It came into my head that it would be a very good thing to copy his manner of preaching. Do not suppose that I attempted to equal him in the loftiness of his ideas, in the depth of his arguments, in the strength of his reasonings, in the excellence of his judgment, the mildness of his expressions, the order and just connection of his periods, or that incomparable sweetness which could soften the hardest heart ; no, that was quite beyond my powers. I was like a fly, which, not being able to walk on the polished surface of a mirror, is contented to remain on the frame which surrounds it. I amused myself in copying his gesture, in conforming myself to his slow and quiet manner of pronouncing and moving. My own manner was naturally the very reverse of all this : the metamorphosis was therefore so strange, that I was scarcely to be recognised. I was no longer myself. I contrived to spoil my own original manner, without acquiring the admirable one which I so idly copied.

"St. Francis heard of this, and one day took an opportunity of saying to me—' Speaking of sermons reminds me of a strange piece of news which has reached my ears. It is reported that you try, in preaching, to adopt the Bishop of Geneva's peculiarities.' I warded off this reproof by saying, ' And do you think I have chosen a bad example ? What is your opinion of the Bishop of Geneva's preaching ? ' ' *Ha !* ' said he, ' *this grave question attacks reputation. Why, he really does not preach badly ;* but the fact is that you are accused of being *so bad a mimic*, that nothing is to be seen but an unsuccessful attempt, which *spoils the Bishop of Bellay, without representing the Bishop of Geneva.* So that you ought to do as a bad painter did ; he wrote under his picture the name of the objects which they misrepresented.' ' Let them talk,' said I, ' and you will find that, by degrees, the apprentice will become master, and the copies be mistaken for originals.' ' Joking apart,' rejoined my friend, ' you do yourself an injury. Why demolish a well-built edifice to erect one in its stead in which no rules of nature or art are adhered to ? and at your age, if you once take a wrong bias, it will be difficult to set you right again. *If natures could be exchanged*, gladly would I exchange with you. *I do all I can to rouse myself to animation. I try to be less tedious, but the more haste I make the more I impede my course.* I have difficulty in finding words, and greater still

in pronouncing them. I am as slow as a tortoise. I can neither raise emotion in myself nor in my auditors. All my labour to do so is inefficient. You advance with crowded sail, I make my way with rowing. You fly—I creep. You have more fire in one finger than I have in my whole body. Your readiness and promptitude are wonderful, your vivacity unequalled, and now people say you weigh each word, count every period, appear languid yourself, and weary your audience.' *You may well imagine how this well-timed reproof and commendation cured my folly. I returned immediately to my original manner.*"—

" 'The best fish are nourished in the *unpalatable waters* of the sea, and the best souls are improved by *such opposition as does not extinguish charity.*' "

"I asked St. Francis what disposition of mind was the best with which to meet death? He coolly replied, '*A charitable disposition.*' "

"Do not overrate the blessings which God gives to others, and then underrate or despise what are given to yourself. It is the property of a little mind to say, Our neighbour's harvest is always more plentiful than our own, and his flock more prosperous."

"I complained of some great hardships which I had experienced; it was obvious that St. Francis agreed in thinking that I had been ill-treated. Finding myself so well-seconded, *I was triumphant*, and *exaggerated* the justice of my cause in a superfluity of words. To stop the torrent of complaint St. Francis said, 'Certainly they are wrong in treating you in this manner. It is beneath them to do so, especially to a man in your condition; but in the whole of the business I see only one thing to your disadvantage.' 'What is that?' '*That you might have been wiser, and remained silent!*' This came so immediately home to me, that I felt immediately silenced, and found it impossible to make any reply."

"St. Francis practised himself the lessons which he taught to others; and during fourteen years that I was under his direction, and made it my study to remark all his actions, and even his very gestures and words, I never observed in him the slightest affectation of singularity. I will confess one of my contrivances when he visited me in my own house, and remained as his custom was, a week annually: *I contrived to bore holes by which I saw him when alone*, engaged in study, prayer, or

reading, meditating, dressing, sitting, walking, or writing, when usually persons are most off their guard ; yet I could not trace any difference in attitude or manner : his behaviour was ever as sincere and undisguised as his heart. He had, when alone, the same dignified manners as when in society ; *when he prayed you would have imagined that he saw himself surrounded by holy angels* ; motionless, and with a countenance of humble reverence. I never saw him indulge in any indolent attitude (!) neither crossing his legs, nor resting his head on his hand ; at all times he presented the same aspect of mingled gravity and sweetness, which never failed to inspire love and respect. He used to say, that *our manners should resemble water, best when clearest, most simple, and without taste*. However, though he had no peculiarities of behaviour, it appeared so singular that he should have no singularities, that he struck me therefore as very singular."

Willingly, not by constraint.

"This was my friend's favourite saying, and the secret of his government. He used to say that those who would force the human will exercise a tyranny odious to God. He never could bear those haughty persons who would be obeyed, whether willingly or not, they cared not : 'Those,' he said, 'who love to be feared, fear to be loved ; they themselves are of all people the most abject ; some fear them, but they fear every one. *In the royal galley of Divine Love there is no force—the rowers are all volunteers.*' On this principle he always moulded his commands into the softer form of entreaty. St. Peter's words—'Feed the flock of God, not by constraint,' he was very fond of. I complained of the resistance I met with in my parochial visits. 'What a commanding spirit you have !' he replied ; 'you want to walk on the wings of the wind, and you let yourself be carried away with zeal. Like an *ignus-fatuus*, it leads to the edge of precipices. *Do you seek to shackle the will of man, when God has seen fit to have it free ?*'

"St. Francis did not approve of the saying—'Never rely on a reconciled enemy.' He rather preferred a contrary maxim ; and said, 'that a quarrel between friends, when made up, added a new tie to friendship ; *as experience shows that the callosity formed round a broken bone makes it stronger than before.* Those who are reconciled, often renew their friendship with increased warmth : *the offender is on his guard against a relapse,*

and anxious to atone for past unkindness; and the offended glory in forgiving and forgetting the wrongs that have been done to them. Princes are doubly careful of reconquered towns, and preserve them with more care than those the enemy never gained.'

"St. Francis had particular delight in contemplating a painting of the Penitent Magdalen at the foot of the Cross; and sometimes called it his manual and his library. Seeing a copy of this picture at Belley, 'Oh,' said he, 'what a blessed and advantageous exchange the penitent Mary made; she pours tears on the feet of Christ, and from those feet blood streams to wash away all her sins.' To this thought he added another — '*How carefully we should cherish the little virtues which spring up at the foot of the cross, since they are sprinkled with the blood of the Son of God.*'

" 'What virtues do you mean?' He replied, 'Humility, patience, meekness, benignity, bearing one another's burden, condescension, softness of heart, cheerfulness, cordiality, compassion, forgiving injuries, simplicity, candour; all, in short, of that sort. *They, like unobtrusive violets, love the shade; like them are sustained by dew; and though, like them, they make little show, they shed a sweet odour on all around.*'

"To obey a ferocious, savage, ill-humoured, thankless master, *is to draw clear water from a fountain streaming from the jaws of a brazen lion.* As Samson says, It is to find food in the devourer. It is to see *God only.*" [This is beautiful; and that is a fine bit of poetry about the lion; strength and sweetness meet in it. He is speaking of a master whom it happens to be incumbent on us to obey.]

"St. Francis highly esteemed those persons who kept inns, and entertained travellers, provided they were civil and obliging, saying, that no condition in life, he thought, had greater means of serving God and man; for it is a continual exercise of benevolence and mercy, though, like a physician, the fee is paid."

"One day, after dinner, my friend was *amusing us with his entertaining conversation*, and the subject of innkeepers being accidentally started, the different persons present very freely gave their opinions on the subject, and one among them declared the whole set to be rogues.

"This did not please St. Francis; but as it was *neither a fit time nor place for reproof*, nor was the sarcastic gentleman

in a mood to receive it, he turned the discourse by telling the following anecdote:—

“A Spanish pilgrim, little burdened with money, arrived at an inn, where, after having served him very ill, they charged him so much for his bad fare, that he loudly exclaimed at the injustice. However, being the weaker one, he was forced to give way and be satisfied. He left the inn in anger, and observing that it was facing another inn, and that in the intermediate space a cross had been erected, he soothed his rage by exclaiming, Truly this place is a second Calvary, where the holy Cross is stationed between two thieves (meaning the two innkeepers). The host of the opposite hotel, without appearing to notice his displeasure, coolly asked what injury he had received from him, which he thus repaid with abuse? Hush, hush, said the pilgrim, my worthy friend, be not offended, you are *the good thief*; but what say you of your neighbour, who has flayed me alive! ‘This civility,’ pursued St. Francis, ‘soothed the pilgrim’s wrath; but we should be careful not to stigmatise whole nations or trades, by terming them rogues, impertinent, &c., for even if we have no individual in view, each individual of the nation or trade is a sufferer by the sarcasm, and cannot like to be so stigmatised.’

“To this I must add, that St. Francis so highly esteemed innkeepers, that, in travelling, he forbade his servants to dispute about their charges, and ordered them rather to pay than to expostulate; and when told that the bills were unreasonable, and that they asked more than they deserved, he would reply, ‘What ought we to reckon in the account for their trouble, care, civility, and frequent disturbances at night? Certainly they cannot be too well paid.’ This good-nature of my friend was so well known, that the innkeepers were always anxious to present their bills to him rather than to his servants; or else to throw themselves on his liberality, well knowing that he would give more than they could have asked.”

Thorough love.

“We cannot deny that love is, of all mild emotions, the mildest—the very sweetener of bitterness—yet we find it compared to death and the grave; the reason of which is, that nothing is so forcible as gentleness, and nothing so gentle and so amiable as firmness.

"There was a society of holy men," said St. Francis, "who one day accosted me thus—'Oh, sir, what can we do this year? Last year we failed, and did penance thrice a week; what shall we do now? Must we not do something more, both to testify our gratitude for the blessings we have received during the last year, and also that we may make some progress in the work of God?'"

"'Very right,' I replied, 'that you should always be advancing: however, your progress will not be made by the methods you propose—of increasing your religious exercises—but by the improved heart and dispositions with which you afford them, trusting in God more and more, and watching yourselves more and more. Last year you fasted three days in each week; if you double the number of fasts this year, every day will be a day of abstinence, *and the year following what will you do?—you will be obliged to make weeks of nine days long, or else to fast each day twice over.*'"

"I do not know," said St. Francis, "how *that poor virtue, prudence*, has offended me, *but I cannot cordially like it*—I care for it *by necessity*, as being the salt and lamp of life. The beauty of simplicity charms me—*I would give a hundred serpents for one dove*. Both together, they are useful, and Scripture enjoins us to unite them; but, as in medical compounds, many drugs must be put together to form a salutary draught, so I would not place any reliance *on an equal dose*; for *the serpent might devour the inoffensive dove*. People say, that in a corrupt age like the present, prudence is absolutely requisite to prevent being deceived. *I do not blame this maxim*, but I believe it is more Christian to let ourselves be devoured, and our goods spoiled, knowing that a better and more lasting inheritance awaits us. A good Christian would rather be robbed than rob others—rather be murdered than murderer—martyred than tyrant;—in a word it is far better to be good and simple *than shrewd and mischievous.*"

"There is a strange inconsistency in the human mind, which leads men to scrutinise with severity the secrets of their fellow-creatures' souls, *which it is impossible they should ever clearly discover*; while they neglect to examine and probe into the springs of their *own conduct*, which, if they *do not*, they certainly *ought to know*. The first they are forbidden, and the second they are commanded to do.

"This reminds me of a woman remarkable for her wayward-

ness, and constant disobedience to the orders of her husband. She was drowned in a river. On hearing of it, her husband desired that the river should be dragged in search of the body ; he bid his servants go *against* the current of the stream, observing, *We have no reason to suppose that she should have lost her spirit of contradiction.*"

St. Francis gave an excellent rule, which is, that "*if an action may be considered in more lights than one, always to choose the most favorable.* If there is no apology to be found, soften the bad impression it makes, by reflecting that the intention might not have been equally blameable ; remember that the temptation might have been greater than you are aware of. Throw the odium on ignorance, carelessness, or the infirmity of human nature, to diminish the scandal."

"True devotion consists in performing duties of life" said St. Francis, who was in the habit of blaming an inconsistency very common in persons more than ordinarily devout, who frequently turn their attention to the attainment of *virtues of no use to them* in their own sphere of action, and neglect the more needful. This inconsistency he attributed to a distaste, which people often experience for the station in which Providence has placed them, and the duties they are obliged to perform. Great laxity of manner creeps into monasteries, when their inmates devote themselves to the practice of virtues fitted for secular life ; and errors are not less likely to make their way into private families, who, from a mistaken and ill-judged zeal, introduce among themselves the austerity and religious exercises of their secluded brethren.

"Some persons think they pronounce the highest eulogium in saying of a family who ought to perform the active charities of life, 'it is quite a monastery ; they live in it like monks or nuns :' not reflecting that it is trying so find *figs on thorns, or grapes on brambles.*

"Not that exercises of piety are not right and good, but then the time, the place, the persons, the situation : in short all circumstances must be duly considered. Devotion misplaced ceases to be devotion : it resembles a fish out of water, or a tree in a soil not congenial to its nature.

"He compared this error of judgment, so unreasonable and injudicious, to those lovers of luxury who feed *on strawberries at Christmas*, not contented with delicacies in their proper season. *Such heated brains require the physician's discipline rather than the cool voice of sober reason.*"

An admirable rule in self-correction for morbid or violent consciences.

"Since the degree of affection which we are commanded by God to feel for our neighbours ought to be measured by the reasonable and Christian love which we bear towards ourselves ; since charity, which is benign and patient, obliges us to correct our neighbours for their failings with great gentleness ; *it does not appear right to alter that temper in correcting ourselves, or to recover from a fault with feelings of bitter and intemperate displeasure.*"

Scale of Virtues.

"1st. *St Francis preferred the virtues most frequently called into action—the commonest ; and to exercise which, opportunities are oftenest found.*

"2ndly, He did not judge of the greatness and supernatural excellence of a virtue by an external demonstration ; forasmuch as what appears a mere trifle may proceed from an exalted sentiment of charity and great assisting grace ; while, on the contrary, great show may exist where the love of God operates but slightly, though that is the criterion by which we may judge whether or not a good work becomes acceptable to God.

"3rdly. He preferred the virtues of more general influence, rather than those more limited in their good effects (the love of God excepted). For example, he preferred prayer, as the star which gives light to every other excellence ; piety, which sanctifies all our actions to the glory of God ; humility, from which we have a lowly opinion of ourselves and our actions ; meekness, which yields to the will of others ; and patience, which teaches us to suffer all things : *rather than magnanimity, munificence, or liberality ; because they embrace fewer objects, and their influence is less generally felt on the heart and temper.*

"4thly. He was often inclined to doubt the use of dazzling qualities, because by their brilliancy they gave an opening to vain glory, the bane of all intrinsic worth.

"5thly. He blamed those who never set any value on virtues till they gained the sanction of fashion (a very bad judge of such merchandise) ; thus preferring ostensible to spiritual benevolence ; fasting, penances, corporeal austerities, to gentleness, modesty, and self-government, *which are of infinitely more value.*

"6thly. He also reproved those who would not seek to obtain any virtues which were unsuited to their inclinations, to the neglect of what their duties more particularly required, serving God as it pleased themselves, and not in the manner which he commands. So common is this error, that a great number of persons, some very devout, suffer themselves to fall into it."

We may be very regular in devotion and very wicked !

" 'Do not deceive yourself,' said my friend ; 'it is not impossible to be very devout and yet very wicked.' 'Very hypocritical,' I replied, 'and not sincerely pious.' 'No ; I speak of intentional devotion.' This enigma appearing to me inexplicable, I begged he would explain his meaning more clearly. 'Devotion of self and of nature,' he answered, 'is only a morally acquired virtue, and not a heavenly one assisted by grace ; otherwise it would be theological, which certainly it is not. It is a quality subordinate to what is termed religion ; or, as some say, it is only one of its effects, or fruits, *as religion is in itself subordinate to that one of the cardinal virtues called justice or righteousness.*

" 'You well know that all moral virtues, and also faith and hope, which are theological, may subsist with sin. They are then *without form or life, being deprived of CHARITY*, which is their substance, their soul, *and on which all their power depends.*' "

"I lamented bitterly to St. Francis of the very hard treatment which I had received. 'To any other person,' he said, 'I should apply the unction of consolation, but the consideration of your situation in life, and the sincerity of my affection for you, render any such expression of affection needless. Pity would inflame the wound you have received. *I shall, therefore, throw vinegar and salt upon it.*' [Is not this affected cruelty, and truly flattering candour, admirable?]

"You said that it required amazing and well-tried patience to bear such an insult in silence."

" 'Certainly ; yours cannot be of a very fine temperament, *since you complain so loudly.*' "

"But it is only in your friendly bosom, in the ear of your affection, that I pour out my sorrows. To whom should a child turn for compassion, but to a kind parent ?"

" 'Oh, you babe ! Is it fit, do you suppose, for one who

occupies a lofty station in the church of Christ, to encourage himself in such childishness? When I was a child, said St. Paul, I spake as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things. *The imperfect articulation, so engaging in an infant, becomes an imperfection in riper years.* Do you wish to be fed with milk and pap instead of solid food? Have you not *teeth* to masticate bread, *even the bitter bread of grief?*

“What! can you delight in bearing on your breast a golden cross, and then let your heart sink beneath the weight of slight affliction, and pour out bitter lamentations?”

We are apt to give the name of calumny to unpleasant but wholesome truths.

“Have patience with *all things*, but *chiefly* have patience with *yourself*. Do not lose courage in considering your own imperfections, but instantly set about remedying them;—*every day begin the task anew.* The best method of attaining to Christian perfection is to be aware that you have not yet reached it; but never to be weary of re-commencing. For, in the first place, *how can you patiently bear your brother's burden, if you will not bear your own?*

“Secondly. How can you reprove any one with gentleness, when you correct yourself with asperity?”

“Thirdly. Whosoever is overcome with a sense of his faults, will not be able to subdue them: correction, to answer a good end, must proceed from a tranquil and thoughtful mind.”—He means a mind made tranquil by its own consciousness of good intention, and a mild consideration of what is best.

But we apparently neglect Camus in recording the wisdom of the Saint, and so we now come down to the Bishop.

The profane romances of the seventeenth century are read with avidity and much assiduity at the present day, whilst the Christian romances that flourished at the same period with equal success are completely ignored. Laharpe, whilst writing of Gomberville and of La Calprenède never makes the slightest allusion to Camus their cotemporary, the author of so many religious romances, and who was equally celebrated at the time for *Polexandre* and *Cléopâtre*. The modern critic does not condescend to notice the Bishop of Belley. M. Saint Marc Girardin who, in his Chair at the Sorbonne, touched with so clear and delicate a hand all the interesting points of moral

literature, and M. Sainte Beuve, are almost the only writers by whom Camus is not totally forgotten. M. Sainte Beuve has in some parts sketched the countenance of the Bishop of Belley with such remarkable pliancy as to enable him to portray the character, mind, morals, and even the religion of the author he is depicting. But the part of his course where M. Saint Marc Girardin has occupied himself with Camus has not been as yet published, and in *l'Histoire de Port Royal* the Christian romance writer is merely introduced in one of those literary digressions by which a little mundane attraction is bestowed on recitals of the cloister. Thus, the Christian romances of the seventeenth century are scarcely known to us. Nevertheless, there were good reasons why this species of literature should not be thus ignored; the fecundity, Camus has written more than the most prolific of our romance writers; the success, his books were in all hands, the evidence of the time attested this fact; finally, the interest experienced,—this peculiar branch of literature undertaking to combine religion and art, imagination and faith, the subjugation of the passions by forcible and touching representations of the baneful effects of their indulgence. Besides they contained moral lessons—a pleasing medium by which instructive lectures were imparted on manner, style, ideas, and, what was far more interesting, on the religious spirit of a great age.

The life of the Bishop of Belley is very simple, far more simple than his romances. Jean-Pierre Camus, born at Paris, the 3rd of November, 1582, was remarkable at an early age for his science and for his genius, which procured for him powerful interest at court both under Louis XIII. and Henri IV. He was a protégé of Richelieu. Appointed Bishop of Belley in 1608, and content with his Bishopric, he replied, cheerfully, when offered some posts of great importance: “no, the little wife I have espoused is sufficiently beautiful for Camus;” and he thus remained at Belley. He employed himself in the reformation of unruly convents, combatting such monks as he regarded as bad spiritual directors; desirous to advance them by inspiring them with a desire to preach, to write books of religious polemics, and pious romances. He lived in the sweet intimacy of neighbourhood with his friend, the Bishop of Geneva, Saint Francis de Sales. After twenty years of labor in his Bishopric, he resigned it with the king’s approbation, and accepted the Abbey of Aulnay, in

Normandy, whither he retired. The Archbishop of Rouen, D'Harley, aware of the apostolic zeal of Camus, induced him to quit his solitude and take the management of the diocese with the title of vicar-general. He recommenced the life of labor he led at Belley, visiting the poor, comforting the sick, holding conferences, establishing missions, and very frequently preaching, himself. Finally, feeling the desire of retirement rekindling in his bosom he was anxious to retire to the Hospital for Incurables at Paris, in order to devote the remainder of his days to the service of the poor. But the King having appointed him to the Bishopric of Arras, he submitted to the decree, and was preparing to depart for his new diocese when he died, the 26th of April, 1652, at the age of 70. He was interred in the Church of the Incurables, according to his own desire.*

This is all we know of the life of Camus, a life of labor replete with works of charity and Christian zeal. A few anecdotes, however have come to our knowledge which give an insight into the character and tone of mind of this eminent man; he was quick and witty, having scarcely power to restrain his sallies. Several of his boldest and happiest sayings were treasured as souvenirs, and in which he spared neither the highest noble nor the humblest monk; the princes of the land did not pass unscathed if reprimand or rejoinder were necessary. It is recorded that whilst preaching a charity sermon at Notre Dame, before La-Bruyère,† he said, "gentlemen, I recommend to your charity a young lady who is not rich enough to make a vow of poverty."‡

On another occasion he gave utterance to the following;—perceiving that the Duke d'Orleans Gaston was seated in Church between M. d'Emery and M. de Bullion, each comptrollers of finance, he burst forth suddenly with this equivocal exclamation, as if addressing himself to our Lord Jesus Christ: "Ah! my Lord, when I see you between these two thieves. . . ." The entire assembly burst into laughter. Monsieur, who was sleeping, started from his slumber and hastily demanded what it was. "Do not disturb yourself," replied M. de Bullion promptly, and pointing to M. d'Emery, he said, "it is to us he has been speaking."§

* See Biographie Universelle.

† See La Bruyère, *Caracteres de quelques usages*.

‡ See Menagiana, t. 1, p. 182.

§ See Menagiana, t. iv, p. 155.

He made the following spirited and witty reply to Richelieu : the Cardinal having asked him what he thought of the *Prince* by Balzac and of the *Ministre* by Silhon, two new books that appeared at that time—

“The Prince is worth but little,” replied Camus, “and the Minister is worth nothing.”*

On another occasion, at Easter, he said to Gaston d’Orleans, who came to hear him preach at the Incurables, accompanied by M. Tubeuf comptroller of finances : “My Lord, I have seen you enter this city in triumph with Queen Marie de Médicis, your mother ; I have seen you condemned to death by a decree of the ministers ; I have seen you restored through the royal bounty of the king your brother, and I behold you to-day a pilgrim. Whence is this, my lord, that powerful princes are liable to such vicissitudes ? ah ! my lord, it is that they hearken but to flattery, and that truth enters their ears but in the same ratio as money into the king’s coffers : one per cent.”†

He was not at all times guarded in his language : in a sermon which he preached to the Franciscans on the festival of their patron saint, he said : “my brethren, let us admire the grandeur of your saint. His miracles surpass even those of the Son of God. Our Lord Jesus Christ fed but once in his life five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes, whilst Saint Francis nourished every day by a perpetual miracle with an ell of linen forty thousand weak souls.”‡

Of his faults he was by no means ignorant, and acknowledged them with a charming simplicity. One day Saint Francis de Sales complaining to him that his memory was defective, “You have no reason to repine at your lot,” replied Camus, “since you possess the better part, judgment. Would to God that I could bestow on you a portion of that memory which is to me so often an affliction (for so many ideas press on me at a time that I am almost suffocated either in preaching or writing) and that I had a little of your judgment ! for in that quality, I acknowledge I am very deficient.” At these words Saint Francis de Sales laughed, and embracing him tenderly said : “Verily, I am now fully impressed with your

* See Menagiana, t. iii, p. 75.

† Chevræana, p. 297.

‡ Menagiana, t. IV., p. 154.

uprightness. I never met but one before you that admitted want of judgment ; for it is an attribute of which those who possess least imagine themselves best supplied in.”*

The Saint judged his friend truly : he was a man *tout à la bonne foy*. We know that he possessed great erudition and wit, immense memory, perfect modesty, a mixture of naivete and finesse, solid piety, gaiety well timed but never excessive ; in fact, he failed only, as he himself said, in judgment.

If anything could be calculated to inspire melancholy reflections on literary vain glory, reading over the pages where Nicéron gives a catalogue of the works of Camus would be likely to do so ; they reckon one hundred and eighty-six, some of which, like *Alexis* and the *Diversités*, comprise six and eleven volumes. In this interminable list may be computed works on theology, devotion, polemic and pulpit eloquence, and a very great number of romances : *Agathonphile, Elise, Dorothee, Parthénice, Alexis, Speridion, Alcime, Palombe, Damaris, Histoire Allemande—Hyacinthe, Histoire Catalane, Régule, Histoire Belgique*, and others with far more attractive titles : *l'Amphithéâtre sanglant, the Spectacles d'horreur, the Tour des miroirs, and the Pentagone historique montrant en cinq façons autant d'accidents signalés, &c.* These works were rapidly written ; what we of the present day would style novels, such as the *Divertissements historiques, the Relations morales, &c.* were, according to Tallement, composed in one night. As to the romances so called, or as Naudé aptly terms them, the beautiful romances of M. de Belley, they were completed in fifteen days. The success was as rapid as the composition ; many of these works have had several editions. We have the testimony of various cotemporaries to substantiate this fact :† the most important of all is that of Perrault, author of the *Hommes illustres* :—

“At this period,” writes he, “romances became quite the rage ; this was partly, if not altogether, owing to the almost senseless delirium with which *l'Astrée* was read throughout all France and even in distant lands, the beauty of its style rendering it peculiarly attractive. The Bishop of Belley con-

* See Nicéron, t, XXXVI., p. 94.

† Gui Patin extols Camus in several passages. He said with his habitual irreverence : “This worthy and learned prelate, this excellent writer merited more than a Bishopric, that honor he refused more than once. He was too a great a man to be even Pope.” Gui Patin, *Lettres*, 20 Fevrier, 1665.

sidering this species of reading an obstacle to the progress of the love of God in the soul, but aware at the same time of the impossibility of detaching young persons from an amusement so agreeable, and conformable to the inclinations of their age, conceived the idea of counteracting an evil likely to prove so fatal, by wielding, himself, the same weapons, and composed histories in which even the love adventures with which they were embellished, were interwoven so adroitly with sentiments of piety as to lead the heart insensibly to God ; for uniformly either of the lovers, or it may be both, having considered how vain and futile were the pleasures of this world, what peril they had to encounter from the wickedness of mankind and the customs even of the age in attaining salvation, formed the resolution of devoting themselves entirely to God's service by abandoning the world and embracing a religious life. This was the happy artifice by which that ardent charity, which rendered him all to all, enabled him to invent such useful and attractive works ; for his books were in every body's hands ; and as they were replete not alone with very pleasing incidents, but contained many sound and useful maxims for ordinary life, they bore good fruit, and formed a species of counter-poison to the hitherto baneful reading of profane romances."*

This passage is curious. It not only attests the universal success of the writer, but points out the object he had in view. Camus wrestled with the dangerous influence of profane books over the human mind ; he waged war on romances, and by the use of his opponent's weapons gained a complete victory and, according to M. Sainte Beuve, became a Christian d'Urfé. But Perrault has not altogether defined the whole aim of the Bishop. Christian romances were in his hands an instrument of spiritual guidance. It is interesting to observe how he was induced to write such a vast number of works, and how far they were useful to him in governing souls.

Romance formed in his hand a powerful auxiliary, being not only a solace for the leisure hour, and a diversion from the cares of business, but an influence. Some of the more serious scoffed at the ascendancy which those heroes of imaginary adventures held over the minds of the people ; this was an error in human nature, and, under the pretext of philosophic gravity,

* For an account of these Romances, see IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. VI., No. XXIV., Art. "Odd Phases in Literature."

betrayed a very small amount of clear-sightedness. Our age, which accuses itself so readily of dogmatism, permits itself to be guided by fiction like a child. If *Peau d'Ane* were told it, it would do as La Fontaine. It is sceptical, it believes in nothing, yet it has for a long time believed in Romance. It possesses no more emotion though it has been smitten for twenty years with René and Werther; it is like old men who are at the same time undeceived and credulous. This is all natural, imagination has formed a great portion of man's life, it is Romance that has made him thus.

History does not suffice for the improvement of mankind; all may find in it 'tis true, useful lessons and a salutary experience. But it is only men who play a prominent part in the world, who can recognize themselves in the personages thus placed before them; man seeks himself, says Thomas à Kempis, *Homo querit se*. We desire to see ourselves represented everywhere; our lives, our affections, our sentiments, our virtues and our vices; history only occupies itself with the men and the passions that have contributed to the events they treat of. Romance embraces all the passions, and portrays every body, it does not stop at public life, it descends even to the most private. It is not necessary for its purpose that the hero should have fulfilled certain duties, played a part, gained renown, it suffices that he lived. History, with its limits and its errors, is frequently but the romance of a few, whilst romance is the history of all.

One of the most refined and learned men of the seventeenth century, Saint Francis de Sales, well understood the influence of romances, of which he had under his eyes so brilliant an example. He was, according to Camus, the friend of Honoré d'Urfé. "I have made in writing *l'Astrée* a breviary for Courtiers," said he to M. de Genève, and in fact *Astrée* reigned at court. The Frondeurs took the names of its heroes, and as late as 1671, an ambassador from France to the Court of Sweden, M. de Pomponne, signed his letters under the soubriquet of Célidamant. Saint Francis de Sales read d'Urfé, as Mascaron read *Clelie*, making it his Autumnal occupation. The idea of employing romance in the service of religion, was approved of, and, it may be suggested, by Saint Francis de Sales. It appears strange that so learned a director, whose spiritual letters attest such a profound knowledge of the government of souls, should have believed in the efficiency of such means. The vast amount of success attained by profane romances, and the earnest de-

sire he had to see it combatted by arms equally powerful, rendered the illusion doubtless more easy. Huet, in his letters to Mlle. de Scudéri on Honoré d'Urfé, writes of him thus :—

“ M. D'Urfé finding himself the diocesan of M. de Belley, by the situation of his marquisate, being only three leagues distant from the city of Belley, went from time to time to visit his bishop. He met there one day Saint Francis de Sales, with whom he had been in friendship for a long time, and also the learned Antoine Fabre, first president of Schambéry. M. de Belley relates a reflection made by M. D'Urfé on the *Philothea* of the saint on the *Code Fabrien* of the president, and on his own *Astrée*, saying that each of them had labored for eternity by works that would never perish ; that *Philothea* was the book of the religious, the *Code Fabrien* the book of lawyers, and *Astrée* the breviary of courtiers.” It is difficult, after this passage to regard Saint Francis de Sales as an enemy to romances. In the book where Camus has sought to re-produce the ideas of his master, in the *Grand traité de l'esprit du Bienheureux Saint François de Sales*; Camus bestows, according to Huet, “ so high an eulogium on *l'Astrée* that it appeared as if his appreciation of it went beyond his power of expression,” and he spoke in the name of the Bishop of Geneva. Beside he submitted his books to the judgment of Saint Francis. In several passage, especially in his instruction to the readers of *Parthénice*, he alludes to this exalted and holy personage exciting his friends to follow his example.* His reverence of him was so profound that he would have relinquished writing had it been condemned by him whom he styled his father.

Whilst they sailed “on the beautiful lake by which the wall of Annecy was washed, or walked in the gardens bordering its charming banks,”† when the Bishop of Geneva came to visit Belley, Camus communicated to him some of the pages that he afterwards read, so simply, to the religious of Port-Royal ; and if he thought he observed the saint smile at certain passages too boldly romantic, he could also perceive an appreciation of taste in the style notwithstanding its exaggeration of peculiar qualities, and peculiar faults. It is unquestionable, however, that Camus endea-

* See p. 731.

† Camus, *Esprit de Saint François de Sales*, partie iv. chap xxvi.

voured by the aid of romance to guide souls, whilst by the same means he enlightened and amused the mind. In his very curious book, *Le Directeur Désintéressé*, he recommends directors to inspect, as far as they could, all the intercourse, conversations, and above all the reading of their penitents. "Enjoin good reading," said he, "and preserve them from bad, with as much earnestness as the blessed Francis de Sales employs in protecting them from bad friendships in his *Philothea*;" and he dwells unceasingly on the advantages of good reading as a means of spiritual guidance.

Proper direction was truly the paramount object of the Bishop of Belley's life. At the period when he was sent into his diocese, this province of guiding the people was altogether in the hands of the religious orders, by some of whom it was abused. He waged an obstinate war against the monks of all orders, for the purpose of removing it from them, and placing it in better hands. In this, he merely accorded with Saint Francis de Sales, who said: "Those religious directors have contributed to remove holy liberty of soul."*

Camus adds:—

"The saintly author of *Philothea* found that secular directors possessed a great advantage over monks. The monks complained always of their poverty and sought means of enriching the community. They praised alms-giving in order to obtain money. O! that fine sentiment of Saint Augustin, dilating on this passage of the psalmist. In the Cedars of Libanus which the just have planted, the sparrows build their nests. 'Those who planted the Cedars,' said St. Augustin, 'were the rich and powerful of the earth; they bestowed them on the servants of God; who collected the sparrows in order that they might nestle there.' (We recognise here the gaiety and equivocal taste of the good bishop) Thus they refused nothing in order that they might not be refused. They are complainant because by their complaisance they acquire influence and profit; they are sweet to women, because they make use of them as solicitors, they employ them in obtaining grand and princely benefices, dignities, prelacies. They would conduct you through the vallies of humility by which they will not pass themselves; they traverse the mountain tops, and are borne on the wings of the wind."†

* I. Œuvres, t. XI, p. 120.

† See *Le Directeur Désintéressé*, p. 158 and following.

This was the true cause of the war undertaken by Camus against the monks, who, enraged at the onslaught, interceded with Cardinal Richelieu to impose silence on Camus. Nicéron relates that in a conversation with him, Richelieu, insisting that he should leave the monks in peace, said: "I have no fault with you but this furious engagement with them. Were it not for that, I would canonize you."—"Would to God," immediately replied M. de Belley, "that that should come to pass! we should each then have had our wish: you would be pope and I would be a saint."*

The interposition of Richelieu was unavailing. Camus continued the war. The wittiest and most cutting portraits of the Director issued from his pen.

"The disinterested director does not embarrass himself in the spider webs of worldly affairs, denominated, according to the usage of the present time, intrigues. As this tissue impedes the labor of the bees, in like manner secular turmoil interferes with grace, it is for this reason that the apostle altogether prohibits any one who is consecrated to God from meddling in such matters. . . . If Saint Ambrose, that grand luminary of the Church, never wished to give his opinion regarding marriage, war, or its negotiations, to what purpose should a director, like another Martha, embroil himself in counsels regarding household affairs, rents, business, selling and buying, intermeddling in all, under the garb of charity, and often thereby smearing the wings of his desires, as Saint Augustine has said. I cannot tell, above all, how matters of conscience can be resolved, when doubtful, and calculated to trouble the repose of scrupulous souls; the sun passes over the mire, but does not penetrate it with its rays. I speak only of those who meddle in the temporal affairs of persons who consult them on spiritual matters, named, by Saint Paul, overthrowers of houses and disturbers of families. They are always making inquisitive and useless enquiries relative to the revenues and arrangement of the house, wishing to know what expenses have been incurred, what has been spared, what titles they enjoy, their seignory and possessions, what train, and table, how dear, whether alms have been distributed, and how frequent, what are their inclinations, desigus and what benefices they hold. Finally, these interrogatories are put with such cunning and subtlety that they are un-

* See Nicéron, t. xxxvi, p. 93.

noticed, and no one perceives they have told anything, till all is found out. If the master is reserved the wife has more tongue, if the father and mother say nothing, the children will speak, or else the servants; in fine, there is no concealment from these masters of enquiry, who, with time, patience and address acquire every information, which they make subservient to their own interests."*

This portrait is given with peculiar energy. If Camus has been found in some parts wanting in caution or taste, it is necessary to remember that the language used in religious polemics, and even in sermons, was far from being formed, that the simplest rules of courtesy seemed to be unknown; in fine, that the object of the struggle—direction—was of such paramount importance as to carry all engaged in the controversy beyond all bounds. Camus was the contemporary of the famous Petit Père André, born as he was in 1582; he died in 1657, five years later than de Belley. Père André, whilst speaking of direction, used language still more disrespectful,†

We shall now see the mode of direction by which the Bishop of Belley desired to replace the system direction which he attacked, and in what manner he made Christian romance conducive to that end.

There were three modes of direction: one which, for the better subjugation of the passions, destroyed them, and, under the pretext of governing the soul, killed it: *Ubi solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant*; those who, according to Bossuet,‡ “were faint-hearted, who bore hell about them, wearing a species of gloomy arrogance and affecting a pompous singularity of manner, making virtue too burthensome, the Gospel extreme, and Christianity impossible:” such as the Jansenists, in a word.

* See *Le Directeur Désintéressé*, p. 317.

† We have here a specimen of his strange preaching:—

“Christianity is like a great salad. The nations are the herbs; the salt, doctors, *vos estis sal terræ*; the vinegar macerations, and the oil, the good fathers the Jesuits. There is nothing sweeter than a good Jesuit? Go to confession to any other, he will tell you that you will be damned if you continue as you are. A Jesuit will soften all. With regard to oil, if the smallest portion falls on your dress, it will extend insensibly till it becomes a great stain. Put a good father Jesuit in a province and it will be soon filled.” (l’allement, t. vi, p. 52).

‡ *Oraison funèbre de Nicolas Cornet*.

There was another which, though undertaking the government of the passions, was employed only for the purpose of yielding to them, like the blind man who appears to be conducting the dog because he holds him in leash, whilst the dog in reality leads him. From this system proceeded sweetness, toleration, secret connivance, "this inhuman complaisance and false piety so deadly fatal to the sinner," as Bossuet again so admirably expresses it, those capitulations of conscience which Pascal has so eloquently branded under the name of easy devotion.

Finally, the only wise mode of direction is moderation, which confines itself to subdue the passions without killing the soul; inflexible to evil, indulgent to weakness,—which is at once severe and benevolent, giving to the world that which pertains to it, whilst robbing God of none of his glory; such in a word, was the direction of Bossuet.

We must state, however, that Saint Francis de Sales' method deviated sometimes from this; he did not go so far as connivance or capitulation, he remained on the declivity; but it was necessary to meet a mind as tractable, and a conscience as pure as his own not to slip; it should be upright yet subtle, very rare qualities. He possessed neither that complaisance attributed to the Jesuits, nor the severe integrity of Bossuet. In a peculiarly attractive style, sweet and benevolent, as the countenance of the Saint, he granted indulgence to worldly affection. With him the Gospel is replete with infinite mercy, and Jesus is the Lamb. The *Introduction to a Devout Life* lays down general rules for conduct. The *Spiritual Letters* resolve particular cases. From these we can learn, how the strictest conscience without ceasing to be holy, can evince a degree of flexibility in the application of rules laid down by themselves, and how imperceptible are the degrees which separate the particular from the general. Two charming passages mark the spirit of this amiable direction, proving, most plainly how calmly and quietly worldly duties can be combined with the true observance of religion. He says to *Philothea*: "neglect not your worldly affairs; perform them in the same manner as a little child who holds her father with one hand, whilst with the other she gathers ripe strawberries from the hedges. In the same manner can you gather and use the goods of this world with one hand, holding always your Heavenly Father by the other; you will thus return to him from time to time to see if your household duties are pleasing

to him."* In his *Spiritual Letters*, he wrote: "When we were children with what eagerness did we not collect little bits of wood, of rags and even mud in order to build houses and toy castles? and if any one pulled them down, we were troubled, and we wept; we now know of what little importance they were. One day we shall make the same reflection in Heaven, where we will see that our affection for the world was but true childishness. I do not wish to impede the care which ought to be bestowed on those little bubbles and trifles; for God has assigned them in this world as an exercise, but I would destroy the ardour and excessiveness of that care. We may act childishly while we are children, but we should not now lose our time thus, and if any one pulls down our toy houses or interferes with our petty designs, we should not annoy ourselves too much, for thus, when evening comes, and they must be laid aside, we can say calmly to Death—behold! all these little fabrics with which we were so occupied are now of no avail. Thus, gather with one hand the strawberries in the wood, provided that your hold with the other your Heavenly Father; build your toy houses on condition that, when the evening comes, you will be ready to leave them."† Such guidance by its very sweetness alone, would be calculated to gain altogether the Christian soul.

We can now understand the words of Camus, when speaking of his friend: "He was a great fisher of souls! how many of them has he taken in his sweet nets?" To this species of direction so tolerant as to the things of this world, romance formed a powerful auxiliary. It is necessary that we should act childishly, since we are children, said the Saint. Perhaps some will suppose, that with his unrestrained gaiety, unbounded memory, his freedom carried almost to crudeness and his out-speaking bordering on *mauvais ton*, Camus was not the description of writer calculated to agree with Saint Francis de Sales. They are in error who think thus. "It is not necessary," wrote he to a lady, "to cavil on the exercise of the virtues; but we must practice them sincerely, frankly, simply, freely and honestly, *grossa modo*. This is the reason why I hate a constrained and gloomy spirit; no, my dear child

* Introduction à la vie dévote, partie III, chap. X.

† See *Lettres Spirituelles*, t. 1, p. 420.

I wish you to possess a noble and great heart, whilst walking in the footsteps of our dear Lord."*

To go forward sincerely, honestly, *grosso modo*—who has better proved this principle than the Bishop of Belley? His straightforwardness and gaiety were to him the means of infinite success; he was, according to the just remark of M. Sainte-Beuve, one of those who pleased ordinary people as well as great philosophers. He attracted the caustic circle of Naudé and of Gui Patin, equally with the vulgèr populâce. "M. d'Urfé," said he, varying the words we have quoted farther back, "has written a breviary for Courtiers, M. de Sales one for the perfect Christian; as for me, I have written several works, which, if you will, might be designated, *le bréviare des halles*, but which, nevertheless, have pleased the public, and sell well."†

We are now conversant with the man and his object. Let us endeavour to judge of his works. The romances of the seventeenth century, "comprised a recital of imaginary histories, and love adventures, written in prose for the amusement and instruction of the reader." This is an incomplete definition, without doubt; they did not model themselves, as M. Villemain has so tritely observed in his excellent *Essai sur les Romans Grecs* either on *Don Quichote*, *Gil Blas*, nor on the *Puritains d'Ecosse*, but the seventeenth century had its own peculiar romances. This was the definition given by Huet, Bishop of Avranches. The principal subject, and almost the only one, of the romances of the seventeenth century was love. The Bishop of Belley had neither to fear public opinion, nor to be alarmed at the contrast which the nature of these recitals seemed to offer to his episcopal character; such scruples were not in existence at this period, when a Cardinal wrote for the theatre. Later still, Huet wrote a preface for the romances of Madame de la Fayette; finally Camus had under his eyes at the same time, an excuse and a model. The Greek romances were very widely spread; Amyot had translated Longus; d'Urfé had inserted in *l'Astrée* imitations of Heliodorus, which Huet highly extolled; Camus read much the author of *Théagène* and *Chariclée*, so beloved by Racine; he quoted them and eulogised them,‡ and, as we know, Heliodorus was his predecessor in the

* *Lettres Spirituelles*; à une dame Veuve.

† See Cizeron—Rival, *Récréations littéraires* cited by Sainte-Beuve, t. i., p. 245.

‡ See Preface to *Dorothee*.

episcopacy as well as in romance. Camus had thus found Christian romances invented; it was useless for him to seek to outstrip the middle ages, and Gautier de Coincy, who had been in direct contact with the Greek writers, he borrowed their style, he regenerated it. From him has sprung the true Christian romance; it has been modelled on the primeval type.

From this prototype, there remained unfortunately many traits in the copy. In re-modelling the Greek romances, Camus had no resource but to eschew those unfortunate trivialities and vain descriptions which have been pointed out by M. Villemain. The brigands and pirates have been replaced by Spanish and Italian cavaliers. Doubtless there might still be found children carried forcibly away, unforeseen recognitions, impossible parents, but in the midst of innumerable episodes and limitless digressions, some true ideas burst forth brilliantly, descriptive of remarkable characters; in fine, a language eloquent in its passion, and interesting, even when false, because it accorded with the spirit of the age.

We have distinguished the romances properly so called from the novels of M. de Belley. The novels *l'Amphithéâtre sanglant*, the *Spectacles d'horreur*, &c., are in general as sombre as their titles. The good Bishop of Belley, by one of these contradictions so frequent in persons of his taste and disposition, rejoiced only in strokes of the poignard, murders, poisoning, &c. (*Poisoning* was then a feminine attribute). There is not a single one of these histories in which may not be discovered a striking similarity to the French melo-drama and romances of the modern time. This atrocity is besides conformable to his literary theory and his moral views. "Amongst the examples which most forcibly impressed the mind, it must be acknowledged that the blackest characters were frequently of the greatest use, and the worst actions often formed the most salutary examples."*

This theory could be pushed very far. Camus is evidently here the head of this school of romance writing. The plot and personages of his novels are too uniform. His usual fore-ground figures are a young man and young girl who love each other, a cruel father refuses his consent, a friend by whom they are deceived, and who pays the price of his treachery by being

* See Preface to the *Rencontres funestes ou Fortunes infortunées de notre temps*.

killed in a duel; the young girl retires to a convent, her lover expires with grief, and the father dies in chagrin, regretting his obstinacy which has been the cause of all the evil. We find in every page balconies, ladders of silk, spies, knives, poignards, and poisons very superior to the very famous poison of Borgia. The natural theatres of these histories are Spain and Italy. A Spain and Italy like those of M. de Musset, where there is neither government nor police; a suitable country for poets and romance writers, where the people are under no civil control, and disappear without the cognizance of the municipalities; where they are killed in open day and in the broad sunlight, without a remark. His men he has designated *Amilcar, Eumolpe, Odoric, Licogène*; the women *Solvage, Arzille, Serpille, Armille, Périnte*. The titles are fearful: they are *l'Amante désespérée le Désespoir paternel, la mort d'un libertin, le Juge incontinent, les Affections incestueuses, le Malheureux Concubinage*, for the Bishop of Belley spoke sometimes like M. Gorgibus.

These titles would suffice, it may be, to render the moral tone of the novels suspicious. The sensibility of Camus hindered their being as moral as might be wished; for when his heroes were unfortunate, he betrayed emotion, and their misfortunes often caused him to forget their faults. *Mainfroy* the lover of *Solvage*, fights with *Galdon* his rival, wounds him, and is condemned to death. *Solvage* pays a soldier to kill *Galdon*, acknowledges her crime and dies with *Mainfroy*. There is nothing very edifying in this, yet Camus weeps at their fate. "This judge spectacle," said he, "filled the beholders with pity, and we cannot find words to express the firmness and constancy with which these two generous lovers ended their days. The judge, even, this man so accustomed to death, and without whom the sword of justice would be pointless, he the judge wept."

Camus, however, dreams of a moral, and adds, by way of reflection:—"When these two wild horses, Love and Despair, are attached to the chariot of the heart, whither will they drag it but down the precipice?"

On another occasion the moral is altogether false. *Ciriace* marries against the consent of his mother, *Armille*. She, in

* See *Rencontres funestes*, p. 25.

the absence of *Ciriac*, strangles, whilst they are sleeping, her daughter-in-law and her little children; then, whilst sustaining a siege in her own chateau, she leaped from the window and killed herself. "Dreadful catastrophe," wrote Camus, "proving how dangerous it is for children to marry without the consent of their parents!"

His romances assumed a greater interest; they were very long; this was inconvenient, but the taste of the times required it. The process of the composition was uniform. Camus chose for his subject a virtue, conjugal love, virginity, pure love, and he tested them with all their proofs. It is a logical design, and conformable to the Christian idea, that life is a combat. These proofs he never failed to turn to the glory of virtue and the overthrow of the evil one, for human obstacles did not suffice Camus in order to show forth merit; he exposed it to the temptations of the devil. *Parthenice*, the unconquerable virgin, wrestled for two hours against a bear and a wild-cat, which were simply two lovers who were thus transformed by the demon. This was the strangeness of an age at once devout and superstitious. But in the midst of all the dangers the heroes were never totally abandoned to themselves. One of these unmoveable personages so useful in guiding a romance, (it was the director) who, under the guise of a hermit, was always found at hand ready to exorcise Satan and come to the assistance of weakened virtue. It was *Father Ludovic*, *Brother Onuphre*, or *Palmelio*. Sometimes under these names, real characters were painted, and Camus pictured his friend St. Francis de Sales.* And it must be honestly admitted that these holy personages were singularly exposed by the ordeals that this pious writer obliged them to pass through. *Parthenice* is a young girl who refuses a great number of offers of marriage, in order to become the spouse of Jesus Christ. Innumerable obstacles oppose themselves to her entering a convent. A crowd of pretenders pursue her notwithstanding her refusals, and her chastity is every instant imperiled. Finally, in order the better to secure flight, she disguises herself as a

* "Palmelio," wrote he, "guides us to God's royal kingdom, with a rod as flourishing and full of sweet fruits of honour and suavity as that of Aaron. His conversation is angelic, his purity celestial." In these sweet fruits of honour and suavity, who would not recognise the saint. *Parthenice*, p. 333.

man, but as she was excessively beautiful, she is threatened with equal danger now by the women. One night in an inn, *Parthenice* called to her brother with loud cries. During her sleep a courtesan, not aware of her disguise, slipped into the room. The woman laughed at the fright she had given *Parthenice*; "They err," said she, "who think that men can be taken by force!" Thus we see how far the desire of portraying virtue in his day carried the Bishop of Belley. We must, however, admire his simplicity, for he wrote: "It is necessary to shun indelicate representations and to skim lightly over vices, lest, desiring to insist on their condemnation, it should happen that we act contrary to this design, and that the description necessary to be given, in order to portray their turpitude, may not leave an impress on weak souls, more attractive to the sinner, than beneficial in withdrawing him from the evil."*

Excellent lesson, but strange logic; but what rendered these eternal digressions, and the innumerable episodes more tolerable for his contemporaries, was that instead of being fictions, they were often true histories, which had happened even in the time of Camus, and where he merely changed the names. He has apprised us of this in several of his prefaces. There are four or five of these incidents recorded in the *rencontres* where the honour of *Parthenice* was assailed. We leave the good bishop to felicitate himself on his address; we sometimes, however, discover the true history under the semblance of fiction, and it is then our interest is awakened. We know for example, where, amongst the casualties by which the honour of *Parthenice* was assailed, Camus took the adventure of the Inn and the Courtesan. It was a true story, and what renders it more piquant still was, that the incident occurred to Saint Francis de Sales in his youth, who, doubtless had related it to him, some fine day in the intimacy of their walks at Annecy. In the curious life of the saint, given by le Père La Rivière, he states "that at the age of twenty the young Francis was exceedingly beautiful, being of majestic stature, and possessing a most attractive countenance; his manner was peculiarly gracious, combining sweetness with dignity; and though he had nothing of the reverend about him, he was nevertheless so pure, so modest, that no one ever heard

* He has repeated this precept in *Palombe*, and in the same terms.

him say a word, or do the slightest act that could be construed into a breach of decorum. The Devil suggested to some young gentlemen, who were also students like himself at Padua, the same mode of testing his virtue as *Parthenice* had been tried by, and for that purpose had concealed in his chamber one of those detestable creatures, so falsely designated *filles de joie*, but Satan did not triumph, he spat in her face, and the young men who witnessed the scene were dazzled with the brilliancy of such rare virtue."

Saint Francis de Sales thus portrayed under the feigned title of *Parthenice* is, according to Camus a very useful lesson "which tends also to embellish the history." If, thanks to biographies and memoirs, the dexterity of the romancer was always as transparent, these episodes would possess for us a species of interest equal to that experienced by cotemporaries. It is to be regretted that Patin has not thrown the same light on the romances of the Bishop of Belley, as, at the solicitation of Huet, he has bestowed on *L'Astrée*; they would thus become for us a treasure of historical anecdote, and an allegorical chronicle of the time. Lacking this anecdotal interest, they present a species of interest far more serious, that which attaches itself to the portrayal of passion and character. Viewing them from this point, they form curious monuments of the order of mind, imagination and manners of the ages. The passion which predominates through all these works is that of love being considered capable of awaking the deepest interest in the human breast, and one best suited to romances as bestowing on the incidents a peculiar charm, particularly to women, in whose existence it holds the first place. Thus almost all the romances of Camus are histories of women and love, all sorts of love, love of God, and of the creature, pure love and sensual love. These different species of affection are combined in such a way as to render sensual love first subdued by pure love, then pure love by divine. It is this gradation of victories, which according to Perrault led the heroes into cloisters. This pure love, was the platonic love spoken of in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and which D'Urfé had already admirably defined in *L'Astrée* where may be found the true origin of this idealism in the expression of love which, from that period, has been perpetuated to us.

Camus, the cotemporary and friend of d'Urfé, could not escape this platonic influence. He also, like D'Urfé, painted interminable portraits of pure love, only less elegant, less delicate

than d'Urfé. It sometimes, however, happened that he was spiritual in sentiment though coarse in expression; a strange and piquant contrast prevalent amongst certain writers of the time. This fault was attributable to the imperfection of the language, and unformed taste, rather than to corruption of mind, which bore no part in this strange anomaly. We must not forget that in matters of propriety of language, there are no more correct judges than cotemporaries; when they feel no wound, no harm has been sustained. Language should never be subjected to that species of retrospective chastisement which condemns in the past that which is merely inexcusable in the present. We could not exist if our fathers had been as refined as we are. Camus, we may think, frequently violated decency, but it is the decency of our time, and not of his, that was outraged, and to reproach him for such faults would be not only an injustice but an anachronism.

Another mode of destroying pure love was by exaggerating its purity, in which Camus never failed. His heroes were possessed of such virginal sensibility, that the result of this spirituality in virtue, notwithstanding his good intentions, exposed him occasionally to ridicule. Nevertheless Camus possessed a serious advantage over the author of *l'Astrée*; he did not study passion merely in the world, or in books; its knowledge was revealed to him in a way that precluded all possibility of its falsity. He had directed consciences, and from those secret confidences murmured in the silence of the confessional he acquired that knowledge of the human soul, with which no worldly experience could compete. Thus it frequently happened, notwithstanding his defects, that there was a truthfulness both in his sentiments and his characters which d'Urfé never could attain.

One of his most remarkable romances is *Palombe, ou la Femme honorable*, Paris, 1624. We have described in it the virtuous wife, performing her duties, and ruling her conduct in the midst of the trials of life. This is not alone the work of a romance writer, but the guide book of a director. With much good sense, Camus has taken his heroine not from a convent, but from the midst of the world, from the domestic fireside, and the virtue of which it is a record is that most ennobling to a true woman: namely, conjugal love. According to his usual custom, he gives various proofs of *Palombe's*

virtue. The subject of the romance is, however, as follows. *Count Fulgent* falls desperately in love with a young girl named *Palombe* and espouses her. Scarcely has he been married, when he conceives a passion for another woman, *Glaphire*, and finds the means of bringing her, with her mother and brother, into his house. For a long time he dissembles his passion; it, however, at length breaks forth. *Palombe* does not for a single instant despair of reclaiming her husband; she offers no opposition to his indifference, to his outrages, but patience, resignation, dignity; she writes to him, he will not read her letters, and is ennuyed even at receiving them; he takes them up one day, merely for the purpose of returning them. His curiosity is suddenly awakened, he opens one, then two, finally he reads all, and touched by the tenderness, the eloquence of his wife, becomes ashamed of himself: he bestows *Glaphire* in marriage, and returns to his *Palombe* for the remainder of his life.

It is this work of Camus, more interesting, more truly moral than all the others, which portrays the true spirit of the Christian romances of the seventeenth century. The good Bishop is not at all times ingenious in arranging his plot; in the difficult cases wherein *Palombe* is placed, characters are too transparent; he shews forth the conformity of their actions and characters with the satisfaction of an author who has created those virtues by his own cleverness. However, he has at times a refined and prudent manner of painting the most delicate situations which might be easily taken for good taste; for example, in the scene where *Fulgent* declares himself to *Glaphire*. The reader awaits with impatient curiosity to know how a bishop will treat this subject, leading to a declaration of love; the bishop treats it with a candour, which without forethought or even consciousness, qualifies him for the task; it was not the writer's taste that saved him from this danger. Camus had very little taste, it was the reserve of the priest, the piety of the Christian.

There are to be found, from time to time, in *Palombe*, some artless representations, full of grace, which recall certain charming passages of Saint Francis de Sales; for example, speaking of two novices lately brought to the convent: "Like to these partridges of the Alps," wrote Camus, "which change their grey color to white, in consequence of looking at, and walking in the snow; thus, by degrees, Jesus Christ, the love

of the cross, and the desire of serving God by a life of greater perfection, will be implanted and engraven on the minds of these maidens, by the example they will have in the virtuous lives of the holy religious." We have here one of those familiar and pleasing comparisons which in every page embellish the *Introduction à la vie devote*.

But the principal merit of *Palombe* lies in the characters. There are two singularly remarkable: the husband and wife. The ennui of satisfied passion, the uneasiness of a heart which is wearied, not alone in loving but in being loved, and which sighs after independence; finally this lassitude of enjoyment, so frequently depicted in our own days, has been described by Camus with great power.

We find in this romance of the seventeenth century paradoxes against marriage, which we have seen, in certain romances of our own time, taken for eloquent novelties. Sophisms repeated for years became at least popular beliefs. *Fulgent* had nothing with which to reproach his wife, but he was beforehand in inventing the sentence attributed to Richardson in designating *Clarissa* "A monster of perfection."

Nothing can be more curious than his conversations with his friend *Cléobule*. He commences by a dialogue on love in the style of Plato. *Fulgent*, after eulogising love like one of the speakers in Plato's *Banquet*, adds—"If you have loved, *Cléobule*, you can comprehend what I have said to you; if not, I have spoken to a man to whom my meaning must be wholly unintelligible." "I have loved," answered *Cléobule*, "but, thanks to heaven, I have not loved blindly; I am at that age to which this pleasing malady seems inevitable and almost necessary; but I have not allowed it to become a madness. I conceive it necessary to indulge this feeling, as you would partake of honey, moderately. Enjoyed in moderation it enlivens the soul, bestowing on it an agreeable warmth which is not without brilliance; it is this, according to Plato, which is the source of honour, grace, politeness, and every virtue; but when carried to excess it becomes a madness; prudence, courtesy, goodbreeding, decorum, are all lost, and nothing remains in the soul but brutality, violence, and injustice. I have loved, though not according to all the sophisms of this ancient, as some of his counsels are repugnant to that frankness and sincerity which are the characteristics of true

love ; but I have loved with honor and discretion, without losing the respect and reverence which we ought to entertain for the person beloved." " Ah ! I see how it is," replied the Count, " you love philosophically, and would, it seems, retain your self-possession, even whilst in submission to the will and service of a lady ; you desire at the same time to be master and slave, incompatible things : those who love with so much moderation are near akin to those who do not love at all. Love wisely ! as much as to say, burn coldly, or freeze warmly ; contraries which apply equally to the subject." " Honorable love," replied *Cléobule*, " has not a bandage over its eyes, like dishonest love, yet it possesses equally with the other its torch, its bow, its arrows, and its quiver ; it has the quickest and most penetrating sight, foreseeing the end from the commencement ; it consults and considers before entering into an engagement, and as wax gives life to the flambeau, so does virtue give life and durability to this affection, in whose pure and celestial flame there is neither smoke nor darkness. Bad and false love produces only sighs, groans, melancholy, and despair ; whilst the good and true are sweet, equal, gracious, amiable, patient, courteous ; the graces are their associates, laughter, true joy, without shame, without fear of disgrace or remorse of conscience." After these general definitions, *Fulgent* comes to bestow confidences. *Cléobule* asks him the reason of his coldness towards *Polombe*. " I acknowledge," said the Count, " that my wife is extremely virtuous, that she loves me tenderly, that she takes extreme care both of me and my house, that, though of a very tender age, she is possessed of a very matured mind, that she is rich, noble, beautiful, desirable, sweet, modest, that she might in truth be taken as a model for honorable women ; but, after all, she is my wife. . . . " And he added, " I love her, because duty obliges me to it ; but nothing has such an effect in quenching love as duty. . . . Marriage is so grave a step that love seems banished from so serious a negotiation. . . . The mere name of yoke is torture to a generous heart. . . . When I think of the links that bind me, I cannot love my prison, however golden : a gift so grand as liberty is only known by its loss." *Cléobule* replied to him with much good sense : " Oh ! how many are there in the world who would wish to be prisoners in that way, and have their sad liberty

changed for your happy bondage !” But *Fulgent* was not conquered ; he had at his disposal all the arguments of the used-up lovers and bad husbands of the modern school. One could believe that Camus had foreseen the theory of such unparalleled mortals, who seek all in the world, and die of ennui from the satiety which its pleasures bestow, persons who place no control either over themselves or their passions ?

Another character equally well conceived and still more interesting, is that of *Palombe*. In the midst of episodes sometimes vulgar which interrupt the recitals, he springs forth with a brilliancy of dignity and moral purity singularly attractive to the reader. It is truly the character of a noble woman, invincibly attached to duty, faithful in her affection to her husband notwithstanding all his faults ; elevated by her unalterable devotion almost to heroism. *Palombe* speaks of her rival without bitterness. With infinite delicacy she seeks even in her beauty an excuse for the guilty passion of her husband. Camus in some parts of his romance has preceded Corneille, and has united in *Palombe* some traits of the ideal heroism of *Pauline* and of *Polyeucte*. The martyr just dying was desirous of bequeathing *Pauline* to *Sévère* ; he knew their love and their virtue. *Palombe* sometimes wished to die and bequeath to her husband the woman he loved. Her letters, if stripped of the useless images, the incorrect taste, and misplaced erudition, have a tone of the truest and simplest eloquence. *Palombe* has discovered the secret of her husband’s guilt, by overhearing him in an arbour : “God is best pleased” wrote she to him, “that in silence and solitude I should accuse you, for what you have yourself betrayed. That which I heard shall never escape my lips. Your conduct has declared your passion, whilst you are boasting of the victory you have gained alike over my respect and patience. Had I betrayed resentment, would not my fault have been deserving not alone of pardon but of praise ? It would be necessary to go forth from the midst of this world to find a woman to endure such a wrong with so much circumspection, and perhaps Heaven will punish me for the connivance I have seemingly given to your crime ; an outrage, which it is not just to commit, it is not honorable to endure.” And farther on she says : “In the main, my fault consists in loving you too much ; though aware that another has robbed me of that heart which was justly mine,

have I ever shewn an unkind countenance or spoken a bitter word? I considered that it would be unreasonable of me to feel irritated against her for your crime. How could I hate her innocence, since I felt no aversion to you who offended me? See how far the indulgence of my love leads me; I seek in her beauty excuses for your fault. Be restored then to your reason, dear *Fulgent*, and you will return to me readily. There are secret and invisible links by which our souls are still united, but you do not perceive them, because you are not yet yourself. If once you could regain your judgment, I would not relinquish the hope of regaining your affection; and then this beautiful spring would soon enable me to forget the rude winter I have experienced, and the excess of my joy would far surpass the wildest dream of my hopes. O my God, restore me my *Fulgent*! or rather, in restoring me him, restore me to myself!"

Rarely had the seventeenth century, even after its language had become educated, when public taste had become more pure, lent to the affections a language more tender, more simple, firmer or more true. The disunion which was observable at the commencement of the century between purity of sentiment and grossness of expression had been by degrees obliterated, sentiment and expression became harmonised in Racine and Madame de la Fayette; but there remained, even then, a tone of ideal spiritualism which verged almost to ethereal immateriality, and an excess of delicacy bordering on insipidity. Camus, in some pages has found the true tone, and that before the great writers of the age. This does not surprise us. Zealous confessor, learned director, he heard so frequently the true language of the heart, that it inspired him with eloquence to assist in his works of the imagination. Bossuet, Fenelon and Bourdaloue were grand moralists, great painters of the human heart; they listened to the true tones of the heart under circumstances where they would not inveigh against it, and they gave as morals, publicly to men, the very knowledge they had acquired in their discharge of a duty, sacred as its founder.

We can now fully understand the cause of M. de Belley's success; a complication of events as interesting in romance as in the theatre, allegorical episodes, where might be traced histories of persons well known, exalted portraits of platonic love, romantic adventures, a combination of devotion and gallantry, sensualism and spirituality, this it was that pleased in

that age of contradictions. Finally, in style, they preferred that odd mixture of prose and verse, that profusion of unconnected images, which, according to Perrault, appeared instructive,* and that overflowing of erudition which Huet regarded as a happy union of the useful and the agreeable.† In a word, Camus reconciled, at least, as many by his faults as by his qualities.

A few words in conclusion regarding the morality of the Christian romances of Camus. We have seen already, that they were sometimes imperfect. There were to be found even in the seventeenth century enlightened minds, truly pious, who reproached him for his indulgence. The Abbess of Port-Royal, Mother Angelica, complained of his *effeminacy*, and Sister Claire-Eugénie, before whom the Bishop of Belley read his romances at Port-Royal, wrote: "If God had not held me in His hands, I would, through their means, have entered into the spirit of the world."‡ We are not surprised at this; we do not desire to exaggerate the efficacy of the moral contained in the Christian romances. Rule the passions by the aid of the passions; this recalls the famous adage of making order out of disorder. As M. Saint Marc Girardin has wittily remarked, "the city of God cannot be built with the capital sins." The lovers have attained a happy end either by martyrdom or the cloister, but they took some time to arrive at that, and loitered long on the road. The passion with which the Christian romances were most occupied in the seventeenth century, and by which instruction was endeavoured to be imparted, was precisely that least calculated to do so; we candidly admit that there were but few symptoms of platonic love in the lives, as good taste in the literature of the age. Have a just and delicate mind, you will feel that which is beautiful; have an honest, and chaste soul, you will love that which is pure. All this is true, but first, this objection, so very just against doctrinal romances in matters of love, does not impeach that of *Palombe*, consecrated altogether to conjugal love. What is more, there is in the works of Camus a purity so visible in its meaning, such fervour of Christian zeal, and such a tone of virtue, that the character of the man gives a lively charm to the precepts of the director, and compensates for his errors in guidance. And

* See *Hommes Illustres*: Camus.

† See *Lettre à Mlle de Scudéry*.

‡ See *Sainte-Beuve*, *Port Royal*. t. 1, p. 235.

then, this sweetness of morality, this *effeminacy* with which the austerity of Port-Royal has accused him, does not seem to be a very grave fault in our days, where, in like matters, persuasion gains more than domination.

Who would not pardon Camus even now for placing himself willingly by the side of the honest affections when oppressed, and of attacking the parents who, through cupidity or distrust hinder marriages, and "separate hearts?" He wished that they should combat the desires they inspired and the temptations they experienced; but he reproached, *Parthenice* for desiring to disfigure herself, and sharply reprimanded Origen. He lauded the convent, but he also praised marriage, and he spoke with delight of happy unions. His heroines finished by the cloister; with this he was evidently satisfied: if he could marry them, he blessed them with all his heart. In a word, there are in his books much moderation, much charity, and much sweetness. He has not despised life, he has not calumniated the world, he believed in honor and virtue, his code of morality was to render religion amiable, which, after all, is the surest means of making it loved.

ART. III.—AMERICAN PREVENTIVE AND
REFORMATORY INSTITUTIONS.

1. *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents.* New York: Wynkoop, 1856.
2. *Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Annual Reports of the House of Refuge.* Philadelphia. Ashmead, 1855 & 1856.
3. *Charter and Bye Laws of the Baltimore Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys.* 1841.
4. *First and Second Reports of the Baltimore Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys.* 1843 & 1847. Baltimore: Sands.
5. *Charter, Rules and Regulations, and Bye Laws of the House of Refuge.* Cincinnati. 1850.
6. *Report of the House of Refuge, New Orleans.* Bills, 1850.
7. *Act of Incorporation, Bye Laws, and Regulations of the New York Juvenile Asylum.* New York: Harrison, 1851.
8. *Fourth Annual Report of the New York Juvenile Asylum.* New York: Trow, 1856.
9. *Laying of the Corner Stone of the Baltimore House of Refuge, and the Address upon the occasion, by the Hon. Charles F. Mayer.*
10. *First Annual Report of the Baltimore House of Refuge.* Baltimore: Lucas, 1852.
11. *Annual Report of the Boston Asylum and Farm School.* Boston: Wilson and Son, 1852.
12. *Rules and Regulations of the State Farm School at Monson.* Springfield: Bowles & Co., 1855.
13. *Documents relating to the State Reform School at Westborough.* 1849.
14. *Eighth and Ninth Annual Reports of the State Reform School at Westborough.* Boston: White, 1855 & 1856.
15. *Ordinances, Bye Laws, &c., of the Western House of Refuge for Juvenile Delinquents in the State of New York.* Rochester: Strong and Co., 1856.
16. *Seventh Annual Report of the Western House of Refuge.* Albany: Benthuyssen, 1856.
17. *Second Annual Report of the Five Points House of Industry.* New York, 1856.
18. *Third Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society, New York.* Wynkoop. 1856.

19. *Report on Reformatory Schools in the United States, presented to the Legislature of Massachusetts, by the Hon. George S. Boutwell, from the Commissioners appointed to consider the subject of Reform Schools for Girls.* 1851.
20. *Proceedings at the Inauguration of the State Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, August 27th 1856.* Boston : Wilson and Son, 1856.
21. *Bye Laws of the State Industrial School for Girls.* Boston : White, 1856.
22. *First Annual Report of the State Industrial School for Girls.* Boston : White, 1857..
23. *Second Annual Report of the House of Industry, and Home of the Friendless.* Baltimore : Lucas, 1857.

The "QUARTERLY RECORD" in our number for December, 1856, contains notices extracted from American journals of two important institutions, the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, and the Reform School for Boys at Westborough, both in the State of Massachusetts. We have since received some of the Annual Reports of these as of several other schools established in the United States for the treatment of destitute and criminal children, and convinced, as we have on a former occasion declared ourselves to be, of the importance of the practical information such documents afford, we make no apology to our readers for laying before them at such length as our space will permit, a statement of what is being done west of the Atlantic towards extirpating juvenile delinquency.

True, the old world anticipated the new, in establishing Reformatory Schools, and may therefore be regarded rather as the teacher than the pupil in this branch of social science. In *preventive* institutions, however, our transatlantic brethren claim superiority over us, and at present it may be with justice, for though the Philanthropic Society commenced its labors in London in the last century, long before any such enterprise had been attempted in America, it has not been followed by the establishment in this country of analogous institutions (except perhaps the Glasgow House of Refuge) comparable we believe in number or size with those which have during the last thirty years sprung up in the United States. When the Industrial Schools' Act for England, passed during the last session, has had time fairly to come into operation, the sister country we trust will no longer compare disadvantageously in this respect with America or any other land. Most earnestly

too do we hope that the extension to Ireland of the same Act (with necessary modifications)—a measure which has been often and strenuously advocated in these pages—will speedily enable her also to gather her perishing children from the streets and alleys of her cities and towns, and by retaining them for a sufficiently long period under moral and industrial training to redeem them from a life of misery, and convert them from social pests into useful members of society. But that we may be ready here and in England to avail ourselves to the utmost of the provisions of that most welcome Statute, it is incumbent upon us to learn what means have been adopted elsewhere to overcome the evil against which it is directed.

Doubtless we have on both sides of the Atlantic something to teach—assuredly we have each much to learn. We may reap mutual benefit from our experience, and in studying the course pursued by our American fellow-labourers, we shall find much to imitate, and maybe something to avoid.

It may appear strange that in a new country, where employment is abundant, the population comparatively scanty, and where education is provided for every child, a class of juveniles should be found requiring reception into reformatory or preventive schools. Americans attribute its existence among them in a great measure to immigration, and the large proportion of children of foreign birth or parentage among the pupils, supports that opinion. The Secretary to the Children's Aid Society of New York, writes in its third Annual Report :—

We have seen on our wharves as it were, regular imports from Europe, the squalor, the rags, the filthy men, and coarse women, the sharp and ignorant boys and girls, the beggars and vagabonds belonging to the lowest stages of an old civilization.

Society here would have, in time, undoubtedly borne its fearful fruits of crime and poverty. But these hideous growths have been transplanted in mass to us in our youth. Still here, as everywhere, human nature has shown its reclaiming powers under the influences of freedom and education. These miserable creatures of Europe, the scum and refuse of ill formed civilizations, or the victims of oppression and public neglect, have been scattered over our land, and have done a useful part. The manual labors which lie at the basis of our progress, have been performed by them ; they themselves have improved in intelligence and self respect, and their children, and children's children, are now not to be distinguished from the people among whom they have taken their home. The exception to this is in the cities. Here the most idle and unenterprising, the most needy and dependent of these emigrants, the unprincipled, and those who have been the lowest degraded by the inequalities of European society, have settled them-

selves. The sharpers, the vagabonds, the inveterate beggars, the thieves and flash men and women of Dublin, and Liverpool, and London, have been among this throng.

Of course, such an emigration scatters terrible seed in our new soil. People of this class are apt to congregate together. Under their influence spring up those especial quarters, existing wherever men live in numbers near each other, which may be called the *ulcers of a city* * * * * * The alley or street once filled with these poorer tenants, drives out the better class. Each family is at first only poor and ignorant, and a stranger to the other families of the block ; gradually they form a community. Poverty and want of employment sow bad habits.

Thoughts of wretchedness are drowned in drink. They have no amusements or books, and the grog shop becomes the club and the reading room ; liquor shops and porter houses soon abound in the quarter. Junk shops [marine store shops] are seen opening in the basements, as receptacles for things stolen and begged. The *public opinion* of the row becomes on the side of vice and rowdiness. The children grow up under it. They are brought up in bad air in filthy rooms, used to drunkenness, to lewdness, to idleness and debauchery. They do not go to school, because they are too dirty and ragged. They never hear of Sunday School or church, except in jest. They are taught, as soon as they can walk, to beg, to hunt the streets for coals, and to pilfer from the docks and warehouses. So they come into manhood and womanhood, and make the new tenants of the quarter. The place has now come to have a bad name. It swarms with rowdies, "hitters," junk-sellers [marine store dealers] thieves, with drunken women, and debased women, with weazened, shivering, filthy, sharp-faced little boys and girls. It is one of the foul ulcers of the city. The police know it and try rather caustic remedies. Everyone knows it ; and the poisoned currents go out over the whole city and country, cursing with terrible disease, moral and physical, thousands who never saw or cared for the sources of the evil.*

We have quoted this passage at length because it most truly describes the class we have to deal with at home ; they may indeed almost be regarded as the brothers and sisters of the destitute and criminal children who infest the seaports of the United States, since a considerable portion of those are Irish, Scotch, and English.

The pain felt by humane administrators of the law in consigning children to gaol, and the fearful results of subjecting them to prison influences, roused benevolent individuals in America, as it has done in Europe, to seek more appropriate means for dealing with juvenile delinquency, and in 1823 a private association was formed in New York, which on

* Third Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society, 1856, New York, p. 4.

January 1st, 1825, opened the first Reformatory School established in the New World.

In 1828 a similar association in Philadelphia founded the State Reform School; and their example has been largely followed, some States having established several schools within their boundaries.

But while strenuous efforts were thus made to *reform* the criminal, it was strongly felt that it would be even wiser to endeavour to *forestal* crime; that, to quote from the address of Emory Washburn at the Dedication of the Westborough State Reform School, "there was still wanting an institution which should go up to the fountain head of vice, and misery, and crime, and purify the bitter waters that are spreading their poisonous influences through every city, and village, and hamlet."

So early as 1814 an asylum was founded in Boston for indigent boys; ostensibly it was an orphan school, but the need for providing suitable training for destitute or unmanageable lads was already beginning to be felt, and others besides orphans were occasionally received.

By 1834, however, (the population of Boston having meanwhile doubled) the class of children "who from the loss of parents or other causes, are exposed to extraordinary temptations, and are in danger of becoming vicious and dangerous or useless members of society" had so greatly increased as to demand more comprehensive means of dealing with them. In that year therefore, the "Boston Farm School Society," formed in 1832, having purchased Thompson's Island, one of the most beautiful in the harbour, a few miles distant from the city, and erected upon it the requisite buildings, associated themselves with the managers of the asylum for indigent boys, which was removed to the island, and merged in the newer institution. The class of children received are thus described:—

They consist of truants from our public schools, and idlers in our streets and on our wharves, where they pass a large part of their time in vagrancy. Some of them are orphans, in whom little interest is felt by the poor and miserable connexions, on whom they hang as a heavy burden. Some are children of widows, whose time is so filled with labor to procure a mere subsistence, that their sons, still more than their daughters, are unavoidably neglected, and at an early age become unmanageable. Some having lost their mothers, are left to the care of fathers whose means and opportunities for domestic control are yet less effectual than those of widows. Some have intemperate or profligate parents, and suffer of course, from the disorder and

misery to which they were born. And some are children of the ignorant, the inefficient and helpless, who seem almost from nature incapable of fulfilling discreetly the most common duties of life. But all of them, from these and other causes, are daily and hourly exposed to the contagion of vice, and growing up in idle and pernicious habits, from which perhaps a few may, by fortunate circumstances, be reclaimed before they arrive at manhood; while by far the greater part will be hurried to an early death, the victims of intemperance and want, or live on only to prey upon the community, fill our alms-houses and prisons, and increase the burthens and the crimes of the State.*

All persons acquainted with the class of children who fill our Ragged Schools will recognise it in the foregoing description, and there are few probably who have labored year after year in conducting these institutions, who do not earnestly wish for powers such as the Boston Farm School Society are by law invested with, to remove the objects of their care from all corrupting influences, and to retain them long enough under training to ensure the reclamation of at least a large proportion. By sad experience the Ragged School teacher has learnt how insufficient is mere instruction, and even the moral and industrial training which can be given in the few hours his pupil is with him, to counteract the vicious influences of home or of the street, and at how early an age even that amount of education must be relinquished by the poor creature, who often, while yet a child, is cast forth on the world to shift for itself; to be next met with perhaps, when scarcely entered on early youth, as the inmate of a prison or a Magdalen Asylum. There is one class of our poor—those who though very needy are striving to bring up their children honestly—as regards whom the gratuitous education given in a Ragged School is perhaps an unmixed advantage both to them and to society. But with a certain proportion of the pupils the case is very different; these are either destitute orphans, or the offspring of parents who, by reason of their criminal habits, or intemperance, or indifference to parental duties, are unfit to have the unrestricted charge of their children. If destitute orphans they need to be fed, lodged, and clothed as well as instructed; if the children of criminal or neglectful parents they need to be rescued from them, though by such means as shall not relieve those who brought them into the world, of the natural duty of their maintenance. Before, however, any plan had been devised or authority created,

* Annual Report of the Boston Asylum and Farm School, 1852, p. 11.

by which the requirements of this class could be adequately met, Ragged Schools gave moral and religious instruction, and occasionally industrial training, to thousands, to whom, without their interposition, no purifying influence would ever have penetrated. The zeal and self-devotion of their teachers have not been spent in vain ; these schools, though incompetent to effect a cure, have yet afforded a palliative to the vast evils against which they were directed. But while in spite of innumerable difficulties, doing something to raise the most degraded among our people, they have perhaps conferred even a greater boon upon society by showing what they could *not* accomplish ; for it is not too much to say, that it is the experience of Ragged Schools which has demonstrated the necessity for the Industrial Schools' Act. When that Statute shall have come fully into operation (to do which however, will be a work of time) in so far as they give education to the children of parents who are well able to pay for it, and who spend the money thus saved in profligacy, they may be found to be even pernicious ; while they can never supply all that is needful to children who are destitute of the means of honest support. It is with reference to these abandoned and miserable little beings, and to the no less unfortunate offspring of profligate parents, that the Rev. Sydney Turner says :—

Certainly more than half of the youthful delinquency that we now have to punish and are here and there trying to remedy is the growth of circumstances, the result, in fact, of our own social neglect and indolence. One single measure alone, at once compelling the attendance at school of the thousands of idle children now left to ruin and depravation in our low streets and alleys, and making the instruction and training of such schools really useful and efficient, would do more to thin our prison ranks than a hundred reformatories put together. So long as we allow the depraving agencies that are so busy in our large towns and cities such immunity, nay almost encouragement, as they now have, so long we may be sure that juvenile vice and crime will be far ahead of all our efforts to rescue and reform. Of course it is much easier to subscribe to a reformatory, than to grapple with the real difficulties of the preventive system. But as to the real suppression or effectual diminution of crime, we but spend our strength for nought, and our labor for that which profiteth not, so long as we are content to let thousands be infected, while we cure hundreds. We cannot slay the monster while we are continually feeding and supporting him. Make it compulsory that the child attends school, and is not found idling in the streets. Make the parents, when there are any, responsible for the proper training of the child, and to some extent for his maintenance, in a good school, if they cannot

keep him out of vice and crime, at home. Make the parish he belongs to responsible for this, if he be an orphan and destitute. Make your schools really effective, teaching in them the science of life, the common daily business of well-being and well-doing, social and personal economy. Make them, therefore, not merely intellectual but industrial; and bring your laws home to the abettors and receivers of crime, the lodging-house keeper, and the penny theatre and saloon owner, and we shall soon, I believe, see our calendars shortened, the juvenile wards of our prisons more thinly peopled, and reformatory efforts made thoroughly effectual to the great end for which they are directed.*

The strong arm of the law is thus invoked to enable us to deal successfully with the "perishing and dangerous" among our juvenile population. That they should be so dealt with is of vital importance to the well being of the community, since from them are recruited the ranks of our criminals as the antecedents of prisoners clearly show.† The Rev. J. P. O'Leary, Chaplain to the Manchester gaol, writes thus in his report for 1851:—

Juvenile offenders form a large proportion of prison inmates, and are the very "seed" of the adult and old offender class. * * * These children and young persons are, in the fullest sense, children of misfortune, their parents either dead or careless, vicious, and abandoned; their homes, if they have any, comfortless and wretched; their dress ragged and insufficient; and, driven to procure their daily bread by whatever means they can devise, it is found, in many cases, that the first offence is some petty theft, committed under circumstances of extreme distress, and induced by some tempting opportunity. When the age and circumstances of such offenders are considered, it does not seem as if the ordinary gaol discipline were calculated to meet the peculiarities of their case. It looks like visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children; it punishes the offender, but does not take appropriate means to prevent a recurrence of the offence. What resource has a lad without parents, or what is perhaps worse, with drunken and vicious ones, a wretched house and precarious subsistence. *What refuge is open to such an one but a prison?*

* Reformatory Schools. A letter to C. B. Adderley, Esq. M.P. by the Rev. Sydney Turner. London, Hatchard, 1855.

† From the temporary location of our Asylum on 55th street, the prisoners of the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island can be distinctly seen, as they pass in gangs to and from their work. Shortly after the admission of children to the Asylum, one of the boys—he had been what is called a "street boy"—standing by Mrs Russ, the lady of the superintendent, after gazing silently and with apparent thoughtfulness at a gang of prisoners in their march, looked up in her face and said, "Mrs Russ, if there had been such places as *this*, when these men were boys, they would not now be in prison, would they?" Fourth Annual Report of the New York Juvenile Asylum 1856 p. 42.

* * * * * If a child have no parents or guardians to nurture it, if it has such as are incapable from poverty, ignorance, or demoralization, to make the necessary provision for its well-being in the ways of honesty and true religion, *it becomes the duty of the State to take such under its care.*

This duty has been widely recognized in America, and one preventive institution after another has sprung up throughout the land. These schools, together with others of a somewhat more penal character and which we have denominated Reformatory Schools, because though different in some respects they are on the whole similar in system and object to such establishments at home, resemble each other so closely in origin and management, that for the sake of brevity we will treat them as one class, indicating however all important differences.

The Institutions to which we desire especially to draw the attention of our readers are designated as follows:—*

House of Refuge established by the "Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents," founded at New York, 1823. For Boys and Girls."

House of Refuge. Philadelphia, 1828. Boys and Girls.

Boston Asylum and Farm School, originated in 1814, established on Thompson's Island, 1835. Boys only.

Baltimore Manual Labor School for Indigent Boys. 1841.

Westborough State Reform School, 1847. Boys only.

New Orleans House of Refuge, 1848. Boys only.

Western House of Refuge in the State of New York, 1849. Boys only.

House of Refuge. Cincinnati, 1850. Boys and Girls.

New York Juvenile Asylum, 1851. Boys and Girls.

Baltimore House of Refuge, 1851. Boys and Girls.

Home of the Friendless. Baltimore, 1854. Girls.

State Industrial School for Girls, Lancaster. Massachusetts, 1856.

In addition to the above are the Five Points House of Industry, New York, 1850, for Boys and Girls; and the Children's Aid Society, founded in 1853. Their aim and mode of operation differ in some respects from those of the rest; their object is to aid the destitute by alms, by gratuitous

* A sketch of many of these Institutions will be found in Miss Carpenter's valuable Work, entitled "Juvenile Delinquents." Cash, 1853.

instruction in day or evening schools, by affording them a temporary home when necessary, and by obtaining for them employment. These institutions appear to have originated in private societies which, with the exception of the two last mentioned, have obtained an Act of Incorporation, or a Charter, empowering them to receive and retain children, Government nominating a certain proportion of the managers, and usually contributing a part of the funds; or to have sprung from a decree of the State which, after supplying a portion of the revenue, has called a certain number of other subscribers to a share in the management. State aid and the voluntary principle are thus brought into co-operation, and appear to work harmoniously together; funds seem to be tolerably abundant, while far from there being any official indifference or neglect, the zealous interest in the success of their enterprise exhibited by all persons concerned in the management of the schools, affords a strong testimony to the practical philanthropy of Americans. In some instances the managers—designated variously Commissioners, Directors, Trustees, &c., whose duties are analogous to those of the “Committee” with us—are paid for their services, but so small a sum that their office is almost honorary; while generally it is so altogether.

The young persons whom Magistrates are empowered to commit to the care of the Directors of Preventive or Reformatory Schools are described as follows:

1st. Children convicted of criminal offences.

2nd. Those who are committed as street beggars or vagrants.

3rd. Children whose parents ask their admission for incorrigible habits or vicious conduct.

In this section are found a large proportion of the inmates. When committed at the request of parents the offence with which they are usually charged is “stubbornness;” under this head are comprehended many petty violations of the law and of filial duty.

4th. Children whose parents from moral depravity or otherwise are incapable or unwilling to take care of them.*

At some institutions all these classes are received, as at the House of Refuge at Baltimore, and that at Philadelphia.

* First Annual Report of the Baltimore House of Refuge. 1852, p. 12.

Others, amongst which are the Western House of Refuge, the Westborough State School, and the Cincinnati House of Refuge, intended for such children as would, if those schools did not exist, be committed to prison, admit only the first class. A third description of schools receive the second, third and fourth class, while a fourth, which is strictly preventive in character, limits its operations to unconvicted children, either indigent orphans, or the children of vicious or destitute parents, or unruly children from respectable families. Parents frequently place their refractory offspring in these institutions; but to obtain their admission to some of them the parent must procure their committal by a Magistrate.

If a child has been consigned to any school, otherwise than at the application of his parent, opportunity is allowed to the latter of appeal against the sentence—except when the child has been committed for a serious offence to a reformatory school instead of to prison—and if he can prove himself competent and willing to discharge his duty towards his child, he is permitted to remove him from the school. Under this and certain other conditions, Managers of schools may legally retain the children committed to their care during the time for which they may have been sentenced; this may be for a period of one or more months, or years, or for the remainder of the child's minority. Usually, however, the Managers may at their discretion discharge their wards before the expiration of their sentence, or apprentice them for periods not extending beyond that at which the youths shall be twenty-one, or the girls eighteen years of age. The Managers have also power to refuse or to discharge a child whose case, owing to his advanced age, extreme viciousness, imbecility, hopeless bodily infirmity, &c., they believe to be unsuited to their institution. This privilege, however, has not always been exercised. Thus the State Reform School at Westborough received during the first year of its existence a large number of boys who had long pursued a life of crime, and were so deeply depraved that instead of becoming reformed they did but corrupt schoolfellows less vicious than themselves. Magistrates committed them to the school in the desperate hope that they might yet be reclaimed, and the Managers in receiving them were actuated by the same benevolent motive. Experience, however, showed that this was a vital error, and the institution was long in recovering from

its effects. In the Ninth Annual Report the Chaplain writes :—

Of the ten hundred and thirty-six who have left, I have ascertained that one hundred and fifty, or about one-seventh, have since been criminally convicted. Of these, nearly one hundred, or about three-fifths, are of those who entered the school during the first year ; and they were generally before the courts soon after they were discharged or apprenticed, whether they remained here for a longer or shorter time. Among them, are twenty-three of the twenty-nine who have been sent to state prisons ; one for life, and the rest for terms varying from one to eighteen years. One is now serving out his eleventh, and another his thirteenth sentence, since leaving the school.”*

The chaplain then remarks that with a building so constructed as to admit of more extensive classification and closer supervision the reclamation of even these lads might have been secured. And here he indicates, though apparently unconsciously, one great defect in all the earlier American institutions. The inmates are usually congregated in one large building, often palatial in aspect, and fitted up with every appliance for health and comfort, but whose enormous size—the Cincinnati House of Refuge is four stories high besides the basement, and contains more than 250 rooms—renders impossible that individual action which is desirable even in ordinary schools, but in all of a reformatory character, absolutely essential ; for, as M. Demetz has forcibly expressed it, we must enter into *single combat* with him whom we would conquer to the love of right. The importance of individualisation we find recognised in many of the reports before us, but the means by which alone it can be secured, viz., that division into small groups known as the “family principle,” have been universally ignored until a very recent period. The State Industrial School for Girls established at Lancaster, Mass. in August, 1856 (to which we have referred as described in our “Quarterly Record” of December, 1856) claims to be the first in the United States, which has adopted that expedient ; and the very favorable aspect of this institution, at the period of its first annual report, is chiefly attributed to the home feeling which has been created, and to the truly filial affection inspired by the respective matrons in the hearts of their adopted children. Another advantage resulting from division into groups occupying dis-

* Ninth Annual Report of Westborough State Reform School, 1856, p. 38.

tinct dwellings, is the facility it affords for separating new comers from each other, by distributing them in different families among children who have been already so far reclaimed that the feeling of the household is in favor of right, and operates beneficially upon the new member instead of his corrupting his companions. To save the well disposed lads at Westborough from the evil influence of the rest, it was found necessary to divide the good from the bad. The result appears to have been favorable as regarded the better class; we are not informed what effect this arrangement had upon the worst, but it is only reasonable to suppose that being thrown together they could not but become more corrupt, and if this consequence did ensue, then, to that extent, the school, as a reformatory institution, must be considered to have rather more than failed in its object.

There has been no lack of appreciation on the part of the founders of the American institutions of the importance of a suitable building to the success of their undertakings, nor of anxious inquiry as to what kind of edifice would best meet their requirements, neither was care or money spared in the erection; and it is difficult to understand how it came to pass that until 1856 the plan of separate dwellings of a simple character approximating as closely as possible to the well ordered home of a laboring man, was not adopted, since this arrangement had been for years in successful operation at various European institutions.

In America the vast structure in which the pupils were to reside was often completed before any children were received, and they were then quickly drafted in; but the gardens and surrounding grounds seem in some instances to have been left to be cleared and laid out by the inmates. It will perhaps be remembered by our readers of what great value the labor of the lads thus expended on their new home is believed to have been at the Rauhe Haus, Mettray, Red Hill, &c., in attaching the boys to their place of abode.

The New York Juvenile Asylum was commenced in old premises into which large numbers of children were rapidly admitted; the building was soon found to be wholly unsuited for the purposes of the charity, and the directors happily removed their wards to a more commodious edifice as soon as it could be prepared, but not before their health, and the discipline of the institution, had suffered to a serious degree.

The error of commencing a Reformatory institution in a cumbrous, ill-adapted edifice cannot be too earnestly reprehended. We do not mean to say that a suitable house for the purpose can *never* be met with. If the founders are wisely satisfied to begin their school with very few pupils—or, still better, with only one—and to add to their accommodation gradually as their numbers increase, it is possible that they may find a cottage, or small farmhouse, which will form an appropriate nucleus for their settlement; it is scarcely probable, however, that a building constructed for a different purpose will perfectly fulfil the requirements of a reformatory school, and we suspect that regret is often felt that some augmentation of expense was not incurred at the beginning of the enterprise in erecting a new habitation instead of purchasing an old one; especially when it is recollected how comparatively slight that augmentation would have been if the house had been built with the strict attention to economy and simplicity proper to such an erection. But whatever mischief may arise from such a mistake as this, is as nothing compared with the evils which are inseparable from locating a reformatory school in a huge ill-arranged rambling house. No home feeling can be created within its barrack-like walls; the absence of modern appliances for efficient lighting and ventilation render it both gloomy and unhealthy; the incommodious arrangement of its apartments makes a large staff of officers indispensable to ensure due surveillance, or if this be not maintained the children being without proper supervision will corrupt each other; moreover they must be sedulously locked in to prevent escapes, so that the school becomes in fact a prison, or else cases of absconding will be frequent. This latter evil is one of the most serious with which the Managers of Reformatories have to contend; the pecuniary loss it entails in the pursuit and capture of criminals is very heavy, but its injurious effect, in a moral point of view is even more to be deplored. It is scarcely possible to maintain a healthful tone in such institutions unless the inmates regard their sojourn there as a privilege; but no such feeling can exist in their minds, when all attempts at flight are followed not by expulsion from the school, whose mild discipline has been abused, but by a compulsory return to it. This state of things must continue until further legislation shall have provided for the deserter's fulfilling the remainder of his sentence in some more penal institu-

tion than the Reformatory. The lad who effects his escape from Mettray is never admitted again into the colony. He has shown himself insensible to the benevolent care of which he has been the object, and to receive him back would have a deteriorating effect upon his companions. He is relegated to prison therefore until the expiration of his term of punishment ; an instance of such relegation, however is, as might be predicted, extremely rare.

The Directors of some of the American Reformatories are invested with power to consign, at their discretion, children to prison, but judging from the large number of absconding children who are readmitted into the schools, this power would appear not to be exercised with respect to them.

In England no such authority exists, and as the only alternative to receiving a deserter again is that of giving him his liberty—a premium on evasion not to be thought of—the Managers of English schools are constrained to take back their pupils as often as these attempt to escape. The impediment to success, great though it be, arising out of this necessity, is, however, only one of a host which crowd the path of the practical reformer. To be able to surmount them he must find all his appliances plastic beneath his hand, and an adaptability to his requirements—requirements which experience alone can indicate—is nowhere more essential than in the building devoted to his enterprise.

The unhappy philanthropist who has been tempted by its apparent cheapness to purchase some old mansion or public institution, finds he has unwittingly placed himself in that position, wherein, to quote M. Demetz, "*les pierres font la loi*,"—that he has subjected himself to "the tyranny of bricks and mortar ;" and sad experience, bought at the cost of anxiety, pecuniary loss, fruitless efforts, and, far worse than all else, failure after failure in his attempts to reclaim the young persons entrusted to his care, teaches him the harshness of the despotism to which he has to submit.

Though some distinction, as we have seen, is made in the class of children received in the different institutions in America, the system pursued in each is in principle the same ; even the most penal avow that their aim is to reform rather than to punish ; and to encourage to well-doing by kindness rather than to deter from evil by severity, is the motive which actuates the managers of all. Nor do the means employed differ very

much in the various institutions. A short probation, during which the manager is enabled to form some opinion of the child's character, is undergone on admission to the two New York reformatory schools, but it appears not to be enforced elsewhere. A certain amount of classification is adopted in all. The sexes are usually rigidly separated, and in some cases the white and colored children occupy distinct apartments though within the same building. Numerous minor divisions indicating the moral status of the inmates are met with ; and in some schools there is a "class of honor" enjoying peculiar privileges, the members of which are distinguished by a badge, or have their names inscribed in a book. The punishments are usually light, the very term itself seems to be considered objectionably harsh at the Cincinnati House of Refuge (one of the more penal schools be it remembered) where they are denominated "privations ;" they consist there in privation from play, from food other than bread and water, &c., &c., the most severe being privation from society. Heavier punishments than these, however, are inflicted at some schools, even corporal chastisement being occasionally resorted to.

It has been stated that some institutions receive children of both sexes, though they are seldom permitted to associate. The mischief which results from placing boys and girls of the criminal class together has been proved in this country by experience, and is recognised in America. The difficulty of maintaining complete separation between them where they inhabit the same building appears now also to be felt to overbalance whatever advantage may arise from an interchange of male and female labor, and to have dictated in the United States as with us the establishment of distinct institutions for each sex.

Classification according to age as well as to sex has been found desirable in America, and the importance of separating the elder boys and girls from the younger is making itself felt in England. There the average ages for reception into a reformatory, range nominally from eight to sixteen, but, in fact, many institutions decline to receive inmates above the age of twelve or thirteen. In the report for 1857 of the Kingswood Reformatory it is stated that one of the chief difficulties with which the managers have had to contend has arisen from the advanced age which many of the boys had attained before being sent to the school, in many cases only just short of the

limits laid down by the Act of Parliament. To meet this evil "the committee have come to a resolution not to admit any boy into the school whose age at the time of conviction shall exceed thirteen years." We believe that the age of young persons sent to Reformatory Schools is in reality frequently very far above the limits fixed by the Statute, as partly through ignorance, but often probably by design, they are apt, as regards this as well as many other points, greatly to mislead the authorities before whom they are tried. We were recently informed by the Lady Superintendent of a large Reformatory for girls, which was opened not much more than a year ago, that she felt sure a considerable number of her pupils were much more than sixteen years of age, while one she had reason to suppose, was not less than twenty-three years old!

The system appropriate to young children is unsuited to elder delinquents who though scarcely past childhood in years, are, owing to the well known precocity of the criminal class, men and women in their passions, and experience of the world.

In institutions so small as the generality of those in the sister island it is impossible to adapt the treatment to suit each of these two classes, or to prevent the more advanced in years and in crime from exercising a pernicious influence over the rest. It is consequently most wise to refuse to mix them; but as the sympathies of the managers of Reformatories appear hitherto to be chiefly enlisted in favor of younger offenders, so that the elder portion of those admissible by law, though equally objects of compassion, are of necessity left to be dealt with in prison, perhaps philanthropists interested in the cause of reformation could in no way promote it more surely than by adding to the very few schools already in existence suited to this class. Such institutions are indeed at present more urgently needed than those for the very young, as the offenders committed between fourteen and seventeen years old, far exceed in number all below that age. Of course if reformatory schools do their work efficiently this proportion will gradually but surely diminish.

Reformatories for the elder class of juvenile delinquents must not, however, be confounded with schools of a more penal character recommended in the Report of the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children, 1853, and of which the experience of ordinary reformatory institutions increasingly demonstrates the necessity. If such schools, which it has been proposed to

call Houses of Detention existed, the committal of young persons to gaol—the terrible impress of the prison brand, might be entirely avoided. When apprehended they might be at once conveyed to the House of Detention to await their trial. If convicted they should remain there until by good conduct and well tested improvement they had earned promotion to the milder stage of treatment, viz., the Reformatory School:

Association with adult prisoners is acknowledged on all hands to be the child's destruction, yet, what short of this fate can be more revolting to all of us accustomed to intercourse with children, than immuring a little creature of six or seven years old* or even a boy or girl of eleven or twelve, in

* In his valuable evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Criminal and Destitute Children, 1853, Mr. Sergeant Berwick, Q.C., quotes a letter from the Governor of the City of Cork Gaol, who says "At your request I beg to send you the foregoing list of 58 persons in gaol this day, all under the age of fifteen years, and some at the tender age of six years, committed for begging in the streets." These children were not, however, placed in solitude, the construction of the prison scarcely permitting even of classification, but a further statement by Mr. Berwick shows the fearful price they paid for companionship. "I have frequently tried children for very serious offences, who were so small that the turnkey in the dock has been obliged to hold them up, in order that I might see them; and in no case of that kind have I not found that the child was brought to that state of crime by committal for a month for begging to the society of experienced juvenile offenders among whom he was placed. I tried one child last October for two distinct cases of housebreaking; I was obliged to have the child lifted up that I might see him; of course I investigated the case very narrowly to discover in what way he had been trained so precociously to vice; and it turned out that he had been taken up in the far part of the West Riding of the County Cork for begging, and sent for a month to gaol, and that after the month he had come out an experienced house-breaker."

A paragraph has recently [December 1857] gone the round of the Press, stating that a child only five years of age is imprisoned in Devizes gaol. Inquiry has proved the statement to be correct, but it has also shown that the circumstance resulted from the benevolent wish, on the part of the committing magistrate, not to separate the little creature from its family, three brothers and sisters, and a mother, who were all sent to prison for vagrancy. These four children would have been suitable subjects for such an Industrial School as is contemplated under the new Act; and so, probably, would two others have been who were undergoing their sentence of a month's imprisonment in separate confinement, at the same time and in the same gaol, their offence being rick-burning (they had by accident, but through carelessness, set fire to a rick while at play); and their ages respectively six and seven!

a prison cell to pass many hours of the day and the whole of the dark and silent night, in total solitude! There are few probably of our readers who cannot recall some period of their early life, when it was terrible to be left alone and in darkness, even where everything around them was familiar, and their best loved friends were near enough to be summoned by a call. Let them then imagine the mental torture of the child, who, listening to the retreating footsteps of the warder finds himself for the first time the inmate of a gloomy cell in a vast prison, where in addition to the strange and awful aspect of the building, every object is to his mind overshadowed by the undefined terrors of the law.

"Do let me out, sir, do! I will be a good child, that I will. Do let mesee mother—do let me out," are words that one day may move the hearts and the common sense not to say the justice of our legislators. Perchance a baby-imprisoning advocate may be visiting one of our gaols and find himself as I have been, seized by a little one pleading for deliverance, and thinking from his inexperience that they child is mad, call for a six foot turnkey to rescue him from such a grasp. "They are such naughty children," says the officer, "they make such a noise, crying day and night and calling out to one another, we don't like putting them into the dark cell for fear of a coroner's inquest, for the parson would be sure to go against us, if anything should happen. The only thing that keeps 'em quiet is the chaplain's drawing lessons with which they are mightily pleased. They wipe up their tears when he's coming and forget they are in a gaol when they see on their slates a horse galloping over a ditch, or a cottage with a garden gate. I hav'nt patience with such little vagabonds, they ask such odd questions; one of them actually wanted to know the way home the other morning when discharged!"

The foregoing passage is from the pen of the Rev. W. C. Osborn, the zealous and benevolent chaplain of the Bath Gaol, who has long and unceasingly raised his voice against the enormity of committing children to prison. Not only has he demonstrated its cruelty towards them, but its ruinous consequences as regards society, as a child who has once been within a prison, even where the separate system prevails, as at Bath, generally remains a criminal for life. In his evidence before the Committee already referred to, he says:—

"The prison system deals with children as with adults, and they are subject to the same laws, and they can make the same appeals to the magistrates if anything is contrary to their wishes. They are locked up alone, which is in itself a very bad thing for children. *When discharged they are numbered among the criminal class*, and looked upon as heroes, and become instruments of elder criminals to carry out their wicked transactions." And again, "We find that after children have been in our prison, the chances are three to one that

they will become criminal. I have had so many cases brought under my notice that it has become stereotyped in my own mind that when once they have been in gaol I quite expect they will be numbered among the criminal class.¹

How many thousands are there of fond parents who know how essential to the well being of their offspring are sympathy and companionship, cheerful surroundings, play, sunshine, and the pure free air, make every effort rather than that these should be wanting, and feel themselves far more than repaid for all the sacrifices undergone to secure them, by the merry laughter and joyous health-beaming countenances of their little ones—surely if they did but realise the fact that at this moment hundreds of such young creatures are passing the weary time in a prison cell, cut off from the pursuits and influences natural to their age, and subjected to a course of discipline under which even the physical and mental health of grown men at times succumb, they would cry with one voice for the abolition of such horrors! True, it is said that there are children who even prefer the gaol to their own wretched homes—what an appalling tale of previous misery does such a preference unfold!—and that others, though their first detention is a severe infliction, soon become used to a prison, and return to it again and again with hardened indifference. Such callousness is a scarcely less evil to the unhappy child than the agonising terror which beset him when first he found himself alone in gaol. It shows clearly that upon him prison discipline has produced no good effect, and it affords “assurance doubly sure” that very soon he will again come under the grasp of the law. †

If to consign children to prison is morally wrong, it is no less wrong in respect to economy. The massive edifice, involving expensive appliances of modern science to provide for the physical well-being of persons whose mode of life is so artificial as

* Report of H. C. Committee on Destitute and Criminal Children, 1853.

† Mr. Sheriff Watson, of Aberdeen, writes in a letter, dated November 3rd, 1857, from which we are permitted to quote:—“When these Acts [the Industrial Schools, and Reformatory Schools’ Acts] are amended, I hope some other punishment will be substituted for that of imprisonment, which I think, for children, has almost always a very bad effect. We have two children in prison just now for desertion, one under Lord Palmerston’s Act, for three months, and one under Mr. Dunlop’s, for ten days. Several boys had run away from the Reformatory, and I thought it the best way to show them that we considered it a very grave offence, though I think that a good flogging, which I generally disapprove of, would be a much more suitable punishment.”

that of most prisoners, erected at great cost to defy the strength and ingenuity of men, is wholly unnecessary for children. A building of far humbler pretensions would be sufficient to detain them in safe custody, though to prevent the possibility of escape it should, unlike the Reformatory School, be rendered secure by walls and locks. Means of providing for the due separation of children awaiting their trial would be required, and cells for the refractory would of course be indispensable; these would probably resemble such as now exist in Reformatories, but would be more freely used. The whole discipline of the institution would indeed be much more penal than that of the Reformatory in order that the child might feel his admission to the latter a great gain, and entertain a wholesome dread of being sent back (in case of ill conduct) to the House of Detention. Children whose offences were but the casual result of parental neglect or destitution might soon be advanced to the Reformatory School; while those who had become hardened in crime would require a long period of probation. The progress of each individual might be indicated by marks earned by good conduct, industry, &c., and these might to a certain extent regulate his removal from the House of Detention, and his final discharge from the Reformatory; but both these events should depend upon the decision of the governors of the respective institutions, who alone can judge of the fitness of each individual for a milder discipline or for freedom. On the evils of *time-sentences*, the Rev. Sydney Turner writes:—

As the Act now stands the offender must remain in the school for the full period for which the Magistrate has sentenced him, unless discharged by the order of the Secretary of State; that is, in effect, if incorrigible and corrupting others in a far greater degree than he is receiving any benefit himself, he cannot be dismissed; if greatly improving and reformed, he cannot be sent out and rewarded by an earlier re-entrance into life. No Reformatory School, I believe, can work effectually unless its Managers have, and are known to have, the power of discharge fully and entirely confided to them. They being at the same time responsible to the Government for this and every other power and privilege they are entrusted with.*

Misconduct of a serious nature at the Reformatory School should be punished by relegation to the House of Detention.

* "Reformatory Schools," a Letter by the Rev. Sydney Turner. London: Hatchard, 1855.

A provision such as this has been already made in France, where, in 1850 it was enacted "*That penal colonies shall be established in Algeria, for young offenders sentenced to two years imprisonment, and for those who after being admitted into the Reformatory School, prove themselves unworthy of its advantages.*"* Attempts to escape should be regarded as among the gravest offences the inmate of a Reformatory can commit, and should of course entail degradation to the probationary stage.

Kingswood, we learn from the Report already quoted, has suffered severely from lads absconding, and the Committee state that it is an evil which "they can only hope to see effectually counteracted by the setting apart of establishments as distinctly Penal Reformatories to which the refractory inmates of other Reformatories might be transferred for the remainder of their original period of detention," or, we would add, until they had proved themselves worthy of milder treatment. During the year ending the 30th of September last, no fewer than 17 boys out of an average number of 47 in the Reformatory made their escape, (some of them as often as three or four times), and of these, two had not been recovered at the date of the Report.† The cost of recapturing runaways forms a serious item in the expenditure of the school—as it does in that of the American institutions—while the moral difficulties resulting from these frequent escapes can scarcely be over estimated.

* "*Juvenile Criminals*," by Joseph Adshead. Manchester: Harrison and Son, 1856.

We learn that no such colonies have yet been established, so that this enactment of the French Legislature remains at present a dead letter; meanwhile the want of them is severely felt, as the following extract from a Report by M. Demetz, to the Minister of the Interior, sufficiently proves:—

"J'oserai me permettre, Monsieur le Ministre, enterrinant ce travail d'attirer votre attention d'une maniere toute particuliere, sur l'urgence d'établir des Colonies répressives hors de France conformément à l'Article 10, de la loi de 1850, où seraient envoyés les jeunes détenus insubordonnés, dont la présence au milieu de leurs camarades est dangereuse.

"Cette espece de déportation exercera une très salutaire intimidation, et vous verrez ainsi, Monsieur le Ministre, s'accomplir dans les meilleures conditions possibles d'amendement, l'œuvre de régénération, que votre administration poursuit avec tant de zèle et de persévérance."

† Fourth Annual Report of Kingswood Reformatory School, October, 1857.

It will be at once perceived that the system we have endeavoured very briefly to sketch, is in principle the same as that established in our Prisons scarce four years ago, but which has already produced results so striking, as to fix on Ireland the eyes of all interested in the welfare of humanity, and to fill their hearts with the hope—nay, with the assurance that the hard problem, How can crime be reduced to the lowest attainable point? has there been triumphantly solved.*

The substitution, where juvenile offenders are to be dealt with, of Houses of Detention for prisons, would we believe set at rest for ever the much disputed question whether imprisonment prior to admission to the Reformatory School be desirable or the reverse. Opinions deserving of the highest respect may be quoted on both sides, but the majority of persons practically acquainted with the management of Reformatories agree with M. Demetz on this subject. In a letter to Mr. Gladstone, Treasurer to the Redhill Farm School, he writes:—

Mettray, February 27th.

My Dear Friend—You wish to consult me on the question whether it is better to send children direct to Reformatory Schools, on their being sentenced, or to let them pass some time in prison.

My answer will be 'yes' or 'no' according to circumstances.

If the boy is placed in a separate cell immediately on his apprehension, and kept from all bad associations, I should not hesitate to pronounce in favor of the advantage which may result from a discipline which exercises from the first, a salutary intimidation. The boy placed in some degree before his own conscience, (which has been called 'the voice of God') will have time to reflect—to convince himself that the happiest days of his life have been those passed in innocence. Labor, which till then had been an object of antipathy, becomes a necessity, and very soon a pleasure; for the greatest privation that one can inflict on him in solitude, is to take work from him. Thus disposed, his arrival in the midst of his new companions will bring no danger to them. He will have time in the cell to lay aside the turbulent disposition he has contracted in the world. He will bend so much more easily to the hardships of the School, because he will have been subjected, previously, to the more severe ones of the prison. His first impression on arriving will be that of gratitude, and he will show himself open to the wholesome impulses which we endeavor to awaken in his heart.

But if the boy, on his apprehension be mixed up with other pri-

* For full information respecting the system pursued in the Irish Convict Prisons, and its results, see "The Purgatory of Prisoners," by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London: Masters, 33, Aldersgate street, 1857; and "A Paper on the Irish Convict Prisons," by Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. London: Parker and Son, West Strand, 1857.

soners, he will acquire their vices, instead of correcting his own. Without supervision by day, and especially by night, as happens but too often in our '*prisons de prevention*,' his morals will become corrupted, he will acquire habits of idleness, and his admission to the School will appear to him an aggravation of his punishment; the work he will be subjected to will be the more painful, in proportion to the length of time during which he has been doing nothing. Certainly under such circumstances, it will be far better that the boy should be sent directly without being previously committed for trial, as may happen under our laws when the boy is not actually criminal.

There are, therefore, as to moral health as well as physical, methods of treatment which may be good or bad according to their application.

DEMETZ.*

Rigorous confinement, if it can be had without the contamination of a gaol, is what M. Demetz regards as the best preparation for the Reformatory. To avoid the contamination of a gaol is the aim of those who oppose previous imprisonment, though, even if their opposition prove successful, they will not be able under the present state of things wholly to preserve the child from the prison taint, since he must go there to await his trial. By the adoption of Houses of Detention, the opponents of imprisonment would behold their desire fulfilled, while we believe those who now advocate incarceration under the conviction of its necessity as a deterrent, and as a means of subduing the evil propensities of the delinquent, would find the proposed system far more efficient to secure their object than that which is now in operation, and free from the risk inseparable from the latter of doing harm instead of good.

We return to the consideration of the American Schools.

The employments in which the children engage are "housewifery" and sewing for the girls, and for the boys whose labor is frequently contracted for by external employers, agriculture or simple handicrafts, such as shoe-making, light carpentry, making photograph cases, umbrella frames, &c. Difficulty, however is met with in obtaining sufficient employment for them in the latter trades, and where the position of the school is favorable, agricultural occupation appears to be preferred. The time allotted to labor is very moderate. In one school alone

* Times, March 29th 1856.

does it reach $8\frac{1}{2}$ hours in the day, and that for only a short period of the year; while in other institutions it falls so much below this amount that a general average has been estimated at six hours a day. The time allowed for sleep, meals and recreation is very liberal, while four or even six hours daily are devoted to mental instruction. The girls of course receive their lessons from female teachers, and these are also employed occasionally in the boys' school for the younger pupils. In the 31st Report of the first Reformatory founded in America it is stated,

The employment of a female teacher for the lowest class in the boys school commenced this year as an experiment, has we think, been attended with the most satisfactory results. The softening and elevating influences of female training have been very evident among the boys, and their improvement mentally and morally, highly gratifying.

At the Westborough Reform School also, the employment of female teachers has proved eminently successful. The influence of the matron in the institutions for boys, is regarded as highly important; and we find it mentioned that a lady is employed as superintendant of their workroom.

Instruction on Sundays is usually given by voluntary teachers, whose benevolent aid is constantly referred to by the managers with admiration and gratitude. Ladies visiting committees are also very active, and their services are highly appreciated. The advantage to the children is felt to be very great, which results from their being thus brought frequently into contact with persons far above them in social position, but whose kindly interest in their welfare teaches the pupils to regard them as friends.

The subjects taught at these schools do not generally extend beyond those belonging to a very plain education, but occasionally, as at the Westborough Reform School, they include even algebra and astronomy. Singing is commonly taught, and is believed to exercise a most beneficial influence on the children. Almost every institution has its lending library, to which great importance is attached as a valuable agent in promoting reformation,—the withdrawal of the privilege to borrow books is regarded as a severe punishment by the children. The collection to which they have access is frequently large. The sum appropriated to the support and increase of the library in the Western House of Refuge amounted in 1855, to 116 dols. 25 cts.,

which had been raised by charging an entrance fee of 10 cents on visitors to the institution.

The cost of maintenance per head at each of these schools we are not able accurately to calculate from the data before us. In the Report for 1856 of the Philadelphia Refuge, it is stated to be, "with the existing high prices for all the necessities of life," not less than 100 dols. per annum; while a rough estimate founded upon the number of inmates and the yearly expenditure of the Westborough School, and also of the Western House of Refuge, raises it above that sum. At the Philadelphia House of Refuge it falls rather below it; perhaps therefore, 100 dols. [£20 16s. 8d.] may be taken as the average cost.*

The outlay is usually met by grants from the State and from the local treasury whether county or city, by private subscription, by the proceeds of the children's labor, which in some instances—as at the Philadelphia and New York Houses of Refuge—approaches one third of the whole expenditure, and occasionally by payments from parents, who voluntarily place their children in the institutions; with respect, however, to this latter source, there appears to be no stringent rule. As regards compulsory payment, by the parents of children who have come under the animadversion of the law, an Act was passed

* The cost per head, including all establishment expenses at Redhill was, in 1855, £28 5s. 5d., showing a considerable decrease since the preceding year, when it amounted to £32 0s. 11d.—[Report of the Philanthropic Farm School, 1856.] The cost at Mettray, including all establishment expenses, as well as those of patronage after departure, for the year ending May, 1856, was a trifle under £11 per head, after deducting the value—about £8 or £9—of the boy's labour. [Irish Quarterly Review, No. XXIV., p. 982.] At Kingswood, making no deduction for labour (hitherto a small item), it amounts to something more than £24.—[Annual Report, 1857.] At the House of Refuge, Glasgow, to about £15, exclusive of the boys' earnings, which rather more than cover the expenditure for the wages of the trades masters. The total outlay for maintaining the Reformatory at Buxton, Norfolk, in 1856, was £814 4s. 1d., or £23 18s. 11d. per head, the average number of boys being 34, whose aggregate earnings amounted to £143 10s. 3d. In the above expenditure are included £32 16s. 8d. for furniture, and £14 13s. 5d. deposited in the Savings' Bank to the boys' accounts. It covers the expense of the rations of the six officers employed, and the salaries of five, the wages of the shoemaker being charged to a separate account. "The effect of this school," we are informed, "has been greatly to reduce the cases of juvenile delinquency. At the last assize for the county there was not one case; in the city one only, and at the Quarter Sessions it was the same, excepting that the one case in the city was acquitted."

in 1856,—we believe in the State of Massachusetts—empowering the managers of schools, when they deem it expedient, to levy the expense of maintenance upon parents or guardians ; but up to that time such a regulation is rarely even hinted at, as possibly just and desirable. On the contrary it seems to be considered necessary to defend, by numerous and well-weighed arguments, the course pursued in depriving the parent of his child, however negligent the parent may have shown himself to be ; and far from calling on him to defray the cost of his offspring's support, and education, the care of the managers is directed to protecting themselves from a claim on his part for compensation for his child's services, a clause to this effect being frequently inserted in the charters of these institutions. No doubt this is partly owing to the very different state of the labour market in the New as compared with the Old World, but we are inclined to think it is chiefly attributable to the fact that the *duties* of such parents are not yet recognized in the United States, so clearly as are their *privileges*, a subject, however, on which, in point of time, we are but little in advance of our transatlantic brethren.

A clearly defined and elaborate system of apprenticeship forms a part of the economy of all these institutions. Its provisions are included in their charters, and it is to this outlet that they look for the disposal of their inmates. Some of them indeed, as the New York Juvenile Asylum, make it their principal object, retaining the children only long enough to improve their physical state, to implant in their hearts good principles, and to give them the rudiments of a common education, before transferring them to the care of an employer, that they may be subjected to home influences and discipline. Here we find the value of the family principle fully appreciated ; and, as regards well disposed children, the system by which that principle is brought into action appears to work admirably. The want of apprentices in agricultural districts is so great that difficulty has been felt, not in finding homes for the children, but children for the homes. A peculiarly gratifying circumstance in connexion with the demand from Illinois, was the voluntary formation in several farming neighbourhoods of associations whose special object it was made to watch over the children, that might be entrusted to any of their members or friends. This was in fact though not in name, a *Patronage Society* ; such have long existed in many parts of Europe, and

such we must have here, before our reformatory system will be complete. Very few complaints are ever heard of ill-treatment on the part of masters, or mistresses; on the contrary, the statements of the School Managers, and the letters from apprentices and employers appended to the reports testify most honorably to the deep and active interest they take in their wards. These, though frequently bound—more especially the girls—as domestic servants, are often treated by their employers as if they were their children, and placed by them on an equality in all respects with their own offspring. Instances are by no means rare in which they have been adopted by persons of wealth and station; but they more generally are placed in small households where they labor with their employers. This is the position best suited to the class of persons sent forth by reformatory institutions, here as well as in the United States, and it is the small employers of labor whom we should seek to interest in their behalf. They it is who can best aid them at the most critical point in their upward progress—the moment when they return to the world to put into practice, the lessons of honest industry and of self-control they have lately learned, and to do which may prove too difficult a task for their yet untried virtue, if they be not strengthened by the warm and active sympathy, and watchful care of their master or mistress, who is often their only friend. There is no want of generosity in the class of which we speak; indeed in practical benevolence and self-sacrificing charity they often leave their superiors in wealth and rank far behind. It needs but an appeal to their hearts to obtain a ready response. In the town of Birmingham, for instance, a noble example has been afforded of their kindly feeling. In 1840 the Recorder of that Borough adopted the plan of returning to their friends or employers when fit and willing to receive them, juvenile delinquents convicted before him of their first offence, or whom he had otherwise reason to believe were not hardened in crime. Since that period no fewer than 407 persons, chiefly of the class of artisans and small shopkeepers, have thus taken back into their families young offenders from the dock, and have often with tears in their eyes implored the judge to restore the guilty youth to them, even when his offence had been against themselves, rather than that he should be consigned to gaol.*

* "Suggestions for the Repression of Crime," by M. D. Hill. Recorder of Birmingham. London: Parker and Son, 1857, p. 601.

We have said that with well disposed children the apprenticing system appears to work successfully. The unruly street boy or girl, however, is unfit for ordinary family life until after years of careful training ; and where, as seems to be but too often the case in America, they are apprenticed before their reformation is completed or scarcely even begun, their employer finds them unmanageable or they run away from him. In the former case he can return them to the institution ; in the latter they are very likely to be reconsigned to it by the magistrate, as—so far as we can discover—no school refuses to receive a child again, even though his misconduct bring him back.

The rules for apprenticing laid down by the State are stringent. The employer is usually required to produce a certificate to his moral character, amiable disposition, prosperity in life, and general suitability to receive an apprentice, &c., signed by the authorities in his locality ; to permit his apprentice to attend school regularly, to correspond with certain officers of the institution from which he has come, and to be visited periodically by them ; he must also report to the managers on the conduct of his ward. The managers on their part are bound to assure themselves of the fitness of the employer to receive an apprentice, to visit the latter from time to time, to remove him in case of ill usage ; and in the Bye-laws of the Lancaster School, it is provided that no girl shall be indentured to an unmarried man, or be placed in a public house, or "in a family in which spirituous liquors are used as a beverage." The corrupting influence of alcohol is evidently much dreaded, and its use even by the officers of these institutions is in general strictly forbidden.

The Children's Aid Society is one of those which aims chiefly at transferring its wards as quickly as possible to private families. It has already placed out 2,000 children in country districts, and in the course of one year, (1855,) found homes for 936 individuals. It differs from other institutions we have referred to, in not apprenticing its children ; it prefers to leave both them and their employers legally free, and to render "the sense of Christian duty and affection a prominent part of the relation between the child and his protector;" it, however, requires the certificate to character and fitness from the master previous to entrusting a child to his care.

Having thus endeavoured to indicate the means employed in the United States for the reformation of criminal children, and the prevention of juvenile crime, we have to state the results so far as we have been able to ascertain them.

As regards many of the schools enumerated, the Reports do not afford statistics upon which any reliable calculation of the numbers reformed can be founded; but, although unhappily they do contain indications of many failures, we may infer from statements in the letters of inmates who have been discharged, and of their masters, that a considerable proportion of the former are doing well; most of these institutions, however, have been too recently established for it to be possible yet to judge of the permanent effect of the training they have given; and for ascertained results, we must limit our inquiries to the earlier establishments. It has been estimated that of the first founded, three-fourths of the wards became respectable members of society. The Philadelphia Refuge in its 29th Report published in 1857, claims to have reformed two-thirds of the children it has received, while in the 8th Report of the Westborough School, we are told that the great majority of those who have passed through it bid fair to become useful men; in the next annual Report, however, we learn that one-seventh of the inmates discharged, are already known to have been since criminally convicted.

To save from crime, or to reform 75 per cent. (if we may place the average of reformations at these schools so high,) is a great achievement well worthy the expenditure of money, and of that which is an infinitely more precious gift, the time and anxious care of the benevolent promoters of the institutions in which it has been accomplished; but it cannot be regarded as entirely satisfactory, when we know that much greater success has been attained elsewhere. The Glasgow House of Refuge* reclaims 85 per cent. of its inmates, while Mettray

* This admirable institution is peculiarly worthy of attention as achieving a larger measure of well-assured success than, we believe, any other Reformatory in Great Britain. It was opened in 1837 in a building erected specially for it, at a short distance from Glasgow. "During the first four years," (we quote from information kindly furnished to us by the Rev. A. K. McCallum, Governor of the house of Refuge) "with an annual average of about 200 boys, it was supported by voluntary subscriptions. It was soon found, however that this mode of securing its income was precarious, and, in the estimation of many, for such a class unjust, as the burden lay chiefly upon

Meltray can point to 91 seven-tenths per cent. of ascertained reformatations.*

* Rapport Annuel, 1857.

the more benevolent of the community. Accordingly in 1841 an Act of Parliament was obtained authorizing to tax the rental of the city from £12 and upwards, at the rate of one penny in the pound, producing an average income for the male and female house of about £4,000 per annum. This Act likewise provided that boys under 14 years of age being brought before the magistrates or Justices of the Peace, either charged with crime, or otherwise in danger of going astray, or voluntarily agreeing before such magistrate or Justice of the Peace to go to the House of Refuge, that it was lawful for the Directors of the house to detain them for such period as was agreed upon, provided that in no case it exceeded their majority. The usual period was seven years. This valuable Act is still in force, and the Institution may receive inmates under it. It has wrought admirably during the 15 years it has been in operation. In 1855 the Institution was sanctioned under the Youthful Offenders' Act. In the following year considerable additions were made to the buildings, involving an outlay of upwards of £4000, and rendering the house capable of containing about 400 boys." Ample time is allowed for intellectual instruction, but the staple employment consists in working at some trade, a variety of which as also agriculture, are pursued in the establishment, the object being "to give the boy on entering as far as possible a choice of occupation. Where this is not done the boy seldom follows it afterwards, nor improves while in the Institution.

Reformatories should be miniature worlds—free from the temptations of the great world, and yet sufficiently natural to test the boy's character. Everything artificial, constrained and calculated to promote hypocrisy, should be most carefully excluded. We therefore employ as 'family fathers' men who are so *de facto*, and who come in from, and go out daily to the world, thus treating the boys like others of similar trades outside." A farm of about 100 acres is shortly to be added to the Institution, and will form its agricultural colony. The boys are regularly drilled; they have access to a good library, and in summer are taken excursions into the country. The number at present in the house is about 380, with a staff of officers amounting to nearly 60 persons, including under that head every individual in the establishment except the lads from the Governor down to the female servants. The period during which the children remain is usually four or five years; the managers have no difficulty in procuring employment for them, but they endeavor as much as possible to send them to a distance. "From the commencement upwards of 700 boys have enjoyed the benefits of the house. They are sent to situations in this country, Canada, the merchant service, and the navy. Several are also being now sent to the army. From frequent examinations into the subsequent history of those left it is known that 85 per cent become

We have seen that many important elements of success are in operation in America, viz.:—1st—In most cases a sufficiency of funds. 2ndly—The power vested in the managers to retain their wards for long periods. 3rdly—Ample employment for them accompanied by careful surveillance when they depart; and 4thly—that zealous and most benevolent interest in their welfare, far above praise, exhibited by the employers to whom they are consigned, no less than by the founders of the schools, and their paid and unpaid assistants.

It might then have not unreasonably been expected, that under these favourable circumstances, a success would have been attained in the United States, at least equalling, if not superior, to that reached in any instance in Europe; and if we would really render the experience of others useful to ourselves, it is most important to discover, if possible, the causes which have militated against such a result. Those causes we are led by a careful study of the documents placed in our hands, to believe to be, 1st—The character of the buildings wherein the schools have usually been carried on, which by assembling the inmates together in one vast mass, prevents due classification, and altogether precludes individual action. We are confirmed in this opinion by the fact, that in establishing the Reform School for Girls in Massachusetts last year, preparatory to which similar institutions in the United States and in Europe, were carefully studied, the plan of erecting one huge edifice was rejected, for that of building small separate houses.

2ndly.—Beginning with a large number of pupils and adding to it rapidly, so that there has usually been a strong body of newly arrived children, who, not having had time to be operated upon by reformatory influences, are potent corruptors of the rest.

The most successful Reformatories with which we are acquainted have invariably commenced with very few pupils; and instances have occurred, among which may be mentioned that of the Philanthropic Society, where one child alone was received to begin with. A letter from Mr. Archibald Prentice

useful members of society, irrespective of those whose histories could not be traced." A very valuable feature in this institution is the training it affords to young men desirous of qualifying themselves to become masters of such establishments. We most earnestly wish that the managers of other Reformatories would grant equal facilities for promoting this important object.

of Manchester, which was printed in our Quarterly Record for March, 1855, contains an account of a school whose history so forcibly illustrates both the evil of beginning with a large number of pupils, and the benefit of commencing with only one, that we feel constrained to insert the passage.

In 1827, I accompanied the late Lady Carnegie, to see a school she had established in Edinburgh. Previously one had been opened for some thirty or forty 'city arabs.' *They were all bad to start with, and their congregation only made them worse.* They broke out of their house in the night, and robbed all their neighbourhood. The scheme was abandoned. Lady Carnegie had more sense than to give up a thing because it was difficult; she found one lad and put him under the care of a shoe-maker, who had been a soldier—a pious man. The boy soon began to like his employment and the conversation of his teacher. Another boy was then introduced, who had *two teachers*, the master and the boy first admitted. In a short time a third was introduced with happy effect. New pupils *then came into a pure moral atmosphere.* The school existed some years, and some of the boys had been sent out into the world and did well.

• • • • • One instance will show the effect of the *tone* of the school. A boy was introduced who in the absence of the shoe-maker swore and used slang language. One of the boys said, 'we cannot have that here, we are here to become better boys. It would be using the kind folks very ill if we did not try to behave ourselves.' •

3dly.—The distribution of the time of the inmates, by which an average of at most only six hours per day are allotted to labor, full four hours being devoted to instruction, and the remainder of the twenty four to eating sleeping and recreation. Contrasted with this comparatively luxurious mode of life the toil and self denial to which the honest laborer has to submit, must appear repulsive indeed. Labor has been well denominated "the backbone of reformation," and the experience of all reformatory institutions serves to prove its efficacy as a purifying agent. At Mettray the elder lads work at least ten hours out of the twenty-four

4thly.—The short time the inmates remain in the institutions. A large proportion appear to stay only a few months, and some only a few weeks. In 1856, 62 were discharged from the Philadelphia House of Refuge after a detention of under one year, and in 1855, 128 were sent out who had been there for a similar short period. Of 215 discharged from the Westborough School in 1855, 176 had remained less than three years and 51 less than one year. The average length of stay

of the inmates in all the reformatory institutions in the United States has been estimated at eighteen months, and as a certain proportion of these remain four or five years, it is obvious that a considerable number must depart after a much shorter detention than a year and a-half. Four or five years, be it remembered is considered by those who have had most success in reclaiming criminal children, should be the *minimum* length of their stay in the Reformatory.

The above facts we think go far to account for the results attained in American Reformatories falling short of what has been shown to be possible, though it certainly is not frequent, in Europe, and of that share of success to which the zeal and benevolence of their promoters appear to be so richly entitled.

A word before we conclude, on the subject of establishing Reformatories in Ireland, for it must be borne in mind that at present we have no material on which to employ the knowledge derived from the experience of other lands. While the United States, the sister Island, and indeed almost every country in Europe, including even Russia, have their Reformatory Schools, Ireland cannot show one! We trust a bill for their establishment here, will speedily be brought before Parliament, and we exhort our members to take their part in the honourable task of forwarding so truly national a measure. Meanwhile the voluntary efforts of private individuals may do much to supply our pressing need. With the deepest satisfaction we have learnt that the long projected Reformatory at Cork is likely soon to be commenced; the enterprize is liberally supported by all parties and all creeds, and, judging from the admirable prospectus recently issued, it will be conducted on sound principles.* In institutions founded without the authority of the State legal restraint cannot of course be exercised over the inmates, and the managers must depend on moral influences alone; but this very circumstance may not be without its advantages, and at any rate, let it be remembered, such schools will be in no worse position than were all Reformatories in Great Britain before the passing of the Juvenile Offenders' Act of 1854.

* This Prospectus we print in our present Record, together with the Charge delivered at the last Michaelmas Sessions by Mr. Serjeant Berwick, Q.C. containing an earnest appeal in favor of Reformatories, whose importance no man is more competent to estimate than this philanthropic judge.

ART. IV.—IRISH POETS.

1. *Day and Night Songs.* By William Allingham. London : George Routledge and Co., Farringdon-street.
2. *The Music Master and other Poems.* By William Allingham, with nine woodcuts by Arthur Hughes, D. G. Rosetti, and John E. Millais, A. R. A. London : Routledge and Co.
3. *Poems and Sketches.* By Biddulph Warner. Dublin : P. Dixon Hardy and Sons, 1857.
4. *Failings in the Fold.* By Lynx. Dublin : Morgan, 1857.
5. *Oithona. Humbly attempted from Ossian.* By St. John Mason, Esq. London, 1857.

"Poetry," says Hazlitt, "is the oldest, rarest, and most excellent of the fine arts, and is the highest species of refined literature. It was the first fixed form of language, and the earliest perpetuation of thought. It existed before music in melody, and before painting in description." "My blessings on the man who first invented sleep," exclaimed Sancho Panza. Men of poetic temperament who derive as exquisite an enjoyment from poesy, as e'er the squire did from his luxurious naps, and siestas, may with equal earnestness and sincerity ejaculate, "Our blessings on the head of him who first invented poetry." This cordial sentiment we cordially endorse. Let honor be given to whom honor is due by all means. But who is entitled to the laurel? The period of the invention of poetry is wrapt in as dense a haze of obscurity, as the veriest admirer of the mysticism of Bailey or Browning could possibly desire. Perhaps the most ancient piece of poetry extant, is the sublime song of Moses on the happy deliverance of the Israelites, B. C. 1491, and their passage through the Red Sea. Two hundred years later we find Orpheus of Thrace writing poems on all sorts of subjects, intensely fascinating those who hearkened to his effusions, and leading the minds of men and women captive. A bardic blank of two hundred years again occurs; but at length, B. C. 915, the misfortunes of Troy tempt to action the most powerful poetic pen that ever built a canto. All hail great Homer! whether in pourtraying the terrible wrath of Achilles, or the tender amatory emotions of Ulysses' heart, you are equally powerful and true to nature. For two hundred years the world listened spell-bound to

Homer's massive diction : but the thirst for novelty was not less active then as now ; and Homer's verses were temporally laid aside, B. C. 700, for the light, brilliant, and ironical Iambics of Archilochus, and the exhilarating stanzas of Iambe, wife of Celeus, King of Sparta, who as Apollodorus tells us, framed them to cheer the drooping spirit of Ceres while searching the length and breadth of Attica for her long lost daughter Proserpine. Iambics at last went out of fashion, and Odes became the rage. Originally sung in honor of the Gods, they were, as the march of intellect progressed, applied to nobler purposes and subjects : and we find the most sublime specimens of this species of poetry on record enunciated by the Royal Prophet Isaiah on the fall of Babylon. The Odes of Anacreon, which Moore has made familiar to every English eye, were thrown off five hundred years before the birth of the Redeemer.

Poetry was not known in matter-of-fact England until Aldhelme, Lord Abbot of Malmesbury, introduced it about the close of the seventh century. The existence of a true, legitimate, and genial system of poetry in Ireland was of a still later date.

The increasing growth of Irish poetry indicates a healthy state of the public taste ; and we cordially bid it God speed for that reason.

It has been often and truly said that comparisons are odious ; but, like many other equally odious things, they are daily perpetrated notwithstanding ; and as an instance, we beg emphatically to declare, that of the four poets at present before us Mr. Allingham is far and away the best. We were at first disposed to place a certain fair lyrist amongst the number ; but we finally relinquished the idea, lest the time-honoured French motto *Place aux Dames* should embarrass our determination to give precedence to the best writer.

That Mr. Allingham is an ardent admirer of nature, and one of its happiest pourtrayers, will be remembered by all who read and studied his maiden production published in 1850. That volume—"one of the chief inducements to the publication of which was the belief that it would assist him on his way, by giving, as it were, a fresh starting point, and also some external checks in calculating his position"—was received with an amount of favour by the critics not often manifested in the case of first efforts. Tennyson's *debut* was savagely hissed by the Quarterlies ; and the same remark might apply to a hun-

dred other men who subsequently rose to high literary distinction. Mr. Allingham was singularly fortunate. The applause which greeted his first bow was long, earnest, and cordial. Some eccentricities of genius were perhaps observable; but one and all felt and declared, that the *debutant* had that within which ensured a certain ultimate success. It would appear from some passages in Mr. Allingham's first book that to the kindly and discerning instincts of Leigh Hunt we are in no small degree, indebted for the confidence which inspired the first essay of the young bard. Leigh Hunt encouraged his boyish lucubrations, and Mr. Allingham gracefully acknowledged his obligation to him in a simple, earnest, "Dedication."

Mr. Allingham, we believe, received his education mainly at Foyle College, Londonderry, and for several years has filled a responsible office connected with the revenue in the picturesque town of Ballyshannon, not far from the romantic banks of Lough Erne. Mr. Allingham, it seems, occasionally peeps from his official and poetic papers, and flings "sheep's eyes" through the "bulls eyes" of his window in "the lane."

VENUS OF THE NEEDLE.

O Maryanne, you pretty girl,
Intent on silken labour,
Of sempstresses the pink and pearl,
Excuse a peeping neighbour!

Those eyes, for ever drooping, give
The long brown lashes rarely;
But violets in the shadows live,—
For once unvell them fairly.

Hast thou not lent that founce enough
Of looks so long and earnest?
Lo, here's more "penetrable stuff"
To which thou never turnest.

Ye graceful fingers, deftly sped!
How slender, and how nimble!
O might I wind their skeins of thread,
Or but pick up their thimble!

How blast the youth whom love shall bring,
And happy stars embolden,
To change the dome into a ring,
The silver into golden!

Who'll steal some morning to her side
* To take her finger's measure,
While Maryanne pretends to chide,
And blushes deep with pleasure.

Who'll watch her sew her wedding-gown,
Well conscious that it is hers;
Who'll glean a treat, with out a frown,
With those so ready scissors.

Who'll taste those ripenings of the south,
The fragrant and delicious—
Don't put the pins into your mouth,
O Maryanne, my precious!

I almost wish it were my trust
To teach how shocking that is;
I wish I had not, as I must,
To quit this tempting lattice.

Sure aim takes Cupid, fluttering foe,
* Across a street so narrow;
A thread of silk to string his bow,
A needle for his arrow!

What odd sights Mr. Allingham *does* see, at times, from that wonderful window of his in "the lane" of Ballyshannon.

A DREAM.

I heard the dogs howl in the moonlight night,
And I went to the window to see the sight;
All the dead that ever I knew
Going one by one, and two by two.

On they passed, and on they passed,
Townsfellows all from first to last;
Born in the moonlight of the lane,
And quenched in the heavy shadow again.

Schoolmates, marching as when we play'd
At soldiers once—but now more staid;
Those were the strangest sights to me,
Who were drowned, I knew, in the awful sea.

Straight and handsome folk; bent and weak
too;
Some that I loved, and gasp'd to speak to
Some but a day in their churchyard bed;
And some, that I had not known were dead.

A long, long crowd—where each seemed
lovely—
And yet of them all there was one—one only,
That rais'd a head, or look'd my way;
And she seemed to linger, but might not stay.

How long since I saw that fair pale face;
Ah, mother dear, might I only place
My head on thy breast, a moment to rest,
While thy hand on my tearful cheek were
press'd.

On, on—a moving bridge they made
Across the moonstream, from shade to shade;
Young and old—women and men;
Many long forgot, but remembered then.

And first there came a bitter laughter,
And a sound of tears a moment after;
And then a music so lofty and gay,
That every morning, day by day,
I strive to recall it, if I may.

The following ballad has been set to music; but the composer can hardly be said to have done his part with the taste and feeling evidenced by the Poet.

LADY ALICE.

I.

Now what doth Lady Alice so late on the turret stair,
Without a lamp to light her, but the diamond in her hair;
When every arching passage overflows with shallow gloom,
And dreams float through the castle, into every silent room?

She trembles at her footsteps, although they fall so light;
Through the turret loopholes she sees the wild midnight;
Broken vapours streaming across the stormy sky;
Down the empty corridors the blast doth moan and cry.

She steals along a gallery; she pauses by a door;
And fast her tears are dropping down upon the oaken floor;
And thrice she seems returning—but thrice she turns again:—
Now heavy lie the clouds of sleep on that old father's brain!

Oh, well it were that *never* shouldst thou waken from thy sleep!
For wherefore should they waken, who waken but to weep?
No more, no more beside thy bed doth Peace a vigil keep,
But Woe,—a lion that awaits thy rousing for its leap.

II.

An afternoon of April, no sun appears on high,
But a moist and yellow lustre fills the deepness of the sky;
And through the castle-gateway, left empty and forlorn,
Along the leafless avenue an honour'd bier is borne.

They stop. The long line closes up like some gigantic worm;
A shape is standing in the path, a wan and ghost-like form,
Which gazes fixedly; nor moves, nor utters any sound;
Then, like a statue built of snow, sinks down upon the ground.

And though her clothes are ragged, and though her feet are bare,
And though all wild and tangled falls her heavy silk-brown hair;
Though from her eyes the brightness, from her cheeks the bloom is fled,
They know their Lady Alice, the darling of the dead.

With silence, in her own old room the fainting form they lay,
Where all things stand unalter'd since the night she fled away;
But who—but who shall bring to life her father from the clay?
But who shall give her back again her heart of a former day?

As a contrast to the fair Lady Alice, we print the Dirty Old Man, a piece originally presented to the public under Charles Dickens's auspices, through the medium of Household Words. We heard from good authority at the time, that it took the

great man's fancy immensely; and that he attested the sincerity of his approval, by sending the author a very liberal sum of money in payment for it.

The eccentric subject of these verses kept for many years prior to 1809, (when he died,) a large hardware shop in Leadenhall-street, London. He was best known as "Dirty Dick," and his place of business as "the Dirty Ware House."

THE DIRTY OLD MAN.

A LAY OF LEADENHALL.

In a dirty old house lived a Dirty Old Man;
Soap, towels, or brushes were not in his plan.
For forty long years, as the neighbours declared,
His house never once had been clean'd or repair'd.

'Twas a scandal and shame to the business-like street,
One terrible blot in a ledger so neat:
The shop full of hardware, but black as a hearse,
And the rest of the mansion a thousand times worse.

Outside, the old plaster, all spatter and stain,
Looked spotty in sunshine and streaky in rain;
The window-sills sprouted with mildewy grass,
And the panes from being broken were known to be glass.

On the rickety signboard no learning could spell
The merchant who sold, or the goods he'd to sell;
But for house and for man a new title took growth,
Like a fungus; the Dirt gave its name to them both.

Within, there were carpets and cushions of dust
The wood was half rot, and the metal half rust,
Old curtains—half cobwebs—hung grimly aloof;
'Twas a spider's Elysium from cellar to roof.

There, king of the spider, the Dirty Old Man
Lives busy and dirty as ever he can;
With dirt on his fingers and dirt on his face,
For the Dirty Old Man thinks the dirt no disgrace.

From his wig to his shoes, from his coat to his shirt,
His clothes are a proverb, a marvel of dirt;
The dirt is pervading, unfading, exceeding,
Yet the Dirty Old Man has both learning and breeding.

Fine dames from their carriages, noble and fair,
Have entered his shop—less to buy than to stare;
And have afterwards said, though the dirt was so frightful,
The Dirty Man's manners were truly delightful.

But they pried not upstairs, through the dirt and the gloom,
Nor peep'd at the door of the wonderful room
That gossip made much of, in accents subdued,
But whose inside no mortal might brag to have view'd.

That room—forty years since, folk settled and deck'd it.
The luncheon's prepared, and the guests are expected.
The handsome young host he is gallant and gay,
For his love and her friends will be with him to-day.

With solid and dainty the table is drest,
The wine beams its brightest, the flowers bloom their best,
Yet the host need not smile, and no guests will appear,
For his sweetheart is dead, as he shortly shall hear.

Full forty years since, turned the key in that door,
'Tis a room deaf and dumb 'mid the city's uproar.
The guests, for whose joyance that table was spread,
May now enter as ghosts, for they're every one dead.

Through a chink in the shutter dim lights come and go,
The seats are in order, the dishes a-row;
But the luncheon was wealth to the rat and the mouse
Whose descendants have long left the Dirty Old House.

Cup and platter are mask'd in thick layers of dust;
The flowers fall'n to powder, the wines swath'd in crust;
A nosegay was laid before one special chair,
And the faded blue ribbon that bound it lies there.

The old man has play'd out his parts in the scene.
Wherever he now is, I hope he's more clean
Yet give we a thought free of scoffing or ban
To that Dirty Old House and that Dirty Old Man.

In England, railway or other accidents are of too frequent occurrence to make much impression on its go-a-head, money-making people; but, in the sister country, whose popular motto is usually, "fair an' aisy," and "slow, but sure;" we are certain to remember long and acutely, any tragic or untoward event. The terrible tragedy to the Killarney Train at Straffan, on the 5th October, 1853, will doubtless be fresh in the Irish reader's recollection. Mr Allingham graphically depicts the catastrophe, and feels, with a generous sensibility, for the poor sufferers, living and dead.

IRISH SOUTH-WESTERN RAILWAY.

Adieu! Killarney's autumn woods,
Clear-mirror'd round the skiff;
Its purple mountains, falling floods,
Isle, abbey, rock, and cliff.

The magic car of modern skill
Nor hour nor distance heeds;
With beat, and roar, and whistle shrill,
On through the dusk it speeds.

Our friends in Dublin city gay
Expectant name our names;
"The fog is out to-night," they say,
And stir the kindly flames.

Oh, chiller than October's touch
Is freezing many a smile!
Terror and mortal torment clutch
What love expects the while!

Love's self, however true and warm,
Might fail to recognize
The dear, the well-remembered form,
If set before its eyes!

'Mong twisted metal, splinter'd wood,
Half-buried in the ground;
'Mong heaps of limbs, crush'd up in blood,
Must wife, child, friend, be found.

No hostile cannonade or mine
Perform'd the cruel wrong;
Through peaceful fields they sped to join
The city's sprightly throng.

And, pausing on their iron track,
Deem'd not the panting breath
And pon'drous rush were at their back
Of swift-pursuing death.

Now, grim the cold dark night weighs down,
But redly through the shade
A fiery furnace glares upon
The ruin it has made:

And see, where anxious horror throbs!
Pale lights are flitting there,
And shrieks abound, and wordless sobs
Haste, tumult, and despair;

Quick questions to which silence dees
The slow and dread reply;
Sad kisses where th' unhurt lip feels
All—all the agony.

By many a household hearth to-night
Must welcome change for wail:
More swiftly quench'd their happy light
Than one could tell the tale!

O, strive we, human heart and hand,
This lesson to improve,
That all may use, but none command
The world wherein we move:

On moral or on metal road,—
Else man were but a walf,—
Obedience to th' eternal code
Alone can bring him safe.

"The Music Master, a Love Story," is an Epic of considerable length and pretensions. It originally appeared in the volume of 1850, but in a comparatively crude and imperfect shape. This charming tale has now been so thoroughly revived, and remodelled, as rather to entitle itself to be regarded as a new poem, than a mere mechanical reprint from the old.

"The Music Master" opens with a picture of an Irish village at even-tide.

Music and Love!—If lovers hear me sing,
I will for them essay the simple tale,
To hold some fair young listeners in a ring
With echoes gather'd from an Irish vale,
Where still, methinks, abide my golden years,
Though I not with them,—far discern'd
through tears.

When evening fell upon the village street
And brother fields, reposing hand in hand,
Unlike where flaring cities scorn to meet
The kiss of dust that quiets all the land,
'Twas pleasant laziness to loiter by
Houses and cottages, a friendly spy.

And hear the frequent fiddle that would glide
Through jovial mazes of a jig or reel,
Or sink from sob to sob with plaintive slide,
Or mount the steps of swift exulting zeal;
For our old village was with music fill'd
Like any grove where thrushes wont to build.

Mixt with the roar of bellows and of flame,
Perhaps the reed-voice of a clarionet
From forge's open ruddy shutter came;
Or round some hearth were silent people
set,
Where the low flute, with plaintive quivering,
ran on
Through "Colleen Dhas" or "Hawk of
Ballyshannon."

Or pictured on those bygone, shadowy nights
I see a group of girls at needlework,
Placed round a candle throwing soft half-
lights
On the contrasted faces, and the dark
And fair-hair'd heads, a bunch of human
flow'rs;
And many a ditty cheers th' industrious
hours.

Pianoforte's sound from curtain'd pane
Would join the lofty to the lowly roof
In the sweet links of one harmonious chain;
And often down the street some Glee's
old woo,
"Hope of my heart!"—"Ye Shepherds!"—
"Lightly tread,"
Would mesh my steps or wrap me in my bed.

The most delicious chance, if we should hear,
Pour'd from our climbing glen's enfoliaged
rocks,
At dusk some solitary bogle, clear,
Remote, and melancholy; echo mocks
The strain delighted, wafting it afar
Up to the threshold of the evening star.

And Gerald was our music-master's name;
Young Gerald White; whose mother, not
long wed.

Only to make him ours by birthright came.
Her *Requiescat* I have often read,
Where thickest ivy hangs its ancient pall
Over the dumb and desolate abbey wall.

The father found a music-pupil rare,
More ready still to learn than he to teach;
His art no longer was his only care,
But now young Gerald with it, each for each;
And with a secret and assiduous joy
The grave musician taught his happy boy.

The boy's whole thought to Music lean'd
and away'd;
He heard a minor in the wind at night,
And many a tune the village noises play'd;
The thunder roar'd like bands before the
night
Of marching armies; in deep summer calm
The falling brooklet would intone a psalm.

The Chapel organ-loft, his father's seat,
Was to the child his earthly paradise;
And that celestial one that used to greet
His infant dreams, could take no other
guise
Than visions of green curtains and gold pipes,
And angels of whom quire-girls were the
types.

Their fresh young voices from the congrega-
tion,
Train'd and combined by simple rules of
chant,
And lifted on the harmonious modulation
Roll'd from the lofty organ, ministrant
To sacred triumph, well might bring a thought
Of angels there,—perhaps themselves it
brought.

Poor girls the most were: this one had
her nest,
A mountain maia, in the craggy furze;
Another in close lane must toil and rest,
And never caged-bird's song more fine
than hers,
Humming at work all through the busy week,
Set free in Sabbath chorus, proud and meek.

And when young Gerald might adventure
forth
Through Music-land,—where hope and
memory kiss
And singing fly beyond the bourne of earth,
And the whole spirit full of aching bliss

Would follow as the parting shrouds reveal
Glimpses ineffable, but soon conceal,—

While all the hills, mayhap, and distant plain,
Village and brook were shaded, fold on fold,

With the slow dusk, and on the purpling pane

Soft twilight barr'd with crimson and with gold

Lent to that simple little house of prayer
A richly solemn, a cathedral air ;

His symphonies to suit the dying close
Suffused it with a voice that could not ask

In vain for tears ; not ask in vain from those
Who in the dew full'd their pious task,

Kneeling with rosaries beside a grave ;
To whom a heavenly comforting it gave.

“Our Village” (not Miss Mitford’s,) contained many fair specimens of rustic beauty ; and we have taken the unwarrantable liberty to infer, that heads as well as hearts were *often* most unpoetically broken among the rival swains. Gerald, the Music Master, falls deeply in love with Milly, the lovely daughter of an ugly old widower in humble circumstances. Milly returns his passion, but both are too bashful to divulge the soft secret which burns brightly within. Some thirty stanzas of true poetry, are devoted to this interesting theme. We resume our extracts.

And now, 'tis on a royal eventide
When the ripe month sets glowing earth
and air,

And Summer by a stream or thicket-side
Twists amber honeysuckles in her hair,—
Gerald and Milly meet by trembling chance,
And step for step are moving, in a trance.

Their pathway foliage curtain'd and moss-
grown ;—

Ebbed the trees the white flood flashing
swift,

Through many moist and ferny rocks flung
down,

Roars steadily, where sunlights play and
shift.

How oft they stop, how long, they nothing
know,

Nor how the pulses of the evening go.

Their talk ?—the dappled hyacinthine glade
Lit up in points of blue,—how soft and
treble

The kine's deep lowing is by distance made—
The quail's “twit-wit-wit,” like a hopping
pebble

Thrown along ice,—the dragonflies, the birds,
The rustling twig,—all noticed in few words.

A level pond, inlaid with lucid shadows
Of groves and crannied cliffs and evening
sky,

Thus village years went by. Day after day
Flow'd, as a stream unweary with storms
or floods

Flows by some islet with a hawthorn grey ;
Where circling seasons bring a share of
buds,

Nests, blossoms, ruddy fruit, and, in their
turn,

Of withering leaves and frosty twigs forlorn.

So went the years, that never may abide
Boyhood to manhood, manly prime to age.

Ceaselessly gliding on, as still they glide ;—
Un ill the father yields for heritage

(Joyful, yet with a sigh) the master's place
To Gerald—who could higher fortune grace.

And rural domes of hay, where the green
meadows

Slope to embrace its margin peacefully,
The slumbering river to the rapid draws ;
And here, upon a grassy jut, they pause.

How shy a strength is Love's, that so much
fears

Its darling secret to itself to own !

Their rapt, illimitable mood appears

A beauteous miracle for each alone ;*

Exalted high above all range of hope

By the pure soul's eternity of scope.

Yet in both hearts a prophecy is breathed

Of how this evening's phantom may arise,

In richer hues than ever sunlight wreathed

On hill or wood or wave : in brimming eyes

The glowing landscape melts away from each ;

And full their bosoms swell, too full for
speech.

Is it a dream ? The countless happy stars

Stand silently into the deepening blue ;

In slow procession all the molten bars

Of cloud move down ; the air is dim with
dew ;

Eye scatters roses on the shroud of day ;

The common world sinks far and far away !

* Originally this line stood—

“To each of them to be enjoyed alone.”

† “And the old world seems far withdrawn away”—in orig.

With goodnight kiss the zephyr, half asleep
Sinks to its cradle in the dusk of trees,
Where river-chimings tolling sweet and deep
Make lullaby, and all field-scents that
please

The Summer's children float into the gloom†
Dream-interwoven in a viewless loom.

Clothed with an earnest paleness, not a
blush,

And with th' angelic gravity of love,
Each lover's face amid the twilight hush
Is like a saint's whose thoughts are all
above

In perfect gratitude for heavenly boon;
And o'er them for a halo comes the moon.

Thus through the leaves and the dim dewy
croft

They linger homeward. Flowers around
their feet

Bless them, and in the firmament aloft
Night's silent ardours. And an hour too
fleet,

Though stretching years from all the life
before,

Conducts their footsteps to her cottage door.

Thenceforth they meet more timidly?—in
truth,

Some lovers might, but all are not the
same;

In the clear ether of their simple youth
Steady and white ascends the sacred flame.
They do not shrink hereafter; rather seek
More converse, but with graver voices speak.

One theme at last preferred to every other,
Joying to talk of that mysterious land
Where each enshrines the image of a mother
Best of all watchers in the guardian band;
To highest, tenderest thought is freedom
given
Amid this unembarrass'd air of heaven.

For when a hymn has wing'd itself away
On Palestrina's full-resounding chords,
And at the trellis'd window loiter they,
Deferring their goodnight with happy
words,
Almost they know, without a throb of fear,
Of spirits in the twilight standing near.

And day by day and week by week pass by,
And Love still poised upon a trembling
plume

Floats on the very verge of sovereignty,
Where ev'n a look may call him to assume
The rich apparel and the shining throne,
And claim two loyal subjects for his own.

Wondrous, that first, full, mutual look of
love

Coming ere either looker is aware;
Unbounded trust, a tenderness above
All tenderness; mute music, speechless
prayer;

Life's mystery, reality, and might,
Soft-swimming in a single ray of light:

O when shall fly this talismanic gleam,
Which melts like lightning every prison-
bar,

Which penetrates the mist with keener beam
Than flows from sun or moon or any star?
Love waits; and like a pebble of the ground
Th' imperial gem lies willing to be found.

One evening, Gerald came before his hour
Distrustful of the oft-consulted clock:
And waits, with no companion, till his
flower—

Keeping the time as one of Flora's flock,
Whose shepherdess, the Sunset Star, doth
fold

Each in its leaves—he may again behold.

Nor thinks it long. Familiar all, and dear,
A sanctity pervades the silent room.

Autumnal is the season of the year:
A mystic softness and love-weighty gloom
Gather with twilight. In a dream he lays,
His hand on the piano, dreaming plays.

Most faint and broken sounds at first are
stealing

Into the shadowy stillness; wild and slow,
Imperfect cadences of captive feeling,
Gathering its strength, and yet afraid to
know

Its chance of freedom,—till on murmuring
chords

Th' unguarded thought strays forth in
passionate words.

Angel of Music! when our finest speech
Is all too coarse to give the heart relief,
The inmost fountains lie within thy reach,
Soother of every joy and every grief;
And to the stumbling words thou loandest
wings
On which aloft th' enfranchised spirit
springs.

Much love may in not many words be told;
And on the sudden love can speak the
best.

These mystical melodious buds unfold,
On every petal showing clear imprint
The name of Love. So Gerald sung and
play'd
Unconscious of himself, in twilight shade.

He has not overheard (O might it be!)
This stifled sobbing at the open door,
Where Milly stands arrested tremblingly
By that which in an instant tells her more
Than all the dumb months mused of; tells
it plain
To joy that cannot comprehend its gain.

One moment, and they shall be face to face
Free in the gift of this great confidence;

* In original it stood thus:

“ Warm with sleep,
Gains its soft cradle in a bed of trees.”

† In orig. :—“ The Summer float into its veil of gloom.”

Wrapt in the throbbing calm of its embrace
No more to disunite their spirits thence.
The myrtle crown stoops close to either
brow,—

But ah! what alien voice distracts them
now?

Her sister comes. And Milly turns away;
Hurriedly bearing to some quiet spot
Her tears and her full heart, longing to lay
On a dim pillow cheeks so moist and hot.
When midnight stars between her curtains
gleam
Fair Milly sleeps, and dreams a happy dream.

O dream, poor child! beneath the midnight
stars;

O slumber through the kindling of the
dawn;*

The shadow's on its way; the storm that
mars

The lily even now is hurrying on.
All has been long fulfill'd; yet I could weep
At thought of thee so quietly asleep.

But Gerald, through the night serenely
spread,

Walks quickly home, intoxicate with bliss

Not named and not examined; overhead
The clustering lights of worlds are full
of this

New element; the soft wind's dusky wings
Grow warmer on his cheek, with whispermings.

And yet to-night he has not seen his Love—
His Love—in that one word all comfort

dwells;

Reaching from earth to those clear flames
above,

And making common food of miracle.

Kind pulsing Nature, touch of Deity,
Sure thou art full of love, which lovers see!

Most cruel Nature, so unmoved, so hard,

The while thy children shake with joy
or pain!

Thou wilt not forward Love, nor Death
retard

One finger-push, for mortal's dearest gain.

Our Gerald, through the night serenely
spread,

Walks quickly home, and finds his father
dead.

An uncle of Gerald's now assumes the parental authority over him, and he urges the young music master to emigrate. After a severe struggle with the emotions of nature, Gerald at last decides upon leaving the country. His timidity and fatal reserve increase. He endeavours to burst the bonds which bind him, but all to no use; his tongue refuses its office, and he carries his unavowed passion to America. The anguish which corrodes his heart, becomes at last beyond endurance, and with palpitations strong and rapid, he returns to the once happy Irish village again.

—“My sweet girl, I sought her,
But sorrow alas! to her cold grave had brought her,
Savourneen Deelish Eileen ogh.”

Milly's nurse tells the tale of her decline and death—one almost impossible to read with dry eyes. The nurse leads the way, and having crossed the church-yard stile, she points out to him where the mortal part of Milly lies.

Slow were their feet amongst the many
graves,
Over the stile and up the chapel walk,

Where stood the poplars with their timid
leaves
Hung motionless on every slender stalk.

* We doubt whether the alterations made in this stanza are an improvement on the original version, i.e.—

“Lie slumbering far into the yellow dawn,
The shadow creeps apace: the storm that moves
The lily even now is stealing on.”

The air in one hot calm appear'd to lie,
And thunder mutter'd in the heavy sky.

Along the street was heard the laughing
sound

Of boys at play, who knew no thought of
death ;

Deliberate-stepping cows, to milking bound,
Lifted their heads and low'd with fragrant
breath ;

The women knitting at their thresholds cast
A look upon our stranger as he pass'd.

Scarce had the mourners time a roof to gain,
When, with electric glare and thunder-
crash,

Heavy and straight and fierce came down
the rain,

Soaking the white road with its sudden
plash.

Driving all folk within-doors at a race,
And making every kennel gush apace.

The storm withdrew as quickly as it came,
And through the broken clouds a brilliant
ray

Glow'd o'er the dripping earth in yellow
flame,

And flush'd the village panes with parting
day.

Sudden and full that swimming lustre shone
Into the room where Gerald sat alone.

The door is lock'd, and on the table lies
The open parcel. Long he wanted strength
To trust its secrets to his feverish eyes ;

But now the message is convey'd at
length ;—

A note ; a case ; and folded with them there
One finest ringlet of brown-auburn hair.

The case holds Milly's portrait—her reflec-
tion :

Lips half apart as though about to speak ;

The frank white brow, young eyes of grave
affection,

Even the pretty seam in the soft cheek :
Swift image of a moment snatch'd from
Time,

Fix'd by a sun-beam in eternal prime.

The note ran thus, " Dear Gerald, near my
death,

I feel that like a Spirit's words are these
In which I say, that I have perfect faith
In your true love for me,—as God, who
sees

The secrets of all hearts, can see in mine
That fondest truth which sends this feeble
sign.

"I do not think that he will take away,
Even in heaven, this precious earthly
love ;

Surely he sends its pure and blissful ray
Down as a message from the world above
Perhaps it is the full light drawing near
Which makes the doubting Past at length
grow clear.

"We might have been so happy !—But His
will

Said no, who orders all things for the best.
O may his power into your soul instil
A peace like this of which I am possess'd!
And may he bless you, love, for evermore,
And guide you safely to his Heavenly shore!"

Hard sits the downy pillow to a head
Aching with memories: and Gerald sought
The mournful paths where happy hours
had fled,—

Pacing through silent labyrinths of
thought.

Yet sometimes, in his loneliness of grief,
The richness of the loss came like relief.

Gerald returns to America, and endeavors to stifle gloomy thoughts in energetic labour. We shall not mar the effect of one of the sweetest poems in the language, by giving a prosaic version of its *denouement*. There is not a page of any part of it upon which we should not desire to linger fondly. It possesses all the characteristics of the genuine poetry of the affections, tenderness, sensibility, delicacy, simplicity, and truth. The tone of the poem alternately thrills, and soothes deliciously. A neatly checked tendency to profundity of thought, as well as a judiciously controlled richness of imagination, are traceable in nearly every stanza. The illustrations which accompany this poem are of a high order of excellence ; and the same remark applies to many of the minor compositions.

In comparing the present edition of the *Music Master* with the original version, we observe that every stanza has been enriched by numerous judicious verbal alterations. One of the

most influential of the criticisms on Mr. Allingham's first volume objected to the phrase of "the long grey sky," as savouring too much of Tennysonian obscurity. "Long—which way?" said the Critic, "along or across? and then which is the longitudinal section of the sky? the long sky, the long sphere, the long circle—it is affectations." Notwithstanding this criticism Mr. Allingham has let "the long grey sky" stand, and we do not quarrel with him for sticking to an expressive, though perhaps an incorrect phrase.

Of the minor poems there are many of great promise and power. "Evey," "Wishing," "The Cold Wedding," and "Wayconnell Tower," may be hastily named as instances. "St. Margaret's Eve" is perhaps too mystic to be a general favorite, but no one can be insensible to the eccentric course of wild beauty which runs through it.

ST. MARGARET'S EVE.

I built my castle upon the sea-side,
The waves roll so gaily, O,
 Half on the land and half in the tide,
Love me true!

Within was silk, without was stone,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 It lacks a queen, and that alone,
Love me true!

The grey old harper sung to me,
The waves roll so gaily, O,
 Beware of the damsel of the sea!
Love me true!

Saint Margaret's Eve it did befall,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 The tide came creeping up the wall,
Love me true!

I open'd my gate; who there should stand—
The waves roll so gaily, O,
 But a fair lady, with a cup in her hand,
Love me true!

The cup was gold, and full of wine,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 Drink, said the lady, and I will be thine,
Love me true!

Enter my castle, lady fair,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 You shall be queen of a land that's there,
Love me true!

A grey old harper sung to me,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 Beware of the damsel of the sea!
Love me true!

In hall he harpeth many a year,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 And we will sit his song to hear,
Love me true!

I love thee deep, I love thee true,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 But ah! I know not how to woo,
Love me true!

Down dash'd the cup, with a sudden shock,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 The wine like blood ran over the rock,
Love me true!

She said no word, but shriek'd aloud,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 And vanished away from where she stood,
Love me true!

I lock'd and barr'd my castle door,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 Three summer days I grieved sore,
Love me true!

For myself a day and night,
The waves roll so gaily O,
 And two to moan that lady bright,
Love me true!

Ballyshannon is full of fishermen, and other sea-faring folk. Most of them are married, and not a few have pretty daughters. One especially would seem to have furnished an eminently happy vein of inspiration to Mr. Allingham.

THE PILOT'S PRETTY DAUGHTER.

O'er western tides the fair Spring Day
 Was smiling back as it withdrew,
 And all the harbour, glittering gay,
 Return'd a blithe adieu;
 Great clouds above the hills and sea
 Kept brilliant watch, and air was free
 Where last lark first-born star shall greet,—
 When, for the crowning vernal sweet,
 Among the slopes and crags I meet
 The Pilot's pretty Daughter.

Round her gentle, happy face,
 Dimpled soft, and freshly fair,
 Danced with careless ocean grace
 Locks of auburn hair:
 As lightly blew the veering wind,
 They touch'd her cheeks, or waved behind,
 Unbound, unbraided, and unlopp'd;
 Or when to tie her shoe she stoop'd,
 Below her chin the half-curled droop'd,
 And veil'd the Pilot's Daughter.

Rising, she toss'd them gaily back,
 With gesture infantine and brief,
 'To fall around as soft a neck
 As the wild rose's leaf.
 Her Sunday frock of lilac shade
 ('That choicest tint) was neatly made,
 And not too long to hide from view
 The stout but noway clumsy shoe,
 And stocking's smoothly-fitting blue,
 That graced the Pilot's Daughter.

With look, half timid and half droll,
 And then with slightly downcast eyes,
 And blush that outward softly stole,—
 Unless it were the skies
 Whose sun-ray shifted on her cheek,—
 She turn'd when I began to speak;
 But 'twas a brightness all her own
 That in her firm light step was shown,
 And the clear cadence of her tone;
 The Pilot's lovely Daughter!

Were it my lot, (the sudden wish)—
 To handle a pilot's oar and sail,
 Or haul the dripping moonlight mesh,
 Spangled with herring-scale;
 By dying stars, how sweet 'twould be,
 And dawn-blow freshening the sea,
 With weary, cheery pull to shore,
 To gain my cottage-home once more,
 And clasp, before I reach the door,
 My love, the Pilot's Daughter!

This element beside my feet
 Allures, a tepid wine of gold;
 One touch, one taste, dispels the cheat,
 'Tis salt and nipping cold:
 A fisher's hut, the scene perforce
 Of narrow thoughts and manners coarse,
 Coarse as the curtains that beset
 With net-festoons the smoky beam,
 Would never lodge my favourite dream,
 E'en with my Pilot's Daughter.

To the large riches of the earth,
 Endowing men in their own spite,
 The Poor, by privilege of birth,
 Stand in the closest tight.
 Yet not aloof the palm grows dull
 With clayey delf and watery pull;
 And this for me,—or hourly pain,
 But could I sink and call it gain
 Unless a pilot true, 'twere vain
 To wed a Pilot's Daughter.

Lift her, perhaps?—but ah! I said,
 Much wiser leave such thoughts alone
 So may thy beauty, simple maid,
 Be mine, yet all thy own.
 Join'd in my free contented love
 With companies of stars above;
 Who from their throne of airy steep
 Do kiss these ripples as they creep
 Across the boundless darkening deep,—
 Low voiceful wave! hush soon to sleep
 The gentle Pilot's Daughter!

The same warm and genial spirit luxuriantly pervades "Oh were my love a country lass," "The Milkmaid," and other pieces smelling of the country, which we regret we have not leisure to transcribe. So graphically moulded are some of our bard's pictures of luxurious rural beauty, and tranquillity, that they almost tend to soothe one into refreshing sleep. Instance "On the twilight pond," where, thanks to Mr. Allingham's graphic pen, we can almost imagine ourselves.

ON THE TWILIGHT POND.

A shadowy fringe the fir-trees make,
 Where sunset light hath been;
 The liquid thrills to one gold flake,
 And Hesperus is seen;
 Our boat, and we, not half awake,
 Go drifting down the pond.
 While slowly calls the Mall, "Crake-crake"
 From meadow-flats beyond.

This happy, crolling, bounded view
 Embraces us with home;
 To far worlds kindling in the blue,
 Our upward thoughts may roam;
 Whence with the veil of science draw
 That makes the earth so sweet,
 A touch of astral brightness too,
 A peace—which is complete.

As a spirited contrast in style, subject, and tendency to the foregoing, may be cited

FROST IN THE HOLIDAYS.

The time of Frost is the time for me!
When the gay blood spins through the heart with glee,
When the voice leaps out with a chiming sound,
And the footstep rings on the musical ground;
When the earth is white, and the air is bright,
And every breath is a new delight!

While Yesterday sank, full soon, to rest,
What a glorious sky!—through the level west
Pink clouds in a delicate greenish haze,
Which deepene'd up into purple greys,
With stars aloft as the light decreas'd,
Till the great moon rose in the rich blue east.

And morning!—each pane is a garden of frost.
Of delicate-flowering, as quickly lost;
For the stalks are fed by the moon's cold beams,
And the leaves are woven like woof of dreams
By Night's keen breath, and a glance of the Sun
Like dreams will scatter them every one.

Hurra! the lake is a league of glass!
Buckle and strap on the stiff white grass.
Off we shoot, and poise and wheel,
And swiftly turn upon scoring heel;
And our flying sandals chirp and sing
Like a flock of swallows upon the wing.

Away from the crowd with the wind we drift,
No vessel's motion so smoothly swift;
Fainter and fainter the tumult grows,
And the gradual stillness and wide repose
Touch with a hue more soft and grave
The lapse of joy's declining wave.

Here the ice is pure; a glance may sound
Deep through the awful, dim profound,
To the water dungeons where snake-weeds hide,
Over which, as self-upborne, we glide,
Like wizards on dark adventures bent,
The masters of every element.

Homeward now. The shimmering snow
Kisses our hot cheeks as we go;
Wavering down the feeble wind,
Like a manifold Dream to a Poet's mind,
Till the earth, and the trees, and the icy lakes,
Are slowly clothed with the countless flakes.

At home are we by the merry fire,
Ranged in a ring to our heart's desire.
And who is to tell some wondrous tale,
Almost to turn the warm cheeks pale,
Set chin on hands, make grave eyes stare,
Draw slowly nearer each stool and chair?

The one low voice goes wandering on
In a mystic world, whither all are gone;
The shadows dance; little Caroline
Has stolen her fingers up into mine.
But the night outside is very chill,
And the Frost hums loud at the window-sill.

Most of Mr. Allingham's Poems evidence a felicity rather than a richness of vocabulary, refined taste, gracefulness of conception, purity of sentiment, and a carefully studied attention to rhythmical structure. These, coupled with the characteristics already noticed, must eventually render him a great and a ge-

neral favorite. If in some of his higher soars he occasionally becomes a little metaphysical and dreamy, it is a fault from which some of the ablest and most popular poets, past and present, have not been exempt; and the same remark is applicable to a few slight tinges of affectation which now and then break out in Mr. Allingham's writings.

As Valentine's Day is approaching the following may be of use to some of our readers. It will be seen that Mr. Allingham, can wield the lash of sarcasm with unsparing vigor when he chooses.

A VALENTINE.

LADY fair, lady fair,
Seated with the scornful,
Though your beauty be so rare,
I were but a born fool
Still to seek my pleasure there.

To love your features and your hue,
All your glowing beauty,
All in short that's good of you,
Was and is my duty,
As to love all beauty too.

But now a fairer face I've got.
A Picture's—and believe me,
I never look'd to you for what

A picture cannot give me;
What you've more, improves you not.

Your queenly lips can speak, and prove
The means of your uncrowning;
Your brow can change, your eyes can move;
Which grants you power of frowning;
Hers have Heav'n's one thought, of Love

So now I give good-bye, *ma belle*,
And lose no great good by it;
You're fair, yet I can smile as well,
As you must shortly sigh it,
To your bright, light outer shell!

Mr. Biddulph Warner, writes and receives Valentines of another order. In his *Poems and Sketches* p. 11, we find him thus singing.

A VALENTINE.

When low the fainting Arab lies.
When reels his brain—his dizzy sight
Has almost failed—of thirst he dies—
If rippling water clear and bright
Fall on his gaze, and o'er his eyes
In darkness closed, have lost their light.

Some friend is near the draught to give,
And kindly bld him—drink and live!
How great must be his joy!

When found'ring on the raging main,
And strong stout hearts are filled
with care,

When every effort has proved vain,
And hope has yielded to despair;
And death stands by with all the train
Of horrors that around him glare,

What joy must light the seaman's eyes
When near a friendly sail he spies!
Rapture without alloy.

But joy as great as even these,
Is his—a joy unmixed with pain,
Who loves and who a token sees
Which tells him he is loved again.
As the tired sailor hails the breeze
Which bears him to his home again,
The gladness that the Switzer feels,
When on his sight the mountain
steals

He loves—such joy was mine
When I received from thee, dear girl,
A Valentine!

Of a higher order of merit are Mr. Warner's Lyrics. The following sparkles pleasantly:

SONG.

Where the wide spreading vine
Flings its mantle of green,
O'er the flow'rs which entwine,
Mid the moss covered sheen—
Where the fair peasant maiden
To dance may repair,
While the breeze, perfume laden,
Plays o'er her dark hair—
Where to sweet guitar music
The soft voices swell
Untaught, yet harmonious,
Oh! there would I dwell—

Or in Araby blest.
Where the spring knows no end,
Where each wand'rer is guest,
And each stranger a friend;
Where the clear heav'ns expand
And the bloom of each dell,
Brings thoughts of the land
Where the faithful shall dwell
With a maiden to love me,
A tent for my shade,
I could dwell—nor repent
Of the choice I had made.

With this may be placed in effective juxta position

ROSALIE—A SONG.

They tell thee I am happy,
That my heart is light and gay ;
That I join in mirth and gladness,
In my old accustomed way.
That other scenes and faces
Have chased away regret—
Yes, they tell thee I am happy ;
They say that I forget,
Think of my words at parting.
When thus they speak of me—
Then when they call me happy.
Oh, doubt them, Rosalie !

There's an hour when midst the joyful,
The loudest laugh is mine ;
When my sunken eye will glisten
And my cheek is red with wine ;
When my fever-heated fancies,
Own once more the mind's control ;

And my features wear no token
Of the sadness of my soul.
Bright be the path before thee—
Light be thine heart and free ;
But from such mirth and gladness,
God shield thee, Rosalie !

By the hour of silent sadness,
When my heart is drear and lone ;
By the memories which haunt me,
With the joys for ever flown ;
By each blessed dream of days, love,
When my heart was free and gay ;
By the dark despair that chills me,
As those visions pass away.
Thou art ne'er, fair star, forgotten.
Tho' thy light has set for me ;
Then—when they call me happy .
Oh, doubt them, Rosalie !

Poor Mr. Warner! wicked Rosalie!

Twenty pages further on, the Bard recurs to the same theme.

SONG.

Tho' all untrue to love and me,
Tho' faithless thou hast been,
My heart in sadness turns to thee,
Thou reignest still its queen ;

Tho' e'er I knew thee joy was mine,
Tho' light my heart and free,
I would not for these days resign
The pride of loving thee!

Tho' care and sadness cloud my brow,
Tho' youth's gay spring is fled ;
And nought remains to live for now,
Since hope and truth are dead ;

Tho' I in silent sadness pine,
Whilst others round thee press,
Tho' smiles are theirs which once were
mine.
I would not love thee less.

“The Soldier's Dream,” written during the Russian Campaign, is a piece of somewhat more ambitious aim. Though beginning tamely it will be seen that Mr. Warner, after a while, warms to his subject.

THE SOLDIER'S DREAM

(WRITTEN DURING THE WAR.)

Ye, who secure from violence and wrong,
In silken indolence your lives prolong ;
Who, lest pale melancholy o'er you spread
Her wings, gaze not, e'en on the coffin'd
dead ;
What wot ye—lulled on smiling safety's
bed,
Of days of danger, or of nights of dread ?
What reek ye—wandering slowly hand in
hand,
With pleasure o'er a golden fertile land,
Of the red field, where met in mortal
strife
Each hardy soldier boldly stakes—a life ;
And dreams of honor he has yet to gain,
Till the swift falchion quivers in his
brain ;
Or ebbs in stifled groans his labouring
breath,

Stilled by the leaden messenger of Death ?
Yon sun, which glids the flowers on
which ye gaze,
Looks down on faces blackening in its
rays ;
Yon moon, beneath whose beams ye love
to tread,
Shines on the shattered armour of the
dead ;
And yonder breeze which wanton loves
to play
Mid bowers of beauty and thro' gardens
gay,
As gaily bore, perchance, the last fal t
cry
Of some brave soldier's dying agony.

Sad 'tis to think that thousands lie
Unwept—unknown—victims of tyranny ;
That birth, that rank, the lofty and the
low,
A common fate may share, must dare a
common foe,

* * *

Gloomy, and dark, and drear the night—
Dark, save some watchfire's flickle
glare ;
Silent, save when some dreamer might
Part murmur of an oath or prayer :
Or rose upon the midnight air
Agony's shriek or death's despair !

Deeply sleeping, where the watchfire
Shed a halo round his head,
With his knapsack for his pillow,
And his mantle for his bed—
Slept a soldier pale and weary,
He had seen a bloody day,
E'en in sleep his brow contracted,
With the memory of the fray ;
And his right hand sought his weapon,
As with stern intent to slay.

But a beam of heartfelt pleasure
Dawns across his features now,
And his hand forgets its pressure,
And the frown forsakes his brow ;
And his right hand slowly wanders
To his breast, for hidden there
Lies the charm which feeds his courage,
And forbids him to despair.
Worthless—yet *his* priceless treasure :
'Tis a silken tress of hair.

And a form loved and cherished,
Seemed before him in his dream ;
Lovely as when last he saw her,
Even more lovely did she seem.
Not a tear-drop dimmed her beauty,
Though at parting she had wept ;
And she seemed his guardian angel,
Watching o'er him as he slept ;
As of old 'tis said of angels,
O'er good men their vigils kept.

Now he hears her gentle accents,
To his memory clear and strong,
And his after waking fancy,
Wove her words into a song :—

SONG :

No tear for thee my soul distressing,
Sinks to my heart and rankles there ;
For every former tear, a blessing
Is thine—for every sigh a prayer.

I wept thee once ; 'twas but in weakness,
Thou'st feared not—why should I dread ?
God guards—God guards the gallant
soldier,
Heav'n sheds bright blessings on his
head.

Yes, tho' in vain I strove at parting,
To check the tears which still would
flow,
Yet since our mother country called thee
I blessed her son, and bid him go.

Farewell—a double life thou'st bearest—
True as the falchion by thy side,
Be thou to our dear mother country ;
Heav'n will restore thee to thy bride.

“An Address to Florence Nightingale” (of much the same spirit and tendency as Gerald Griffin's *Sister of Charity*) “Christmas Day in the South of France,” and “the Suicide,” are all poems of promise and power. To indicate more closely the contents of Mr. Warner's very pleasing *brochure* would be inconsistent with the limits of an ordinary review. The work, exclusive of some vigorously written prose sketches, contains nearly the average number of pretty poetic pictures, cottages in the immediate vicinity of woods, flowing rivers, smiling meadows, Bacchanalian chaunts, fugitive pieces, amatory effusions, and impromptus. The present volume, we are told, has been published with diffidence, and only on the urgent advice of an influential and competent opinion. It is the work of a very young man, and when his judgment matures, and his style ripens, as mature and ripen both assuredly will, we anticipate some substantial achievements from him.

We thank him for the little work before us. It has yielded us an hour's pleasure and profit, and in those degenerate, and

used-up days it is not every hour that brings with it a gush of pleasure, and a boon of profit.

Although most of Mr. Warner's compositions possess much poetic luxuriance his style sometimes falls into the opposite extreme, that of being too prosaic. It is not easy to steer an even middle course; nothing short of practice perfects; and this Mr. Warner cannot be said to have had as yet. We have not much faith in the old Humbug Inspiration. Poetry in its ordinary sense is an art which study, elaborating thought, and scansion is sure to render pleasing and popular. There are very few bards who, however they may affect to be equal to the task, can really throw off verses *currente calamo*. Pope's MSS. preserved in the British Museum reveal the almost incredible amount of labour and revision which that Prince of English Poets bestowed on his writings. Talfourd's fine tragedy of Ion consumed twenty years of toil, and the same has been said of Rogers' Italy. Byron was rarely able for more than two stanzas of Don Juan a day. Moore's Diary of February 20, 1835, records some literary confessions of Wordsworth. "Spoke of the immense time it took him to write even the shortest copy of verses, sometimes whole weeks employed in shaping two or three lines before he can satisfy himself with their structure." Moore's Diary reveals the slowness of labour with which his exquisite sparkling melodies, easy, and flowing in their published form, and apparently poured forth with such ease from the poet's mind,* were produced. Often when pecuniary temptation was highest, and strongest, isolated stanzas, and couplets, dropped in, at slow intervals, on Power like drops of blood, not unfrequently accompanied by an irksome groan from the poor poet himself. And then the hot haste of anxiety with which Moore would write to Power requesting that verbal alterations might be made just as the "proofs" were about to be printed off—this, and many other instances which might be cited, shew that our best modern poets are obliged to follow and study their profession as an art, and that poetry is rarely the fruit of sudden inspiration, or the spontaneous growth of the poet's mind. Watch our best living poets; see how slowly and cautiously their new productions appear; and

* Moore himself says (vol. vii. p. 309) "If I could write with the facility and variety which some people give me credit for, I should indeed be like Mrs. Malaprop's Cerberus, 'three gentlemen at once.'"

few can doubt that intense elaborating thought, not even always successful in its efforts—has been lavishly expended to create any striking poetic result. Even in Impromptus we do not believe. We venture to assert that were a poet obliged to confess upon the rack it would be found that the so-called impromptus, which often impart an easy sparkle to his page have been those which consumed the greater amount of intellectual labour. The man of ordinary mental calibre who ambitions to be a popular poet, and to make poetry his profession, and livelihood (!) must make up his mind to run an imminent risk of shortening the days which God has given him. Sedentary occupation saps the strength; and the midnight oil has killed more people than all the Cod Liver Oil and Castor Oil in the Apothecaries' Hall have saved. We believe there can be no doubt that Wolfe, Davis, Banim, Dermody, Furlong, Hartley Coleridge, Keats, and Herbert Knowles, all fell victims to it. Does the risk recompense? We think not. To be sure a thirst of immortality sometimes acts as a counterbalance to the terrors of mortality. But even supposing that bodily vigour, and health droop from intense literary assiduity, is it likely that true or permanent poetic fame will ever crown the writer's name, and thus compensate him for his early death? The hope is a forlorn one. In the race up Parnassus, the poet has countless competitors, and many aspirants tumble most unpoetically in their attempt to scale its summit. When bodily vigor and vitality flag, the mind can hardly be expected to possess much elasticity of thought, so that the chances of failure vastly predominate, over the probability of success. A poet who has himself secured no infirm footing on Parnassus sings,

“Oh who can tell how hard it is to climb,

The steep from whence Fame's Temple shines afar !”

And then, how many are there who mistake ephemeral popularity for enduring fame, and who in catching a passing cheer from the one, imagine they have succeeded in grasping the other for ever! Take up Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*, and it is impossible to lose sight of the grim fact, that of near two hundred and fifty authors, there enumerated, all of whom were popular in their day, hardly thirty of that number may be said to keep their ground at the present moment. How perishable is poetic fame at best, and how true it is that many of even the *promised* heirs of immortality have been treacherously left in the lurch, or prematurely overtaken by the cloud of oblivion!

Failings in the Fold by Lynx, trenchantly lashes Protestantism on its most vulnerable point—the enormous wealth of the Irish Establishment. The subject is a most legitimate one for criticism; and some of the greatest men of the past and present time have recorded these sentiments, clothed in the strongest language, against this pampered, overfed, and thoroughly spoiled child of the State.

"I pronounce the Irish Church Establishment," said Lord Brougham, "to be the foulest practical abuse that ever existed in any civilized country;" and Lord Macaulay has regarded it as an abuse "the most utterly absurd and indefensible."

He added:—"There is but one country in the world that presents to you the spectacle of a population of 8,000,000, with a Church established and richly endowed for only 800,000 of that population." Lord Campbell said:—"I believe the Protestant Church in Ireland to be one of the most mischievous institutions in existence. I believe it is so considered now; I believe it will be so considered by posterity; and it is only because your lordships are familiar with it that you are not shocked by the picture." Lord Grey said:—"I regard the Irish Church, in the actual condition of that country, and upon the footing on which it is placed, to be opposed alike to justice, to policy, and to religious principle." Lord John Russell pronounced it to be "an anomaly and a grievance;" and Sir George Grey, as "unjustifiable in its establishment, and indefensible in its continuance." But the admirable writings of Sidney Smith on the subject are worth all their opinions bundled together. Poor Sidney! although a parson himself he could enjoy a joke at the expense of "the well-paid Protestant clergyman, preaching to stools and hassocks, and crying in the wilderness!" "For advancing such opinions," he observed, on one occasion, "I have no doubt I shall be assailed by Latimers, &c.; but I don't care a straw. Why? Because I'm in the right."

The metre adopted by Lynx is the Italian, or Don Juan measure, a style well adapted for satirical composition when vigorously worked out.

FAILINGS IN THE FOLD.

Time was—a happy time—no long ago,
E'er different sects by bigotry in-
spired:
Against each other—not the common foe,
By phrensy moved, with bitterness
conspired,

And 'gainst each man whose creed they
did not know,
Saw that it was not theirs—eternal woe
Denounced, and looked on all as sheep
astray,
Who dared to worship, save in their
"right way."

Time was, I say—when with his lot content;
 Humble and happy, free from care and strife;
 Living and lov'd the village pastor spent
 In one dear spot the period of his life.
 Ne'er closed his door—on kindness ever bent;
 Pious his children—virtuous his wife—
 Morals he taught no sceptic could gainsay—
 “Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way.”

This line's from Goldsmith, as you are aware;
 And if you're not, at least you ought to be;
 If you've not read him, and have time to spare,
 Throw down my lines—'tis no offence to me.
 I have but little—he had a full share
 Of talent such as talent ought to be;
 He, to perfection drew a village pastor;
 I as his pupil imitate my master.

Yet stay, dear Reader, I shall not be long.
 And so, on second thoughts, I'll say my say—
 Just a few words in language short and strong;
 Then having heard me, prithee go thy way.
 First I'll stir up with my poetic prong,
 (A thing I use to keep such gents at bay;)
 Those heroes at whose heads these lines
 are hurled,
 And who contrive to humbug half the world.

In everything there's Humbug—see the Doctor,
 The Beau, the Lawyer, and the Flirt—in fine—
 Don't go, dear Muse, (I really feared I've shocked her.)
 Stay 'till I find a rhyme to that first line.
 The Man of Fashion, down to the Tythe Proctor,

Lynx occasionally falls into very careless writing; observe the bad rhyme in the first, and the defective foot in the sixth line of the following stanza.

If 'tis not thus—at least it should be so;
 So we'll suppose, it—Servants of the Muse,
 Remember, have in all their poesy
 Poetic license to say what they choose.
 The Antients had at least—and I'm as free;
 A power which I trust I shan't abuse
 As they did, for tho' doubtless they were wise,
 'Tis certain that they told most monstrous lies.

All in the specious ranks of Humbug shine;
 If in my verse, you poetry can't see,
 You really must yourself a Humbug be!

This is a subject upon which, to say
 The least, I might go on all night inditing.
 Till to my blood-shot eyes returning day,
 Proved that I was a humbug for thus writing.
 So here's for the attack—I've stood at bay
 Too long already—I'll begin the fighting;
 Yet e'er I start I must make one confession—
 I never yet could write without digression.

What is the reason, when some favourite,
 placed
 High by the mighty mob, betrays his trust,
 That downward tott'ring, ruined and disgraced,
 He, as great Homer has it, “bites the dust?”
 Why is his face forgot—his name effaced—
 His house unknown; his knocker left to rust.
 Save by the creditor, whose hated face
 Too often is companion of disgrace.

The reason's this—since from the right direction,
 Into the paths of error he has strayed,
 His actions now no longer bear inspection,
 When in the scales of Public Judgment weighed;
 And the same powers which caused his first election
 Declare him *Humbug*—tell him he has played
 The knave or fool, which, he himself knows best;
 And some new pet with his late powers invest.

Well since 'tis thus, and since it should be so—
 And since in Physic, Politics, and Law,
 We use our common sense, and being slow
 Of credence, look most keenly for a flaw.
 Is't well in what concerns our weal or woe,
 Too much on our credulity to draw?
 Remember to our faith it is no treason
 To prove, if what we hear accords with reason.

Lynx proceeds to give us a graphic picture of a low-church Sunday, and its devotions. Pity that he did not smooth the ruggedness of some of his lines before putting them to press.

How can it be—whilst in all other things,
We use the sense which heaven has
freely given,
That apathy her chilling mantle flings
O'er those which rightly studied lead
to heaven?

How is it that each Sabbath morning
brings
Those who have labored six days, and
would seven
But that their faith forbids to labor long-
er—
Or, rather, Fashion, which is much
stronger.

There gaping, they for two long hours
remain,
And when 'tis o'er—they rise and go
away;
Well pleased again their dwellings to
regain,
To criticise the preacher of the day.
Unhappy man! he undergoes a train
Of observations—to hear what they
say.
You'd think they spoke of Rembrant or
Mozart,
Of Kossuth, or Napoleon Bonaparte.

For nothing do we of his doctrine hear,
'Tis of his face, his eyes, his air, his
figure,
Whether his accent grated on the ear,
And if he spoke with mildness, or with
vigour.
The ladies too—which certainly seems
queer,
Treat him with kindness, and the men
with rigour:

That's if he's young, or even middle
aged,
And wears neat whiskers—and is not
engaged.

When things are thus, and when one half
the men
Devotion pay to their fair neighbours'
faces,
And e'en the ladies break one of the ten
Commandments, when they see fine
flow'rs or laces.
(One looks well in a church, no doubt,
but then
'Tis not a place to practice airs and
graces.)
In such a state of things most strange
'twould be
If one could sift the truth from error
free.

* * * * *

'Tis not because the Rev. Samuel
Sleek,
Has always been thought orthodox in
teaching,
And never in his life was heard to speak,
Above the "well-bred whisper," save
when preaching;
'Tis not because he bears an aspect
meek,
His eyes of blue your deepest feelings
reaching,
That you fair Dames, when e'er his Rev
preaches,
Should seize as truth what'er his Rev.
teaches.

It is really a pity that the author has not bestowed a little more care in polishing lines usually so well pointed. The first line of the following is two feet shorter than its comrade, no. 3. But as Lynx informs us that he is a novice in literature we must not be hypercritical.

'Tis not because he's *most respectable*,
That is—he has each year a good round
sum,
'Tis not because his dinners are delecta-
ble,
To feed at which his flock from all sides
come.
'Tis not because you hope he will elect
a belle
(At which the other ladies would look
glum)
From 'mongst your daughters, who once
ev'ry week,
Shall shine at church as Mrs. Samuel Sleek.
That you should all believe, and ne'er
begin—
I speak of those who listen—some ne'er
do—
To fancy that you may be taken in,
Or that of what you hear *all* is not true,
Or that perhaps, as all are prone to sin,
The Rev. Sleek may take a different
view
Of certain matters than what you'd sup-
pose
When listening to "the truths" his words
disclose.

"What damned error, but some sober
brow,
"Will bless it and approve it with a
text,"
So 'twas in Shakspeare's time—so it is
now—
Aye, till in search of truth the mind
perplexed,
Refuses with the multitude to bow,
And shrinks within itself perplexed
and vexed.
Apathy first lets little errors in,
Habit confirms, and Fashion strengthens
sin.
But who are you? I hear my reader say.
Who with a tongue of brass, or rather
pen
Of steel, attempts in this malignant way,
To ridicule the holiest of men—
Pious and Rev. Samuel Sleek, M.A.—
I think you'd better stop your nonsense
when
We tell you, that we think you in the
wrong,
And don't approve your language, 'short
and strong.'

In answer to your question, I may say,
 I'm one who writes because I'm fond
 of writing,
 Whose mind, dear public, never owned
 your way.
 Your frown not chilling, nor your
 smile delighting,
 Who likes to hunt up truth, and hopes he
 may
 Do good, and the pursuit too is excit-
 ing,
 You're welcome to approve or not, and
 free
 To read or not—'tis all the same to me.

Avaunt, ye critics, then! I mean to be
 A kind of moral Nimrod—that is, I
 Most mightily would hunt up truth and
 lie.
 Who all deception hate, Hypocrisy,
 Et cetera, forward come, and ye shall
 see
 Some truth, at least to shew you some
 I'll try,
 No pedantry I want, and we'll dispense
 With Wit—but don't forget your Com-
 mon Sense.

A prelate of the establishment, his palace, and his personal inconsistencies, are next described. The portraiture is so general and so truthful, that the blank may, without difficulty, be filled up by the reader.

Look thro' the glass of truth—yet e'er
 your gaze,
 Is fixed on objects which I fain would
 shew,
 Clear well the surface from the mingled
 haze,
 Of doubt and prejudices which oft
 grow.
 Bred by disuse or absence of the rays
 Of Common Sense across its surface—
 Lo!
 'Tis fair—now take it, and direct your
 sight
 To where yon' palace glitters into light.

A gorgeous mansion—at its portal stand
 The goodly equipages of the great,
 And liveried menials at their lord's com-
 mand,
 Admit the rich adorned with pomp and
 state.
 While, "my lord's business," to the
 poorer band
 Is deemed a fit excuse, they needs must
 wait;
 Happy the owner of so fair a place!
 'Tis——Archbishop by the Grace

Of What? ambition, riches, and a name,
 Of interest—(his father was a lord,)
 Friend of the great, and greatness was
 his aim,
 He lisped ambition, and his mind was
 stored.
 From boyhood's hour with maxims for
 the game
 Of life—one goddess zealously adored,
 Preferment—she unwomanlike proved
 true,
 Not only smiled, but helped her lover too.

To aid the savage in lands far away,
 To make him moral and to show him
 light,
 In darkness he sends messenger away—
 From princely means, subscribes his
 princely mite.
 "He's right, they need it, and must go
 astray
 Without such aid—yes, doubtless he is
 right.

Give to the cause your guineas and your
 smiles,
 But tell me—have you ever seen St. Giles?
 Don't look disgusted—have you ever been
 Where wanting all things—cleanliness
 and health,
 Untaught, their language slang and oaths
 obscene,
 England's pale sons toil hard for
 England's wealth.
 Old men a church's altar ne'er have seen,
 And if a sacred name they hear by
 stealth,
 'Tis made an oath—unmarried—unbap-
 tised,
 They drink on Sundays—so that day is
 prized.

*You never knew things were so bad before,
 As for such places, you were never
 there—
 You're not commercial, business is a
 bore—
 They work and they get wages—that is
 fair—
 One hears of their misconduct o'er and
 o'er—
 For your part if you'd any cash to spare,
 You'd not encourage men who drank
 and swore,
 Et cetera, with some sage objections
 more.*

* * * * *

Just so—a fellow countryman in rags,
 Is low, and mean, and vulgar, and when
 he
 Has erred, and sturdy justice forward
 drags
 Him to her bar, where is your charity?
 The law must take its course, it seldom
 flags.
 Leniency would a bad example be;
 And yet ye will respond to pity's call
 For savages, who wear no rags at all!
 Oh! England—fashion-loving, fashion
 led,
 Exclusive even in your charity,

Your lowly sons must copy the well-bred,
Who ape the nobles—'tis a rarity
To see a man, who raising proud his
head
Above the crowd, tries his own path to
see,
And seeing takes it heedless of the fash-
ion,
While others in the wrong genteelly dash
on.

Answer, Oh Bishop, o'er whose rev'rend
head
The light of twenty thousand sterling
pounds,
Effulgently their annual lustre shed,
Whose earthly happiness exceeds all
bounds.
Dost thou not fear when all thy pride
hast fled,
And life is past, and the last trumpet
sounds,
Lest in that hour your Grace have cause
to grieve,
Since thou didst in this world thy goods
receive.

But thou dost work—for twenty thou-
sand pounds!
The country curate harder works than
thou,
And eighty pounds a-year his labor
crowns,
Although a better laborer I trow—
Think 'st thou thy name, which here impos-
ing sounds,
Shall serve thee as thy passport then as
now?
Or that to thee those gates must open be,
Since Shepherd of the Flock, thou pass-
est free?

Your Lordship knows that riches are a
snare,
Doubtless reluctantly receives that
store
Of solid wealth of which one must be-
ware—
You know there are some texts one
can't get o'er—
Your Lordship doubtless takes the strict-
est care,
That of that dross the poor get half
or more,
Knowing such wealth your heavenly
course must trammel,
Remembering too the text about the
camel.

You should be paid, and handsomely I
grant,
Some Colonels get one thousand pounds
a-year;
You being a religious commandant,
May safely claim your pension, that is
clear.
If twenty times as much as he you want,
You've twenty times as much to fight
and fear,
He may perhaps find foreign foes uncivil;
But then—you stay at home and fight the
devil.

"True—and though earthly goods, as
such we scorn,
"The laborer is worthy of his hire,
"Also the ox which treadeth out the
corn,

"Shall not be muzzled—'tis the Lord's
desire."
Well said, your former argument few
Much hope and holy comfort might
aspire,
And soon would set such argument at
rest,
Could we forget to whom 'twas first
addressed.

Homeless and friendless—wandering :
and fro,
Scoffed at by those their mission
to save,
Rearing aloft thro' many a storm of war,
The hated cross, their pay a martyr's
grave;
Well worthy of their hire! these things
ye know.
Ye Bishops, much would ye have given
to save
One pang to those, who, midst their
trials fell,
Since those who served them served the
Lord as well.

Yet turn and see, dressed in that said
black,
Threadbare yet decent, one who
labours well,
A follower in the Apostolic track,
One who could many a tale of sorrow
tell;
Of hopes fair rising rudely beaten back,
Still murmuring to his aching heart,
" 'tis well."
Bethink thee, Bishop, that though hum-
ble now,
He yet may be as great a man as thou.

Perhaps a greater and a nobler too,
For he is humble and is tempted less,
Less worldliness obscures his heaven-
ward view,
He meekly feels his own unworthiness;
Is not notorious for his doctrines new,
Nor is he skilful artfully to dress;
Points hard to credit, harder to deny—
A peg of truth whereon to hang a lie.

I love my church, I love her clergy too,
Except such gentlemen as Dr. Pusey,
And though, my Lords, your wealth I
harshly view,
I feel we badly could afford to lose ye.
By boldly stating what I think is true,
I mean not personally to abuse ye;
You're welcome to retain your golden store,
But give your brethren a little more.

Farewell, my Lords, dear Public too,
farewell,
And thou, kind Muse, a thousand thanks
to thee,
Should disapproval harshly sound our
knell,
As I have said, 'tis much the same to
me,
But if they like our hints, and if they sell,
(That is the hint,)—to write again
we're free;
And if they rank us with the humbugs—
we
Enjoy at least a goodly company.

When the name St. John Mason caught our eye, on the title page of the recently printed, (not published) *Oithona from Ossian*, we could not help seizing the old patriot's hand cordially (in idea) and congratulating him not only on having survived the long period which has elapsed since he figured as a public character, but for possessing his mental faculties unimpaired, and in the evening of life, when there is a tendency to repose and inertia, exercising them with such vigor, and credit to himself. There are, we believe, few Irish readers who require to be reminded that Mr. St. John Mason was the first cousin, and bosom friend of Robert Emmet; and suspicion having attached to him of implication in that ill-fated patriot's projects, he underwent in Kilmainham, when the present century was young, a most rigorous, and protracted imprisonment, which more than once well nigh threatened to crush a naturally delicate constitution, and one peculiarly susceptible of harsh treatment. St. John Mason eventually triumphed over his oppressors. Government having failed to adduce any proof of his assumed guilt, the state prisoner was at length liberated. On May the 17th, 1811, Richard Brinsley Sheridan presented the following petition to the legislature on behalf of Mr. Mason, which it may not be uninteresting now to revive.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF ST. JOHN MASON.

"*Most respectfully sheweth,*

"That, in August 1803, your Petitioner was, when on circuit, arrested at the distance of seventy miles from Dublin, to which he was directly conveyed, and committed to the prison of Kilmainham, where your Petitioner was detained in close and rigid custody, for more than two years.

"That the instrument, by virtue of which your Petitioner had been so committed, was a State-warrant, signed by Mr. Wickham, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, under the Earl of Hardwicke's Administration, and by his Excellency's command, containing a sweeping and general charge of treason; and that said warrant did not specify that said charge was founded on any information given upon oath.

"That your Petitioner and his friends have applied to the Irish government, in every shape, both personally and otherwise, respecting its oppressive treatment of your Petitioner; soliciting *Examination*, and claiming to be informed of the cause of your Petitioner's having been so deprived of his liberty for more than two years; but, that all such applications have been wholly unavailing, in consequence, as your Petitioner doth firmly, but most respectfully, assert to this honourable House, of the absolute inability of that govern-

ment to state, with truth, any just cause whatsoever for such rigorous and unjust imprisonment of your Petitioner.

"That, as it is impossible for your Petitioner to prove the negative of an undefined and unspecified charge, your Petitioner can, in general terms only, most solemnly declare his innocence ;—to establish which, your Petitioner had, also, during his imprisonment, when he was at the mercy of vile and corrupt informers, repeatedly, but in vain, demanded from the said government of Ireland, that *Right* which the Constitution gives to every subject of the land, against whom accusation has been laid, namely, a *TRIAL by the Laws of his country* !

"That the infringement and suppression of justice, which had been exercised in the case of your Petitioner, not coming within the scope or cognizance of any *legal* tribunal, your Petitioner begs leave, with the most becoming respect, to approach this honourable House for *Constitutional* redress ; and, as an injured subject of this realm, in whose person the general rights of the community have been violated, humbly appeal against such violation and suppression of justice ;—and, fortified as well by the rectitude of his conduct, as by a firm confidence in the protecting justice of this honorable House, your Petitioner begs permission to present his complaint against that Officer of the State, under whose government such violation had been committed ; and whom your Petitioner, however elevated might have been the trust and station to which that Officer had been exalted, cannot *constitutionally* consider as divested of responsibility for the acts of that trust, as exercised during his administration in Ireland ;—which said complaint your Petitioner most humbly begs to present to this honourable House, as his duty, in the last resort, to society and to himself, *challenging all inquiry, and defying all imputation on his probity and honour.*

"That your Petitioner doth, therefore, distinctly and directly *CHARGE* the government of the Earl of Hardwicke, when that noble Earl was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with *INJUSTICE* and *OPPRESSION*, by having, in the person of your Petitioner, abused, to the injury and destruction of the subject, the discretionary powers of that trust, which had been granted for his protection ; and further, that the said Earl of Hardwicke has since continued to deny to your Petitioner that humble measure of justice, an *acknowledgment of his innocence*, of which your Petitioner cannot but think his Lordship is now convinced. And your Petitioner now humbly prays that this honourable House, which your Petitioner looks up to as the Grand Depository and Guardian of the Public Rights, according to the structure of the Constitution, will be graciously pleased to grant to your Petitioner, who is now in humble attendance, awaiting the pleasure of this honourable House, such means and opportunities of substantiating his said allegations, as may, in its wisdom, appear best calculated for the attainment of such his object, and for the accomplishment of justice ;—your Petitioner so praying, not only for the purpose of vindicating his character, but also under the protection of this honourable House, of *guarding, by his humble efforts, the rights of the subject against similar infractuous* ; which rights have been so uncon-

stitutionally violated in the person of the individual, your humble
Petitioner.

"And your petitioner shall, &c. &c.

"ST. JOHN MASON."

But we must not lose sight of Dunlathmon, and Duvranna,
while contemplating the dark mysteries of old Kilmainham jail.
Oithona effectively opens with a vision in this wise. The scene
is laid in Scotland.

AROUND Dunlathmon dwell the shades of night,
Though half the moon o'erlooks the mountain's height,
But woes approach ; she shrinks beneath a cloud,
And veils her cheek behind the sable shroud.

The son of Morni moves along the plain ;
Dunlathmon's halls awake the warrior's pain.
Sad are those halls, and silent as the tomb,
No cheering lustre streaming through the gloom ;
No more the dark Duvranna wafts along
Oithona's melody of harp and song.

Grief wrings the chieftain's heart ; and, with a groan,
" Whither," exclaims he, " whither hast thou flown ?
No more, bright maid, within those lonely walls,
No more I hear thy footstep in the halls.
Fame call'd brave Lathmon to the fields of fight ;
That call bereft thee of a brother's might ;
Me too fell discord summoned to the plain,
And thy last words were, ' *Here shall I remain,*
Here shall I sorrow, till war's cens'd alarms
Restore my heart's beloved to my arms.'
Wet was thy cheek, in that, our last adieu ;
Sighs fill'd thy breast ; but to the field I flew ;
At my return, no music swells around,
No harp sends forth its lightly—trembling sound."

Such were his words, amidst the dark'ning hours,
When Gaul approach'd Dunlathmon's lofty tow'rs,
No gladning beams the wide-spread gates display,
The loud wind howling through the dreary way ;
Leaves crowd the threshold, from their soaring height :
Deep groans the murmuring spirit of the night.

Straight tow'rd's a rock the hapless hero turn'd ;
Silent he sat ; in solitude he mourn'd ;
Despair o'erwhelm'd him, with resistless force ;
He knew not whither to direct his course.
His friend, bold Morio, with perturbed mind,
Beheld his locks, high-lifted in the wind,
And heard the sighs of woe ; but stood apart,
Nor check'd the sacred sorrows of the heart.

Now sleep descends upon the suffering chief ;
But comes not down to minister relief.
In midnight vision, opposite him, rose,
Oithona's form, foreboding further woes.
Her hair flows loose ; distracted she appears :
Down her pale cheek fall unremitting tears
She lifts a blood-stain'd arm ; her crimson'd vest
Half hides the wound, beneath her heaving breast.
In anguish, bending o'er the slumbering chief,
She gives impassion'd utterance to her grief.

" And sleep'st thou, Gaul, untroubled and unmov'd ;
My pride ! my glory ! thou, my soul's belov'd !
Whilst sad Oithona needs thy succouring hand,
Sleep'st thou, regardless, in a distant land ?
On bleak Trom-athon, crowning o'er the wave,
In tears, I sit, within its dismal cave ;
But not alone, the despot of my doom
Breathes his vile passion, midst the cavern's gloom ;

Invades the asylum of my helpless state,
 And leaves no refuge from a madd'ning fate.
 Thy foe, Dunrommath, is the monster's name;
 Dishonor comes! unutterable shame!"

A rougher blast rush'd fearful through the oak;
 Its pealing voice Gaul's troubled slumbers broke.
 He grasped his spear; in deadly vengeance roll
 His thoughts; he stands, full resolute of soul.
 Frequent he turn'd to meet the morning ray;
 Oft he accus'd the lingering beam of day.
 At length, he sees the splendid orb arise;
 Then lifts the sail, and o'er the ocean flies.
 Two days, his vessel plough'd the dreary field;
 The third, Trom-athon like an azure shield,
 Its rugged breast upheaves; against the shore,
 In ceaseless rage, the foaming surges roar.
 There sat Oithona, late Dunlathmon's boast,
 And wept her sorrows, on the rocky coast;
 Whilst, as she gaz'd, the rolling waves oppress,
 With deeper pangs, her agitated breast.

Anon we come to "the Meeting." It will be seen that some of Mr. Mason's couplets are not unworthy of the pen of Pope.

Gaul treads the deck, in panoplied array;
 Oithona starts, and turns her eyes away;
 Blushes of shame, for wounded honor, streak,
 In crimson tints, upon her burning cheek;
 Thrice, tow'rd's the cave, she strove to bend her way,
 And thrice, on earth, in bitter anguish lay.

Her bold avenger bounds upon the land;
 Rapid he moves along the barren strand;
 Approaching close, "Beloved mourner, why,
 From faithful Gaul, would Nu-ath's daughter fly?
 Though touch'd his bosom, at Oithona's scorn,
 Her presence cheers him, as the dawning morn
 Cheers the poor wretch, benighted, and alone,
 Whose footsteps press a wilderness unknown.
 Still, my heart bleeds, to see thine alter'd cheek;
 Is thy foe near? Oithona! lov'd one! speak.
 When once before him, man to man, I stand,
 This sword shall tremble in no palsied hand.
 Behold, my love, those hard-wrung tears, and know,
 When thus they fell, how deep's my sense of woe."

"Why," she return'd, "across the dark-blue wave
 Why hast thou come to hear the wretched rave?
 Oh! why has fate prolonged my hapless stay?
 But, like the flow'r, why passed I not away,
 The rock-raised flow'r, which high in air is cast
 And strews, unseen, its blossoms on the blast?
 Why hast thou come to meet my parting breath,
 And add new sorrow to the pangs of death?
 Hence must I vanish, in life's early morn,
 And leave my name to mockery and scorn
 How will my kindred, how my sire bewail!
 Ev'n now, he bends in life's declining vale;
 Will he not weep, and, with affliction, wild,
 Curse,—must I speak it!—his polluted child?
 And wilt not thou, love, at Oithona's name,
 Drop the sad tear for her departed fame?
 But soon she'll sleep within the narrow tomb,
 Nor hear the sigh, nor see the mourner's gloom.
 Yet, why, on drear Trom-athon's isle, appears
 The witness of those agonizing tears?"

"I come, in vengeance of thy wrongs," replied
 The generous chieftain, with heroic pride!
 "Beneath this arm, Dunrammoth dies, or Gaul,
 In fame, shall tread the warrior's airy hall.
 Should such, Oithona, be my glorious doom,
 Let my cold body find a brave man's tomb.

And when, high-bounding o'er the billowy deep,
 Thou see'st, my love, the gallant vessel sweep,
 The signal raise; the sons of ocean call;
 Say, 'Bear this sword to aged Morni's hall.'
 So shall his ear not listen to the blast,
 His eye, no more, be tow'rd's the desert cast;
 No more, his heart, a father's heart, shall burn
 To meet that son, who never can return."
 "Think not," rejoind she, with a bursting sigh,
 "Though lost, dishonor'd! I should fear to die,
 Were my love slain; be mine a nobler part;
 Not reckless, nor insensible, my heart;
 Not as yon rock, whose everlasting pride
 Braves the fierce whirlwind, and the raging tide,
 Nor cold as yonder main, which, round the shore,
 Rolls its blue waves beneath the stormy roar."
 "As kindred trees, whose branches meet on high,
 Together flourish, or together die;
 So, when thou fall'st, beneath the withering blast,
 I too shall droop; that hour will be my last.
 Ev'n now, I hasten to my earthly bed,
 The cold, the narrow mansion of the dead.
 On this bleak shore, encircled by the wave,
 Far from her home, lies poor Oithona's grave."
 "But memory wakes; my thoughts, in wild affright,
 Rush o'er the terrors of that dreadful night,
 Which tore my joys away: I sat alone;
 To war my two lov'd relatives had flown;
 Night's sullen murmur fill'd me with alarms;
 I watch'd the blast; I heard the clash of arms;
 I thought on thee; proud, rapturous hopes arise;
 Dunrommath speaks, and ev'ry rapture flies,
 Then, from my people, burst a dismal knell,
 The knell of death; beneath his arm they fell.
 He came, with horrid triumph, and, on high,
 Wav'd the red steel before my frenzied eye;
 Too weak my arm to lift the hostile spear,
 My grief arose; I dropt the bitter tear:
 Ev'n then, he took me, raised the sail, and flew:
 Fit was the time, and this the dastard knew;
 He fear'd, returning from the field of fame,
 My vallant brother; yet, no brother came."
 "But lo! in arms, the miscreant draws nigh,
 His ship borne train too; whither shalt thou fly?
 Where, son of Morni, whither can'st thou turn?
 A host they come; for deeds of blood they burn."
 "Never," the warrior cried, as forth he drew
 The blade of death, "from fight I never flew;
 And shall I shrink, shall thy avenger fly,
 Fly, with disgrace, when thy destroyer's nigh?
 No, my belov'd! but, to the cave, once more;
 View not the conflict; come not to the shore.
 And thou, my friend, the well-stor'd quiver bring;
 Let fate rush forward from th' impelling string;
 Few though our followers be, still, let those few,
 In bold encounter, strain the stubborn yew;
 Whilst we uplift the formidable spear,
 Spurning, indignant, ev'ry thought of fear.
 Onward, my friends; they pour along the coast,
 On to the battle; charge the coming host."
 He spoke; Oithona tow'rd's the cave retir'd;
 Proudly she mov'd, with daring thoughts inspired.
 Athwart her fancy joys and sorrows crowd;
 As the red lightning paths the storms cloud;
 Resolv'd at length, she heaves no troubled sigh;
 No tear o'erspreads her wildly-gazing eye.

The Conflict is depicted with not less vigour and animation.

And now, Dunrommath, in his pride, advanced;
 On Morni's son the gloomy chieftain glanc'd

A scornful smile his dark-brown cheek displayed;
 Red roll'd his eye, beneath its low'ring shade.
 "And whence?" exclaim'd he, with derisive boast.
 "Have tempests wreck'd thee on Trom-athon's coast?
 Or seek'st thou, stranger, on this sea girt shore,
 Dunlathmon's maid, whom here Dunrommath bore?
 Who combats him, to sure destruction runs;
 And countless sires bewail their prostrate sons,
 Slain by his conquering arm; unmov'd, his eye
 Surveys, in death, the vanquish'd warrior lie.
 "But, as the glories of the opening morn,
 With heavenly rays, the hemisphere adorn,
 So do the beauties of Oithona move
 My soul to rapture, and my heart to love.
 And dost thou come to interrupt my joy
 My prospects cloud, my happiness destroy?
 But, come thou may'st; for, never shalt thou more
 Revisit, stranger, thy paternal shore."
 This the reply. "Oh! nature's blackest blot!
 How chang'd thy tone! it seems, thou know'st me not.
 Man of slow memory, but of rapid flight,
 Hast thou forgotten the Lathmonian fight;
 When Morni's son pursued thy flying host,
 With crimson'd blade, on Morven's woody coast?
 Dunrommath rav'd not then, in vamping sound;
 He blusters now, when warriors fence him round.
 But strong, in hallow'd purpose, free from dread,
 I come, by stern avenging justice led."
 The chieftain spoke; and, with undaunted mind,
 In arms advanc'd; Dunrommath fled behind.
 But, rushing onwards, with prodigious might,
 Through glittering swords, Gaul clos'd the recreant's flight;
 His spear transix'd him, and his good sword lopt
 The boaster's head, as tow'rd the earth he dropt:
 And when, on high, the victor shook the ball,
 His foes ran sea-ward, at their leader's fall:
 But Gaul's bold troop the shafts of Morven sped,
 And, on the shore, ten fugitives lay dead;
 The rest rush desperate down the rocky steep,
 Lift the white sail, and bound along the deep.

THE CATASTROPHE.

Gaul tow'rd the cave advanc'd; a youth he spied;
 Pallid his cheek; a wound was in his side.
 Against a rock he leant his feeble frame:
 His casque lay heavy; close beneath it came
 A languid glance; the sympathizing chief,
 With ardour, hasten'd to afford relief.
 "Youth shall my hand administer a balm,
 Thy pangs to check, thy troubled breast to calm?
 Where dwelt thy fathers? were they chiefs of might?
 Or stood they forward, in the ranks of fight?
 Thy friends must sorrow, in thy native hall,
 And mourn, incessant, thy untimely fall."
 The youth replied, "My sires were chiefs of might:
 Their station foremost, in the ranks of fight:
 No friend will sorrow! my departed fame
 Sends me to death, for refuge from my shame.
 Know'st thou those banks the swift Duvranna laves,
 Where moss-crown'd tow'rs, reflected from its waves,
 In stately structure rise; a rock behind
 Uplifts the bending fir-tree to the wind?
 My brother dwells beneath that rocky brow;
 But treads, in steel, the field of battle, now;
 Bear him, dear friend, should he the war outlive,
 My dying pledge: this casque to Lathmon give."
 Gaul dropt the dying gift, the crimson blood
 He view'd, with horror; 'twas Oithona's blood;
 She, from the cave, in arms, had rush'd along,
 To seek her death, amidst the warring throng.

But now, the heroine droops; the armour's dy'd;
 Her life-blood gushing from her wounded side.
 "Prepare," she said, "prepare the narrow tomb;
 Fast am I hastening to my final doom;
 Delusive hopes all vanish from my sight;
 Fast close my eyes, in everlasting night.
 Had I but dwelt near lov'd Duvranna's stream,
 My honor spotless, and my bias supreme;
 Then would each maid have bless'd my steps; but now,
 Disgrac'd I die, beneath dishonor bow;
 Nay, ev'n my father blushes in his hall;
 Still, one joy's left; within thy arms I fall."
 Pale, on the rock, she pour'd her dying breath;
 And round her rose the monument of death.
 Rear'd by the mourning chief; to Morven's shore
 He came; his cheek deep lines of sorrow bore.
 My harp I touch'd; the plaintive sounds arose;
 "These strains," he cried, "alleviate my woes;
 The soothing melody of Ossian's lay
 Sinks to my heart, and steals my cares away."
 Yet, midst his friends, at intervals, a sigh
 Shook his brave breast, a tear bedew'd his eye;
 As the low wind, when tempests cease to roar,
 Soft, intermitting, pants along the shore.

We shall not mar the effect of this touching *Denouement* by any critical commentary.

On February the 15th, 1841, a letter from Mr. St. John Mason, appeared in the *Times* which though not absolutely relevant now, it may interest many of our readers to transcribe. The perfidy characteristic of the troubled period in question, sickens the heart to think of.

ROBERT EMMET AND THE GAOLER OF KILMAINHAM.

To the Editor of the Times.

"Bath, February, 12, 1842.

"SIR,—The writer of this letter begs leave to state, that in several recent numbers of *The Times*, certain extracts from Dublin newspapers have been inserted, concerning the unfortunate Robert Emmet and the late George Dunn, jailer of Kilmainham, to the following effect:—

"That when Robert Emmet was under the charge of Mr. Dunn, for high treason, an immense sum of money, by way of bribe, with an offer of a free passage to America, was made him, if he allowed his prisoner to go free; but the honesty of Mr. Dunn spurned the bribe."

"Those extracts having so appeared in *The Times*, and being, substantially, perversions of facts, it is respectfully submitted, that in fairness, the truth should be spread comensurately with the misstatement; and that it should likewise go forth to the public through the same great organ of intelligence.

"The matter of present consideration is, the conduct of George Dunn, as to the attempted escape of Robert Emmet, in relation to which, manifold have been the laudations squandered upon the memory of Dunn. The following is the truth:—

"A proposition was unquestionably made to George Dunn, and a certain sum of money—a bribe, no doubt—was offered, for his aid and instrumentality towards effecting the escape of Robert Emmet.

But, contrary to the statements in the newspapers, that proposition and that bribe were not 'spurned at by Dunn.' The proposition was entertained, and a positive assurance given by him, that he would 'do everything in his power to effect the escape.' There is no individual living, nor has there ever been any other, save Dunn himself, who had personally known, or who at present knows those facts, but he who now states them, and who freely admits, as he has always admitted, that he did make that proposition. No third person was ever present, no money was ever paid to Dunn, and no offer was ever made of a free passage to America. But, in fact, throughout the transaction, Dunn, so far from acting with integrity, practised the foulest perfidy. The transaction itself occurred, not after the trial of Emmet, but several days before it; and Dunn had neither the power nor the means of accomplishing the escape, though he had given reason to suppose that he possessed both, and had, with the semblance of sincerity, faithfully promised, if possible, to effect it. He was, in fact, at the time, neither the jailer of Kilmainham, nor even the confidential turnkey at the entrance gate: he was merely the turnkey and attendant of the interior department where the state prisoners were confined. But even if he had been the jailer, he could not have effected the escape; for there was another person, since dead, who, in the guise, and under the 'covert and convenient-seeming,' of a doctor, had a paramount authority in the prison—a man who appeared there as the inspector (or rather the haunting spectre) of the jail—an incubus sojourning therein day and night, about sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, and who, also acting as the government overseer or superintendent of the state prisoners, commanded even the jailer.

"The jailer at that time was John Dunn; and though a name-sake, was not the uncle of, nor in any way related to, George Dunn: the former having been a native of a midland county in England, the latter of Berwick-upon-Tweed. On the death of John Dunn, two persons, named Stephenson and Simpson, successively filled the jailership previously to George Dunn. He could not, therefore, as jailer, have had the custody of Robert Emmet, and could not, consequently, have had the ability ascribed to him of effecting the escape; and in his own station, such was impossible, though his inability was not then so well known as afterwards.

"But properly to understand this question, which is actually *one* of official intrigue and speculation, it is requisite, in regard to the machinations which, in conjunction with others, Dunn practised on the attempted escape of Robert Emmet, again to refer to the personage already alluded to, as the superintendent of the state prisoners, and who was at that period well known as the celebrated Pedro Zendono, the inquisitor of Kilmainham.

"Of this man's inhuman conduct towards the state prisoners, this writer had bitter knowledge and experience for more than two years; which brutal conduct has, before three of the supreme judges, been verified by the solemn oaths of more than twenty state prisoners, and afterwards, by the exertions of this writer, became the subject of parliamentary investigation by Sheridan. And the deeds of this prison tyrant, together with those of his helpmate Dunn, are now among the records of parliament.

"At the period of the present transaction, George Dunn, though only a turnkey, was, from his position in the prison, admitted to the honours of the sittings with the Grand Inquisitor, and the nominal jailer, John Dunn, who, though otherwise a good man, then weakly lent himself to the machinations of the other parties. Accordingly, about one week before the trial of Robert Emmet, it was planned that George Dunn should have a conversation with him respecting his escape. Whereupon, several communications, by open slips of paper, in the hand-writing of Robert Emmet, were conveyed to this writer, and answers returned by an under turnkey, a convicted felon, whom the inquisitor craftily used as the bearer instead of Dunn: in one of which slips of paper, Robert Emmet requested this writer, then in an adjoining cell, to apply to George Dunn, specifically naming him, and in conspicuous characters, and to offer him a certain sum of money, as stated in such slip of paper, if he (Dunn) would effect his liberation; the sum so offered, to be well and faithfully secured to Dunn, and payable only when the liberation should have been effected.

"The writer of this paper saw the peril and difficulty, not only of the attempt itself on the part of Robert Emmet, but he also saw his own peril in making the application. He saw that he was about to commit himself, as principal in a case of high treason, the consequences of which were not, and could not be unknown to him. However, upon receiving that particular communication, he did not, for a single moment, hesitate as to what he should do; and the very first opportunity which offered, he made the application.

"In doing so, he admits his legal guilt; but as to any moral guilt, he feels but little compunction. His only regret is, that he failed in the attempt. What were his motives? Robert Emmet was his first-cousin, and the ties of nature are not easily broken. He had a great and noble heart. He shared with the rest of his family, those transcendent talents, which have acquired for the name of Emmet an imperishable renown. But, above all, he was then upon the threshold of the grave, the finger of death was almost upon him; and where lives the man, having a human heart within him, who would not, under such circumstances, have made a similar attempt? If the writer of this was a criminal, he feels proud that he was equally so with a Hutchinson and Wilson.

"However, Dunn received the proposition, including the specification of the sum which would be given, in a way which showed, as soon after proved, that he had been previously trained by his employer to expect it. He entertained that proposition, and he treacherously promised to effect the escape.

"The sum of money which had been actually offered to Dunn, is, in the Dublin extracts, magnified into that of £6000, as a strengthening proof of his incorruptible integrity. But, if only one-fourth of that sum had been stated, it would have come nearer to the truth. However, the mere amount is not the question—the treachery of Dunn is the point; and, except as regards that, the refusal or non-refusal of any sum is altogether immaterial. He was to receive his reward only upon the condition of accomplishing a particular object—and that object, he well knew, was impracticable; so that, even if he had

refused the bribe—which he did not—where would have been his merit? He would then have refused a reward, which he knew that he never could obtain, except by the performance of a condition which he also knew that he never could accomplish.

“But, in promotion of the plans concerted by the triumvirate, the inquisitor, knowing the relationship between Robert Emmet and this writer, permitted a degree of intercourse to exist between them. He permitted the correspondence already stated. He permitted Robert Emmet to receive from this writer, through Dunn, a supply of clothes, which were in fact those that he wore upon his trial. He also permitted him, under the conduct of Dunn, to stop in the passage leading to this writer’s cell, which was purposely in the immediate neighbourhood of his kinsman: and, with the eye and ear of Dunn vigilantly watching, he permitted Robert Emmet to converse from the passage, and to shake hands with this writer through the grated window of his cell. And all this was done, not from any uncongenial kindness of the inquisitor, but as a snare, not only for discovering whether any allusion would be made to the insurrection, as shewing the privity thereto of this writer, but also to provoke, in the presence of Dunn, some proposition as to the escape, which they could wrest into a proof of a conspiracy and plot between the prisoners, which their own previous conspiracy had laboured to effect.

“In furtherance of their schemes, the correspondence which by slips of paper was perfidiously permitted to pass between the two prisoners, through the convict turnkey, was, in every stage, daily waylaid, and conveyed by the overseer to Mr. Chief Secretary Wickham, and Alexander Marsden, the Under-secretary. And without referring to other proofs thereof, that correspondence was afterwards, in their defence, by them presented through the Castle to the House of Commons, and printed in its proceedings.

“The cravings of the Cerberi were soon after fully satisfied by that sort of pabulum which they sought for their safe keeping of the prison-gates. For the overseer, according to parliamentary documents, swore before the three judges who sat in the prison upon the commission obtained from Government by this writer, that he (the overseer) had prevailed upon the Government to increase the salary of George Dunn, on account of his fidelity, in preventing this writer from effecting the escape of Robert Emmet. Thus did those conspirators take advantage of their own wrong for purposes of pecuniary fraud and personal aggrandizement. And as to the overseer, he by means of the present transaction and other acts equally base, and likewise by a long course of prison speculation, from having been an obscure and needy adventurer, became a man of wealth.

“But as to George Dunn’s conduct in this transaction, it is plain that he was not the man of probity, the incorruptible servant of justice, which the newspaper extracts report him to have been. But, on the contrary, that he was a confederate, leagued with the other parties, for inveighling Robert Emmet and this present writer into a perilous conspiracy; and, with the blackest perfidy, that he was all along plotting and working for his own aggrandizement, and that of his unprincipled employer—of that base individual who was the prime instigator of the transaction, the pivot upon which the ma-

chinery moved—that salaried and sycophantic peculator, who, as the chief inquisitor of the prison, conspired with and delegated his Mosca, his familiar, to decoy his victims into a snare, in promotion of his own infamous objects; and that on this occasion George Dunn was merely his working instrument—the rope in the hands of the hangman.

“One word more, and in conclusion, concerning the insurrection in which poor R. Emmet was involved, and also concerning himself. That insurrection must indeed be viewed only with absolute and unqualified condemnation. But as to Robert Emmet individually, it will surely be admitted that even in the midst of error he was great, in principle untainted, in courage dauntless. And, when upon his trial, with the grave already open to receive him, that the burst of eloquence with which he shook the very court wherein he stood, and caused not alone ‘that viper whom his father nourished’ to quail beneath the lash, but likewise forced even that ‘remnant of humanity,’ one of those who tried him, to tremble on the judgment-seat, was, under all the circumstances, an effort almost superhuman—a prodigy; not only when he hurled upon them that withering defiance and memorable castigation, but also when he advocated the grounds upon which he had acted—exhibiting altogether a concentration of moral integrity, talent, and intrepidity unparalleled in the annals of the world.”

We have devoted perhaps too much space to a renewal of our acquaintance with Mr. St. John Mason. His story, which is far from being notorious, carries an interest, and a moral with it, however; and probably few readers will quarrel with us for having reproduced it in connexion with the recent and most creditable lucubrations of this venerable old man.

We had concluded and sent to press the foregoing paper on Irish Poets when a very pleasing volume of poems, (*London, Burns and Lambert*) from the pen of Mr. Aubrey de Vere was placed in our hands for review. To notice the varied compositions of this very promising author with that fullness of illustration, and steadiness of attention, which their merit and extent demand, would be inconsistent with the limits of the present postscript. Having hastily perused Mr. De Vere's poems, however, we can with pleasure and sincerity declare that, as far as we are capable of judging he possesses the most essential characteristics of a genuine Poet, and cannot fail eventually to occupy a commanding position and attitude within the purely classic walk which Mr. De Vere has had the good taste to select for the exercise of his genius. As an Irishman we have every reason to be proud of him, and this feeling will become, if possible, still more intense

when, after the lapse of a little time, he achieves, as he is certain to do, still greater triumphs.

Though Mr. De Vere has made his *debut* as a verse writer in the volume upon our table, and had only been previously known in connection with some interesting prose works, we have always thought that he was born to be a Poet. All his prose compositions—especially that known as *Picturesque Sketches in Greece and Turkey*—bear the unmistakeable stamp of a richly imaginative, and purely poetic mind. We congratulate Mr. De Vere upon discovering, even at the eleventh hour, the latent innate bardic power of thought and expression, which has so long existed, unexercised, within call. He had but to say “open Sesame!” yet still he neglected to exclaim it.

Mr. De Vere possesses the rare power of wielding several distinct styles with effect. Much of his poetry in the present collection is of an intensely metaphysical character, and we are not unfrequently reminded of some of Shelley’s most powerful efforts. That Mr. De Vere’s compositions however are never tinged by the infidel tone which too often disfigures and degrades the poetry of Shelley, it is, we hope unnecessary to add. So far from it, a very considerable number of the pieces composing the volume before us are religious, in the strongest, and most catholic acceptation of the term. True christian philosophy and feeling, perpetually beam forth, binding the reader closer to God, and infusing health, hope, and happiness within his heart. This observation applies more particularly to the hymns of which the author has thrown off, a large number. Some of Mr. De Vere’s moral musings are very fine. I instance

“A CONVENT SCHOOL IN A CORRUPT CITY.”

“Hark how they laugh, those children at their sport!
O’er all this city vast that knows not sleep
Labour and Sin their ceaseless vigil keep:
Yet hither still good Angels make resort,
Innocence here and Mirth a single fort
Maintain: and though in many a snake-like sweep
Corruption round the weedy walls doth creep,
Its track not yet hath slimed this sunny court.
Glory to God, who so the world hath framed
That in all places children more abound
Than they by whom humanity is shamed.
Children outnumber men: and millions die
(Who knows not this?) in blameless infancy,
Sowing with innocence our sin-stained ground.”

The “Hymn for the Feast of St. Peter’s chair at Rome” is a poem of no ordinary pretensions evidencing not less theological lore, than poetic sentiment. We have only room for the closing stanza.

"Prince of the Apostles! Like an hour
 The years have passed since first that Word
 Which signed thee with vicarial power
 Beside that Syrian lake was heard.
 O, strong since then, from heaven's far shore
 Hold forth that Cross of old reversed;
 O bind the world to Christ once more:
 The chains of Satan touch and burst.
 Strengthen the Apostolic Thrones:
 Make strong without, and pure within,
 That Temple built with living stones,
 With planetary discipline.
 Strengthen the thrones of Kings: the State
 Encompass with religious awe;
 Paternal rule corroborate:
 Impart new majesty to Law.
 Strengthen the City, and the Orb
 Of Earth; till each has reached its term.
 Insurgent powers, and implous, curb;
 The righteous and the just confirm."

Many of the lighter poems which attractively sparkle here and there, are conceived, if we may so speak, with the mingled intellect of a Tennyson and a Moore. The deep and genuine feeling of the one, blending with the luxuriant imagery, and winning playfulness of the other exercise, as they are intended to do, a double fascination.

Mr. De Vere's sonnets upon subjects of classic interest possess much beauty. He appears to have completely mastered the difficulties of that very troublesome branch of verse making. "The Pillar of Trajan," "The Arch of Titus," "The Campagna seen from St. John Lateran," are all conceived with originality and power. The following may perhaps be cited as a specimen.

BIRDS IN THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN.

"Egerian warbler! unseen rhapsodist!
 Whose carols antedate the Roman spring;
 Who, while the old grey walls, thy playmates ring,
 Dost evermore on one deep strain insist;
 Flinging thy bell-notes through the sunset mist!
 Touched by thy song rich weeds and wall-flowers swing
 As in a breeze, the twilight crimsoning
 That sucks from them aerial amethyst—
 O for a Sibyl's insight to reveal
 That lore thou sing'st of! Shall I guess it? nay!
 Enough to hear thy strain—enough to feel
 O'er all the extended soul the freshness steal
 Of those ambrosial honeydews that weigh
 Down with sweet force the azure lids of day."

We regret that we have not space for "the Year of Sorrow," a composition possessing deep and painful interest for every Irishman. To break it into fragments would mar the effect. This piece records the history of the sadly memorable year 1847; and is divided into four parts, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter.

Cottages—especially when situated in the vicinity of woods—have been almost from time immemorial—a favorite theme with minor minstrels. Mr. De Vere makes a cottage figure prominently in more than one of his poems, but in a manner essentially different from the old and hackneyed style. Take for example, the following extract from

A HYMN FOR THE BUILDING OF A COTTAGE.

"Lay foundations deep and strong,
On the rock, and not the sand—
Morn her sacred beam has flung
O'er our ancient land.
And the children through the heather
Beaming joy from frank bright eyes
Dance along and sing together
Their loud ecstasies
Children hallowed song to-day!
Sing, aloud; but, singing, pray.
Orphic measures, proudly swelling,
Lifted cities in old time;
Build me now a humbler dwelling
With a lowlier rhyme!
Unless God the work sustain
Our toils are vain; and worse than vain.
Better to roam for aye, than rest
Under the impious shadow of a roof unblest!

"Mix the mortar o'er and o'er,
Holy music singing:
Holy water o'er it pour,
Flowers and tresses flinging!
Bless we now the earthen floor:
May good Angels love it!
Bless we now the new-raised door:
And that cell above it!
Holy cell, and holy shrine
For the Maid and Child divine!

Remember that thou see'st her bending
O'er that babe upon her knee
All Heaven is ever thus extending
Its arms of love round thee
Such though thy step make light and gay
As yon elastic linden spray
On the smooth air nimbly dancing—
Thy spirits like the dew glittering thereon
and glancing!

"Castles stern, in pride o'er-gazing
Subject leagues of worlds and woods;
Palace fronts their fretwork raising
Mid luxurious solitudes;
These, through clouds their heads uplifting,
The lightning challenge and invoke:
His balance Power is ever shifting—
The reed outlasts the oak.
Live, thou cottage! live and flourish,
Like a bank that spring showers nourish,
Bright with field flowers self-renewing,
Annual violets, dateless clover—
Eyes of flesh thy beauty viewing
With a glance may pass it over;
But to eyes that wiser are
Thou glitterest like the morning star
O'er wise hearts thy beauty breathes
Such sweets as morn shall waft from those
new-planted wreaths!"

Of "Ballads" we have several. "Henry II. at the Tomb of King Arthur" is the longest and probably the best. Its length, however, does not altogether constitute the attraction, for it might, without injury to the poetic effect, undergo some condensation.

We fear that the few extracts we have been enabled to give have failed to convey an adequate idea of the contents of Mr. De Vere's poetic cornucopia. The great subject, Love, is, of course, more than once treated of; but we have preferred to follow the author along a less beaten path. The practical purpose of his philosophical poetry is as creditable as the execution. "Modern Philosophy," "Fragments of Truth," "Law and Grace," "Lines on the Fall of Bacon," "Liberalism," and other pieces, will be found illustrative of this statement.

We hope to meet Mr. De Vere soon again.

ART. V.—LIVINGSTONE'S TRAVELS & RESEARCHES.

1. *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, by David Livingstone, LL.D.,—D.C.L., John Murray, London: 1857.
2. *Southern Africa*, by the Rev. Francis Fleming. Hall, Virtue and Co., London: 1856.
3. *The London Missionary Magazine*.

Whatever denomination of Christianity a missionary belongs to, or goes forth to propagate, his peculiar province is to open up the way to civilization among the barbarous and unenlightened, to scatter the seeds of knowledge over the surface of the earth, and to lay the foundation for the future welfare of nations, now plunged in the darkness of ignorance. For such labours and benefits conferred on mankind in the discharge of his duties conscientiously performed, we do him honour, leaving out of consideration altogether the particular doctrines he may wish to inculcate. But, when he commences to preach bigotry and intolerance, no matter what creed he professes, even though he should belong to the true church itself, we at once find fault with, and condemn him, because such is not the spirit of Christianity, which is founded upon the love of our neighbour.

It would be a curious enquiry to consider the various methods by which the different religions which have appeared on the surface of the earth from time to time, have been propagated. The Greeks and Romans do not seem to have endeavoured to impose their form of worship upon the nations who became subject to their sway; on the contrary, they usually adopted the gods of the towns and countries which they subjugated. Their persecutions of the Christians must be regarded more as a resistance to, or a defence against the encroachment of the new tenets which sprung up amongst them, than as an attempt at spreading their own. The growth of Christianity was gradual, carried on by peaceable means, and mainly owing to the preaching of men of great talent and devout life, who gained ascendancy over the princes and people of Europe. The first instance of compulsory propagation of religion, was that of Mahomedanism by the Arabians, who thrust their doctrines down the throats of half Asia, half Europe, and the North of Africa, at the point of

the sword. The next was by Charlemagne, who, at the same time that he reduced the Saxons under his dominion, overturned their Heathenish altars, and established the belief in the true God amongst them. At the present time, this same people, or at least the remnant which yet bears the name, are, generally speaking, of the Protestant persuasion, while the royal family and princes who rule over them are Roman Catholic. This arose from the vicissitudes of the wars of the Reformation, during which the leaders of different portions of Germany were often abandoned by their vassals, who took an opposite side, and at the final settlement of the dispute, each party remained of their own way of thinking.

It is remarkable, that of the great variety of religions to be found on the face of the globe, the Roman Catholic and the Protestant are the only ones, whose votaries seem to have at present any interest in spreading their doctrines among the heathens. Islam is effete, and no longer makes use of the sword as an argument: Bhuddism, once rife and active in Asia, is inert, has ceased to claim votaries, content with the countless millions which it enslaves, and though it may be said that a new religion has sprung up in China with this never-ending rebellion, yet it would appear that its chief doctrines, borrowed from Christianity, are used more as a political means of gaining adherents and attracting attention, than as constituting a distinct system of belief and worship. Thus, the two old enemies, who divided Europe in the time of the Reformation, are left to contend with one another in distant lands among the ignorant savages, for preeminence in the propagation of their creeds. Worthy contest, in which it is the aim of each to spread enlightenment and civilization among their fellow creatures. It will be seen hereafter, that in the opinion of two moderate minded men of both phases of Christianity, they ought not to be considered so totally opposed to each other, as we are in the habit of considering them in these little Islands.

The Roman Catholic religion does not appear in our age to be at all so warm and active in the propagation of its tenets, as it was in the 16th and 17th centuries, shortly after the Americas and Indies were discovered. At that time its doctrines were supported by some of the most powerful and the richest monarchs and natives of Europe. Some of these, such as Spain and Austria, have decreased in influence, power, dominion and wealth, and are no longer able to send forth expensive expedi-

tions to reduce the unbelievers to the faith of Christ. Others, such as France and Sardinia, have turned their attention to more home matters, and political considerations, and do not wish to embarrass themselves with the equipment of missionaries. The great reason, however, for the decline in the ardour of propagandism, is the inability of the Holy See itself to furnish funds for these undertakings. During the middle ages, and for some centuries after the Reformation, large sums of money were accustomed to flow into the Papal treasury, from all parts of Europe, for the purpose of furnishing teachers to the heathen. There is not now, however, any such plethora of wealth; consequently, instead of been able to extend the confines of their religion, the Roman Catholics are scarcely able to furnish pastors sufficient for the wants of those European members of their church who have emigrated to foreign parts, and are constantly crying out for spiritual succour. We find, certainly, some rare exceptions, such as those of Mr. Hue and his companions, whose labours in China and Tartary, have gained a world-wide reputation, through the writings of that gentleman, and some instances in India, where lately one of the Roman Catholic missionaries suffered martyrdom in the neighbourhood of Delhi.

America had been formerly the great field of their labours, under the auspices of the Spanish Occupation. They had extended themselves along the West Coast of the Southern Continent, into the Brazils, Paraguay, the Valley of the Amazon, and the Central States, but the Revolutionary movement which broke out there some thirty years ago, has undermined their influence to a very considerable extent, and stopped the progress of propagandism. Africa, where the Jesuits had established themselves under the Portuguese Government on the West Coast in Angola, and in the East at the mouth of the Zambesi River, has been deserted to a certain extent, that order having being expelled from its possessions by the Marquis de Pombal. Thus a complete opening has been left for the extension of the Reformed Doctrines in that continent, and it has not been lost sight of by their votaries.

England, on account of her wealth, and the decided manner in which she has appropriated to herself several particular forms of Protestantism, must be considered in this age as the great apostle of its doctrines. The enormous contributions incessantly levied upon her willing sons and daughters, poured into the central societies in London, are continually employed

in fitting out new expeditions for the evangelization of savages. The different phases of belief do not make much matter or distinction as to the means employed to procure converts; all seem to agree in one particular, that it is sufficient to place the Bible in the hands of the ignorant in order to operate a complete reformation of manners, customs, and lives, and to teach them in addition the most inscrutable mysteries of faith. Thus this anomaly exists, that a book, no matter how much inspired, which has required the most lengthy and scientific commentaries of the Fathers, and of many of the most learned brethren of that church to explain, is to be laid without note, comment or explanation before the barbarian, and he is converted at once to Christianity and civilization. This absurdity is carried so far, that the authorised version has been translated into the thousand and one languages and dialects of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, and scattered far and wide, it must be said, in the most profane manner, before the recipients have been taught in any way to reform their lives or manners, or to learn so much of civilization as is absolutely necessary to them for the intelligible reading of its pages. But then, it is said, *this* book is inspired, and therefore by itself produces its own effect. If one instance can be shewn of an ignorant person having been converted by the simple reading of it, then certainly a practical proof may be claimed of the utility of this wholesale distribution, but until then, there is nothing more nonsensical than to expect the result anticipated. It is not here meant to deny the inspiration of the Scriptures, or to say that they do not contain the doctrines of Christianity, are not calculated to lead their readers to a better state of existence in this world, and in the next, but certain preliminary conditions must be fulfilled before a right understanding of them can be arrived at.

The Moravian brethren of Hernhut appear to have been the first members of the Reformed Religion, who attempted to spread the Evangelical doctrines among the native tribes of Southern Africa. The Dutch before their time never thought of doing so, not considering those savages capable of any advancement towards Christianity, and the Boers or farmers of the interior part of the Colony shewed a decided objection to an effort towards their regeneration. In fact the poor aborigines were oftener made use of as beasts of labour and burthen, than treated as rational beings, by these descendants of the original

settlers from Holland. In the year 1787, eighty years after the first settlement, a pastor named George Schmidt was dispatched by the Moravians to found a missionary station in the Colony. He found the soil very unpromising, and notwithstanding incessant toil and trouble for five years, he could only get some 30 or 40 boys, girls and grown people to attend his school, and only in 1742 succeeded in baptizing a Hottentot. The next year he returned to Europe in despair, and the station was left unoccupied until 1792, when three other Missionaries were sent out to fill up the vacancy. They found the ruins of the building at Genadenthal (the Valley of Grace) or Bavian's Kloof, and the only remaining relic of Christianity in the shape of an old woman nearly one hundred years old, who had some recollection of the doctrines formerly preached by Schmidt. The Dutch subsequently broke up the mission in 1795, thinking no doubt that the enlightenment of the natives would not contribute to their interests.

The London Missionary Society, which was established in 1795, shortly after endeavoured to found a station on the Hottentot frontier, but in consequence of their pastor, Dr. Vanderkemp, not undertaking to make rain, the chief effort and benefit of religion in that country, and having refused two cows, as payment for the efficacy of his prayers, they were obliged to give up for a time any attempt at conversion in that quarter. This, however, did not deter many other societies and denominations of Christians, from endeavouring to gain a footing. The Bushmen were invaded by Erasmus Smith and Mr. Corner in 1814, the Namaquas in 1817, and their sanguinary chief Africaner reclaimed. The Wesleyans took possession of the Warmbath settlement in 1824. The Bechuanas were visited by Edwards and Kok at their chief town Lithako, but the chief Mothibi rejected all advances towards propagandism. Many other tribes have been attempted to be Christianized since the English gained possession of the colony in 1808, but now the zeal for Evangelization has spread so much in that quarter of the world, that no less than twenty-two different denominations of Protestantism have established missionary stations among the Aborigines.

It would be useless and tedious to the reader to follow seriatim, the great number of efforts made by these societies. Suffice it to say, that a regular bishop of the English Established Church for the South African Diocese, in the

person of Dr. Robert Gray, was consecrated about the year 1851, and two years subsequently two other suffragan bishops, Dr. Armstrong to Graham's Town, and Dr. Colenzo to Natal. Thus Protestantism is in a fair way of gaining entire possession of that section of the human race. The method of working these stations does not, however, appear well calculated either to teach Christianity or to inculcate civilization. The instruction chiefly consists of psalm singing, preaching and reading the Bible. Printing presses have been got up in various quarters, and the Gospels and Old Testaments attempted to be translated into the native tongues. Mr. Moffat, the missionary at Kuruman, has lately finished a translation into Sichuana, the language of the Bechuanas. It is not, however, considered necessary to teach the Aborigines at first the proper modes of common life, and to instruct their minds in the ordinary principles of rectitude. It is not, however, as disseminators of different doctrines or religious persuasions, that we mean to consider the missionaries; it is only in the character of pioneers of civilization, that they are to be particularly regarded, all forms of Christianity having a tendency towards refinement.

If we cast our eye over any map of Africa not very recently constructed, we shall see, that between the 10th and 20th degrees of south latitude, the interior of that country has been comparatively unexplored, and was almost a dead letter to geographers. The Portuguese certainly had some possessions on the west coast, in Angola and Benguela, and on the east coast, in the territory of Mazambique, and along the banks of the Zambezi river. The former were discovered in the year 1484 by one of the naval heroes of that age, Diego Kam, and for a considerable period a great trade in slaves, ivory, wax, and other commodities, was carried on between the chief port of St. Paul de Loanda, and the opposite coast of South America. Since the suppression of the slave trade the importance of this place has been gradually declining, no proper management having been given to the exportation of the natural produce of the district. It is still, however, maintained, a governor being regularly appointed and a kind of local militia established at several inland stations. Vague accounts had been given at various times, of a connection by trade having been established with the east side of the continent by means of caravans or expeditions, which followed the banks of the Coanza river at one side, and the Zambezi on the other, but where either of

these streams, or that of the Quango, which falls into the sea, north of Angola, took their rise, was a matter of complete speculation among geographers. Various also were the ideas formed on the subject of the configuration of this part of the continent by practical geologists. Many were of opinion that a lofty range of snow-capped mountains existed in the interior, from which the waters of the different rivers were constantly fed, in the same manner, as some of those in Europe, the Rhine, the Rhone and the Danube. Others spoke of a large desert corresponding with the Sahara in the north, which absorbed the currents of inland streams, and caused perpetual springs. Sir Roderick Murchison, however, in the year 1852 delivered a discourse before the Geographical Society in London, in which he hazarded a bold hypothesis, nothing less than a central plateau or basin, which being periodically inundated by the annual tropical rains, supplied abundant materials by percolation and slow draining to the formation of all the rivers formed between the Equator and the 20th degree of southern latitude. It was certainly a happy idea, arrived at by the attentive observations of that eminent geologist, and subsequently confirmed, as will be seen, by the expeditions of Dr. Livingstone.

This gentleman had gone out in the year 1840, as a missionary of the London Missionary Society, to the Cape, to assist a Rev. Mr. Moffat, who had taken up his station at the most remote point of Kuruman or Lattakoo, among the Bechuana tribes. Not content, however, with this *ultima thule* of civilized life, he pushed forward still more to the north, and established himself first at Chonnuane, the head village of a chief named Sechele, and afterwards on the Kelobeng river, whither he persuaded the chief to remove his town. From this he made his subsequent excursions, which we will now proceed to consider with greater particularity. The variety of incident and adventure contained in his volume, which runs to near 700 closely printed pages, prevents us from giving more than an outline of his route.

Our traveller gives, as an introduction, a scanty sketch of his descent and antecedents, in which certainly it cannot be said, that there is much egotism. It is the oft repeated story of the humble beginnings of a man of genius; his grandfather, a small farmer in the Island of Ulva, one of the Hebrides, having removed from thence to near Glasgow, in order to eke out a

living for his family. His father died, a deacon of an independent church at Hamilton, in February 1856, while his son was roaming through the wilds of Africa. Livingstone himself at the age of ten was placed as a "piecer" in a cotton factory, but with the enterprize of genius, managed with his savings and during his leisure hours, to learn Latin and Greek, read classical authors, attend Divinity and medical lectures, and being promoted in his 19th year to be a cotton spinner, a lucrative situation, joined the London Missionary Society, with the intention of proceeding to China. This was, however, frustrated, after he had obtained his medical diploma, by the breaking out of the Opium War, and he resolved to go to Africa with a Mr. Moffat, who had succeeded in establishing some missionary stations there. They went from the Cape to Algoa Bay, and striking from thence right into the country, reached after a tiresome journey, the furthest outlying missionary quarter of Kuruman, in the country of the tribe of Bechuanas called "Bakwains,"—or people of the alligator. Each portion of this widely extended people having distinct names, as "Bakatia," "they of the monkey;" Batlapi, "they of the fish," and so forth.

Having gained some knowledge of their language he founded a station, called Mabotsa, but was very near ending here his labours rather prematurely in an encounter with a lion, who was satisfied, however, with crunching his shoulder, in which subsequently two joints were formed. It would seem as if this animal's saliva possesses some venomous properties, from the effects of sloughing and discharge produced in the wound, and the length of time which it took to heal the thigh of one of the Bakwains, who had been bitten by the same beast. This tribe was ruled by a chief named Sechele, who had been reinstated in the chieftainship of his fathers by Sebituane, the leader of the Makololo, a powerful people of a more northern region. He was very much impressed by the first accounts of Christianity, and applied himself so closely to learning to read, that in the first day of Dr. Livingstone's residence at Shonuané, Sechele's Kotla or town, he mastered the alphabet; and from being thin became through want of exercise exceedingly corpulent. For three years he continued to profess his conviction of the truths of Christianity, and even proposed to trash his people into believing with whips of Rhinoceros hide. At length he dismissed the chief obstacle to his conversion, his harem, and submitted to baptism, but the friends of the dismissed wives

and the most influential of the tribe gained thereby a great antipathy to Christianity. This race are chiefly remarkable for their belief in the witchcraft of rain making, from which no argument could dissuade them, and their method of capturing wild animals in a Hopo, or pit, the approaches to which are hedged round, in a similar manner to that practised on the Elephant in India.

The great enemies of these poor inoffensive people are the Dutch Boers of the Cashan Mountains, who commit raids upon them, frequently shoot them down, enslave them, and compel them to work often without payment. This system of treatment, originates from the unjust conduct of the Cape Government, which prevents the passage of arms into the country of the Bechuanas, and winks at their oppression. The Boers, however, take very good care not to attack the Caffres, on the other side of their mountains, because retaliation would ensue. The chief, Sechele, having requested the loan of a large iron pot from Dr. Livingstone, it was handed over to him to be used on an expedition into the interior. The fears of the Boers magnified this into a large cannon, and an expedition was set on foot by them to take it from Sechele. They determined not to allow the free passage of any more English into the interior, by breaking up the settlement of the Bakwains at the station of Kolobeng. A force of 400 men were sent by their commandant Pretorins in 1852 to disperse the tribe, and in so doing plundered the house of Dr. Livingstone, stole 80 head of cattle, tore up his library, smashed his stock of medicines, and carried off his clothing and furniture. Such are the men whom Sir George Cathcart proclaimed independent, with whom he made treaties, and to whose tender mercies he consigned the missionaries.

The Bakwains have some strange objects of food, roasted and pounded locusts, and a large frog named "Matlamétlo," which lies torpid in periods of drought under roots of plants, and suddenly starting forth in rain, is believed to fall from the clouds. They are blessed with the scavenger beetle, a most useful animal in a hot climate, and the eland, a magnificent antelope, which ranges the plains in countless herds.

Dr. Livingstone planned in May, 1849, a lengthened excursion with two English gentlemen, Mr Oswell and Mr. Murray, no less than the crossing of the great Kalahari Desert to the Lake Ngami, of which they had received some indistinct, ex-

aggregated account from the natives. This desert is called so, simply because it contains no running water, and very little water in wells. The soil is a light-coloured soft sand, nearly pure silica; the beds of ancient rivers are dried up. An amazing quantity of grass and roots grow upon it, many of which from being herbaceous become tuberous. One of these in particular deposits several water-bearing bulbs the size of a man's head, in the circumference of a yard, which are found by the natives on striking the surface with stones, through the difference of sound. A species of water melon also covers the ground in immense quantities, and proves excellent food for all animals man included. This immense tract is inhabited by Bushmen and Bakalahari, nomad tribes, who love their liberty excessively and fly from the Bechuanas. The scarcity of water in their land leads them to a strange habit of preserving that precious fluid in Ostrich shells buried in the ground.

The Bakwains had removed with their missionary from the station of Shonuanne, the first residence of Sechele, to the banks of the Kolobeng river, a more healthy spot, and from this Livingstone started along with Messrs Oswell and Murray on the 1st of June, 1849, to explore the lake. Their course lay over the arid desert, in which they were obliged to dig considerable depths for water, and were often several days without that commodity. Plenty of game were met consisting of Elands, Buffaloes, Gnus, Antelopes, Steinbocks, Giraffes, Ostriches and Rhinoceros, but there was great difficulty in killing them on account of the exhausted state of the horses. Notwithstanding the opposition of a native chief, they reached at length on the 4th July, the river Zouga which flows out of lake Gnami, and going up the banks of this stream fell in with a tribe called the Bayeyie, or Bakoba, who never fight, on account of a tradition, that their forefathers' bows, which were made of Palma Christi, being broken, they could no longer try the fortune of war. They are therefore overrun by every other horde, and may be considered the Quakers of Southern Africa.

Before reaching the Zouga, our travellers had been deceived by the appearance of a lake, caused by the mirage of a large saltpan, when they were still at a distance of more than 300 miles from the object of their search, but after ascending this beautifully wooded river, they came to the north-east end of the Ngami, and for the first time, on the 1st of August, 1849, the eyes of Europeans looked on its waters. As the discovery

of this lake had been for a long time a desideratum in South African discovery, it may be well to give the author's own account of its position and appearance.

The direction of the lake seemed to be N.N.E. and S.S.W. by compass. The southern portion is said to bend round to the west, and to receive the Teoughe from the north, at its north-western extremity. We could detect no horizon where we stood, looking S.S.W.; nor could we form any idea of the extent of the lake, except from the reports of the inhabitants of the district; and as they professed to go round it in three days, allowing twenty-five miles a day, would make it seventy-five, or less than seventy geographical miles in circumference. Other guesses have been made since as to its circumference, ranging between seventy and one hundred miles. It is shallow, for I subsequently saw a native hunting his canoe over seven or eight miles of the north-east end; it can never, therefore, be of much value as a commercial highway.

The water of the lake is perfectly fresh when full, but brackish when low; and that coming down the Tamunakle we found to be so clear, cold, and soft—the higher we ascended—that the idea of melting snow was suggested to our minds. We found this region, with regard to that from which we had come, to be clearly a hollow, the lowest point being Lake Kumadan; the point of the ebullition of water, as shown by one of Newman's barometric thermometers, was only between 207 $\frac{1}{2}$ and 206,° giving an elevation of not much more than two thousand feet over the level of the sea. We descended above two thousand feet in coming to it from Kolobeng. It is the southern and lowest part of the great river system beyond, in which large tracts of country are inundated annually by tropical rains, hereafter to be described.

It will be seen hereafter that Dr. Livingstone's last journey solved one of the most interesting problems of geologists concerning the formation of the African continent. It was considered by some of the most eminent men of science, that there must be a very high ridge of snowy mountains running as a backbone through the interior, somewhat similar to the Andes of South America, from which the various river systems, flowing down to either coast, east and west, took their rise. This theory was contested by Sir R. J. Murchison alone, who endeavoured to explain the course of the water by a very different and happy hypothesis, that of a large central basin inundated by annual rains, and drained by the various streams. It will be seen in following our traveller, that he proves the existence of such a basin, and discovered the source of the South African river system.

Returning down the Zouga, on the banks of which he found several new species of trees, the baobab, palmyra, pink plumtree,

&c., elephants in great number caught in pitfalls by the natives, a new water antelope called the leché, with elliptically ringed horns, and broad headed fishes, mullets and edible water snakes, in the water, the three travellers made the best of their way back to Kolobeng, where Dr. Livingstone remained until the month of April, 1850.

His second journey made in this latter year was in company with his wife and family. They avoided the Kalahari desert by making a detour through the territory of a friendly chief, and found Mr. Oswell hunting elephants most successfully on the Zouga, having killed in one day four large males, whose tusks were worth 100 guineas. As soon, however, as they reached the lake, his two children fell sick of fever, and his servants were soon reduced also, so that he was obliged to give up his expedition and return to Kolobeng.

On his third start in 1851, he crossed the Zouga, and passing over a saltpan one hundred miles long and fifteen broad, on which the horizon might be taken as at sea, they came upon the banks of the Chobe. This river runs through the country of the Makololo, one of the paramount tribes of central South Africa, who were subject at this time to a chief named Sebituane. Unfortunately for the travellers they got into a district infested by the Tssetsé fly, whose bite is mortal to ox, horse or dog, and lost forty-three fine oxen in consequence. The account given of this baneful insect, the scourge of that country, is very interesting, and from it we may extract a few particulars.

It is not much larger than the common housefly, and is nearly of the same brown color as the common honey bee; the after part of the body has three or four yellow bars across it, the wings project beyond this part considerably, and it is remarkably alert, avoiding most dexterously all attempts to capture it with the hand, at common temperatures. In the cool of the mornings or evenings it is less agile.

A most remarkable feature in the bite of the Tsetse, is its perfect harmlessness in man and wild animals, and even calves so long as they continue to suck the cows. . . . The mule, ass, and goats enjoy the same immunity from the tsetse, as man and game. . . . The poison does not seem to be injected by a sting, or by one placed beneath the skin, for when one is allowed to feed freely on the hand, it is seen to insert the middle prong of three portions, into which the proboscis divides, somewhat deeply into the true skin; it then draws it out a little way, and it assumes a crimson colour, as the mandibles come into brisk operation. The previously shrunken belly swells

out, and if left undisturbed, the fly quietly departs when it is full. A slight itching irritation follows, but not more than in the bite of a musquito. In the ox this same bite produces no more immediate effects than in man. It does not startle him as the gad-fly does; but a few days after, the following symptoms supervene; the eye and nose begin to run, the coat stares as if the animal were cold, a swelling appears under the jaw, and sometimes at the navel; and though the animal continues to graze, emaciation commences, accompanied with a peculiar flaccidity of the muscles, and this proceeds unchecked until, perhaps, months after, purging comes on, and the animal, no longer able to graze, perishes in a state of extreme exhaustion. Those which are in good condition, often perish soon after the bite is inflicted, with staggering and blindness, as if the brain were affected by it. Sudden changes of temperature, produced by falls of rain, seem to hasten the progress of the complaint; but in general the enaciation goes on uninterruptedly for months, and do what we will, the poor animals perish miserably.

This scourge, which prevents the breeding of cattle in some of the most extensive grazing districts in South Africa, has bid defiance to the skill of many able men, to devise some remedy for its effects. Travelling through the countries infested by it is rendered extremely difficult, on account of the certain death of the beasts of burthen, horses or horned cattle. What the design of Providence may be in placing such a pest in the heart of a country, whereby cultivation and civilization is prevented, and the poor savage reduced to live upon the roots of the field or the produce of the chase, it is very difficult to determine, but it will be a great obstacle to the extension of agriculture and enlightenment through this quarter of the globe, until some means are discovered to do away with its bad effects.

Continuing along the banks of the Chobe, in the country of the Makololo, Mr. Oswell and Dr. Livingstone arrived at the village of Banajoa, where they were met by the chief of that people, Sebituane, whose career as a conqueror in enterprise, boldness and success has been compared to that of Julius Cæsar, or that of the early English heroes in Bengal.

"Sebituane was about forty-five years of age, of a tall and wiry form, an olive or coffee and milk colour and slightly bald; in manner cool and collected, and more frank in his answers than any other chief I ever met. He was the greatest warrior ever heard of beyond the colony, for unlike Mosilikatse, Dingan, and others, he always led his men into battle himself. When he saw the enemy he felt the edge of his battle-axe and said, "Aha! it is sharp, and whoever turns his back on the enemy will feel its edge." So fleet of foot was he, that

all his people knew there was no escape for the coward, as any such would be cut down without mercy. In some instances of skulking, he allowed the individual to return home; then calling him, he would say, "Ah, you prefer dying at home to dying in the field, do you? you shall have your desire." This was the signal for his immediate execution."

This hero was originally driven away from Kurnman in 1824 by the Griquas. He crossed the Bakalahari desert twice, losing all his cattle, defeated the Bakwains and other tribes in a pitched battle, and then returned to the banks of the Zouga and Lake Gnamu. There he overran the whole country, subjecting all the races, then passing up along the Chobe, overcame the Batoka and the Bamangwato, and reduced them under his sway. The Matabele, a Caffir tribe, under the famous chief, Mosilikatse, attempted to conquer him, but they were defeated in the islands of the Zambesi, and compelled to retreat. He then extended his sway up the valley of the Barotse, the most fruitful and populous of this part of Africa, to the frontiers of Londa, which borders the Portuguese territory of Angola. In fact, he spread his dominion over a territory 4 or 500 miles long, by 200 broad, and caused the name of the Makololo to be feared by all their neighbours. His generosity and affability to strangers, even the poorest and most distressed, was well-known; he entertained and treated them in the most lordly manner. Unfortunately, he died of inflammation of the lungs, during Dr. Livingstone's visit, and was buried in his cattle-pen, all the cattle being driven for an hour or two around and over his grave, in order to obliterate it, such being the custom of the Bechuana. He was succeeded in the chieftainship by his daughter, Ma-Mochisane, or the mother of Mochisane, it being the usage of this people to call the women after their children. Mrs. Livingstone was named Ma-Robert, after her eldest child.

Mr. Oswell and Dr. Livingstone, pushed on further to the North-East, one hundred and thirty miles to Sesheke, the chief place of the Makololo, and there discovered, for the first time, in the month of June, 1851, the magnificent stream of the Lerambye, or Zambesi river, from three to six hundred yards wide and very deep. It is here in the very centre of the continent, not at all in the position or flowing in the direction pointed out in the Portuguese maps. It rises annually, by inundation, some twenty feet, and covers with its flood fifteen or twenty miles of land along its banks. The slave trade was found to be carried on here by a people called the Mambari,

exchanging captive and kidnapped youths for old Portuguese muskets. This was the farthest point of the third journey of Dr. Livingstone, who returned from thence to the Cape, after an absence of eleven years from civilized society, and having despatched his family to England, with a promise of rejoining them in a couple of years, made preparations for his last and longest trip, extending over nearly four years.

It is not necessary for us to follow him through the account he gives of the different divisions of African tribes living upon and beyond the Orange river, and their contests with the Boers, except in this, that the colonial government seems to have been very ill advised in the proclamation of independence of these latter, and the way in which they placed the former almost completely in their power, by prohibiting or preventing all transmission of arms or ammunition. The Griquas and Bechuanas of the border races, are very friendly towards the English, and would form a very good defence against any Northern hostility, whereas, the Boers manifest great ill will towards the Cape colonists, and endeavour to prevent, as far as in them lies, the passage of traders into the interior. This opposition can be only got rid of, either by the complete subjection of the Boers, or by maintaining the independence of the tribes. The chief Sechele and his tribe, had been scattered and dispossessed, as before related, during the absence of their missionaries, by these ruthless descendants of the Dutch settlers. Mr. Moffat, at the station of Kuruman, had received a piteous letter, detailing the plundering expedition, the destruction of Livingstone's cattle, goods and books, and the burning of the town. The

chief afterwards tried to reach England by the Cape, to lay his case before Queen Victoria, but received such bad countenance in the colony, that he returned in despair to his wandering people. Thus have these unfortunate natives been sacrificed to the rapacity of a set of degenerated half-castes, or semi-Europeans, who will be hereafter found the greatest obstacle to the extension of trade and civilization into the interior.

Dr. Livingstone discusses here at some length the duties of missionaries, and the obligation on them to proceed at once into the heart of the country, and to establish new stations as they go along, instead of appropriating old ones. It is strange also, that he recommends the system of the old monasteries, which were centres of civilization, where the monks practised agriculture, fed and taught their converts, nursed the sick, and

spread their religion and civilization at the same time. The self-supporting method of these establishments, and the peculiar benefits arising from them in a new country, and among a savage people, seem to have struck forcibly on his mind, and brought home conviction to him in spite of an innate prejudice. Undoubtedly the mind of a barbarian is more easily opened and affected by benefits conferred upon him, and practical illustrations of the effects of Christianity, than by any abstract teaching, reading of books which appear cabalistic to them, singing of psalms which are taken as invocations of demons, and enunciations of doctrines beyond their comprehension. Mr. Moffat, the missionary at the station of Kuruman, went through the labour of translating the Bible into the language of the Bechuanas, called the Sichuana, but it is doubtful whether it can ever be made use of, as most likely the race will be scattered or become extinct before any number of them can be taught to read. Dr. Livingstone in another place expresses his dissatisfaction at the small amount of religious instruction imbibed by these tribes. They assented to every proposition uttered to them, and gave complete credence to all that was said, but when afterwards questioned about the subject, declared their utter inability to remember anything; it had all passed out of their heads. Either the form of religion was too abstract, unsuited for uneducated minds, or the method of instruction deficient. We shall find hereafter, that Dr. Livingstone adopted subsequently another and rather curious manner of explaining Christianity to the heathen.

His account of the South African Lion is much the same as, and confirms in a high degree, the stories, which have hitherto appeared rather improbable, of Mr. Gordon Cumming concerning that animal, his habits, and the facility of hunting him. He is not at all that ferocious and bold beast, which is met with on the borders of the Northern Sahara Desert, where he delights in the blood of man, and carries off cattle from the midst of their human protectors. The Southern Lion flies like a greyhound from the face of the hunter, fears to attack the Buffalo alone, and has been known to be tossed on the horns of a cow, defending her calf from his claws. The following adventure of a Mr. Vardon is given in a note, and well illustrates the character of this animal.

Oswell and I were riding along the banks of the Limpopo, when a water buck started in front of us. I dismounted and was following

it through the jungle, when three buffaloes got up, and after going a little distance stood still, and the nearest bull turned round and looked at me. A ball from the two-ouncer crashed into his shoulder, and they all three made off. Oswell and I followed as soon as I had re-loaded, and when we were in sight of the buffalo, and gaining on him at every stride, three lions leaped on the unfortunate brute; he bellowed must lustily as he kept up a kind of running fight; but he was of course soon overpowered and pulled down. We had a fine view of the struggle, and saw the lions on their hind legs tearing away with teeth and claws in most ferocious style. We crept up within thirty yards, and kneeling down, blazed away at the lions. My rifle was a single barrel and I had no spare gun. One lion fell dead almost on the buffalo; he had merely time to turn towards us, seize a bush with his teeth, and drop dead with the stick in his jaws. The second made off immediately; and the third raised his head, coolly looked round for a moment, then went on tearing and biting at the carcase as hard as ever. We retired a short distance to load, then again advanced and fired. The lion made off, but a ball that he received ought to have stopped him, as it went clean through his shoulder blade. He was followed up and killed, after having charged several times. Both lions were males. It is not often that one bags a brace of lions and a bull buffalo in about ten minutes. It was an exciting adventure and I shall never forget it.

The lion fears the elephant and rhinoceros, of whose habits and those of the ostrich, Dr. Livingstone gives such an account as confirms completely all that has been already stated by Mr. Cumming on the subject. In fact he supports completely that gentleman's relation of the number of game and the amount of sport to be had in following them. It is unnecessary for us to go here into any consideration of those matters, as our space compels us to follow the traveller through his final journey.

He started from Kuruman in January. 1853, avoiding the desert and the parts infested by the tsetse, and crossing the Chobe, arrived at Linyanti, the capital town of the Makololo, about the end of May. There he found the sovereignty changed; Ma-Mochisane, the daughter of Sebituane, whom he had appointed to succeed him, had resigned in favour of her brother Sekeletu. Another brother named Mpépe laid a plot for the assassination of Sekeletu, and but for the fortunate intervention of Dr. Livingstone, covering the chief with his body, the scheme would have succeeded. Mpépe was led out a mile into the open land and speared, such being the usual mode of execution. The Makololo have an excellent, orderly method of trying disputes and offences; each party makes his speech in

turn and produces his witnesses in a regular manner. The elders then give their opinion, and the chief finally delivers his judgment, having complete power of life and death.

When Sebituane died, his wives were divided among some of the most influential underchiefs, thus assuring considerable influence and connexion to the family. The Makololo women do not work much as in other African races, as great numbers of subjected tribes gathered together in villages, perform certain compulsory services and are made to till the soil. These are called Makalaka, which, however, is looked upon as a term of reproach.

Sekeletu presented Dr. Livingstone with ten large ivory tusks, besides furnishing him with canoes for the navigation of the Chobe, and the Zambesi. The missionary in return gave an improved breed of goats, fowls, and a pair of cats. One of these last animals was speared by a native, who brought it to the chief, as an offering of a rare discovery, thus destroying at once all hope of the propagation of the animal.

Leaving Linyanti in company with the chief and a large retinue, our traveller moved forward towards the Leeambye through a flat country, well peopled with villages, in which they received the kindest reception, beer and milk being constantly provided. Sekeletu took care to have a perpetual supply of oxen to furnish fresh meat, and the huts of the Makololo were found to be very clean and comfortable. Reaching the banks of the great river, (for that is the meaning of *Leeambye* or *Zambesi*), a great number of canoes were required to transport the party on their journey towards the Barotse Valley, the most fertile and populous district under the Makololo. Here on the banks of the Zambesi exist a great number of a beautiful little antelope, called the Tinyáne, of which the following description is given.

"It stands about 18 inches high, is very graceful in its movements, and utters a cry of alarm not unlike that of the domestic fowl; it is of a brownish colour on the sides and back, with the belly and lower part of the tail white; it is very timid, but the maternal affection, that the little thing bears to its young will often induce it to offer battle even to a man approaching it. When the young one is too tender to run about with the dam, she puts one foot on the prominence about the seventh cervical vertebrae or withers, the instinct of the young enables it to understand that it is now required to kneel down and to remain quite still, till it hears the bleating of its dam. If you see an otherwise gregarious she-antelope separated from the herd, and going alone anywhere, you

may be sure she has laid her little one to sleep in some cozy spot. The colour of the hair in the young is better adapted for assimilating it with the ground, than that of the elder animals, which do not need to be screened from the observation of birds of prey. I observed the Arabs at Aden, when making their camels kneel down, press the thumb on the withers in exactly the same way the antelopes do with their young; probably they have been led to the custom by seeing the plan adopted by the Gazelle of the Desert.

Ascending the Zambesi, through the country of the Ban-yeti, a basketmaking, peaceful people, and passing a series of falls, the principal of which, called Gonye, has a height of 30 feet, they arrived in the valley of the Barotse, which Dr. Livingstone compares for appearance, richness and fertility to that of the Nile. It is from 20 to 30 miles in width, sloping gently from wooded heights of two or three hundred feet on each side, and is perhaps one hundred miles long. It is annually inundated, exceedingly fertile, but not put to a tithe of the use it might be. Grass is seen growing there twelve feet high and as thick as a man's thumb. Two men who had backed Mpépe in his conspiracy were here taken, and tossed into the river by the order of Sekeletu. Naliele the capital of the Barotse is built on an artificial mound constructed by an old chief named Santuru, to preserve it no doubt from the inundations. Here the traveller met with some of the Mambari, the greatest slave dealers in this part of the Continent. They plait their hair in three-fold cords and lay them down around the head. In this part of the country there seems to exist a stronger impression of the existence of another state of being and of spirits, than amongst any of the more southern tribes. When the sun is surrounded by a halo they consider that the Barimo or gods have a piccho (council) and that the Lord (sun) is in the centre of it. Shortly after on reaching the town of Sekeletu's mother, thence called Ma-Sekeletu, great rejoicings were undertaken on the arrival of the chief. Large quantities of oxen, milk and beer (boyaloa) were contributed by the villages, and a novel species of dance executed. It seems to be very similar to that described as existing among the North American Indians by Catlin, and called the tomahawk dance. A hundred warriors form a circle, grasping their clubs and battleaxes; each shouts in time to a rude sort of chorus, stamping twice with one leg and then once with the other, creating a hideous din and dust.

The party returned down the Zambesi and up the Chobe to

smallest pretence or fault against the chief's authority is made a pretext for selling into slavery. Shinté presented Dr. Livingstone with a young girl slave, "to be a child" to draw him water and attend on him, but the missionary, alike honourably and as a stroke of policy, refused the present and lectured the chief on the impropriety of the traffic.

The traveller exhibited here a magic lantern which he had brought with him, as a ready means of explaining many scenes of the Bible and Testament to the immediate senses of his neophytes. It may be questionable, how far it is not contrary to the policy and spirit of the reformed religion, to make use of any picture or graven image to convey the doctrines of faith to minds of the believer. No matter what may be the theory, the practical effect on the minds of the Balonda women was very strong, for no sooner had they seen the image of Abraham with the uplifted knife about to sacrifice his son Isaac, and saw the slide move, as if the blow were about being given, than they fled from the presence with cries of "mother, mother," and could not be again got to look upon the magic sheet. Shinté himself was greatly delighted with the performance, and examined the instrument with interest, but it does not appear that it was of any use in operating his conversion. He presented to Dr. Livingstone on his departure, a shell ornament, formed from the end of a conical univalve, considered of immense value, and designed to show the greatness of his friendship.

Leaving the banks of the Leeba river the party struck across immense plains, the greatest part of which was covered with thick grass and large pools of water knee deep. The rainy season had set in, and fever, its usual accompaniment, seized upon the traveller. Nevertheless he pushed forward, crossing many swollen rivers, the water of which, notwithstanding the inundation, was singularly clear. The principal food contributed on the march consisted of Manioc meal, prepared from two kinds of that root, one sweet, the other bitter; it furnished but a very sorry sort of porridge for a person accustomed to the use of ox-flesh. Several parties were met with, the subjects of the Londa chief, Matiamvo, which is the hereditary name of the head ruler; the last bearer of it seems to have been afflicted with some sort of mania, as he was in the habit of running mucks among his subjects and slaughtering them indiscriminately. Katema the chief of a considerable town, received

them graciously, and sent them forward to the Lake Dilolo, a small sheet of water, situated in the midst of watery plains, from which flow two large streams, both called Lotembwa.

Here a curious phenomena was met with, for the high table land in which this lake is situated, seems to be the water shed between the rivers running to the east and west coasts. It is a large elevated marsh on which the annual rain floods rest, and slowly drain off by the lake and a number of small streams running north and south. One of the Lotembwas runs to the north, and falls into the Quango, which comes out on the west coast above Angola, and the other turns down to the south east, pouring its waters into the Zambesi, and falling into the Indian Ocean. Thus the problem of the river systems of this part of the African Continent has been completely solved, without the necessity of the supposition of a central ridge of snow-capped mountains to act as feeders for the everflowing currents to either coast.

Crossing another stretch of the watery plain, the party arrived at a deep valley, down which the water flowed away from them towards the North. In this region they came upon the country through which the Portuguese traders and Mambari slave-dealers bring their goods, and the consequence was, that every species of extortion was attempted to be practiced upon them, such as being obliged to pay toll at crossing bridges, or for the hire of canoes, exorbitant demands for food, or even for the right of passage through the country. At one village of the Chiboque, the chief Njambi, although he had been presented with the hump and ribs of an ox, which had been slaughtered, turned out his whole force, and surrounded the small encampment. Nothing but the coolest conduct on the part of Livingstone was able to save his party from annihilation or slavery. He sat on his camp-stool, with his double-barrelled rifle across his knees, and although ultimately obliged to make some present, in order to avert bloodshed, yet his firm countenance awed the savages, and compelled them to refrain from a direct attack. They were frequently subjected to the same treatment in various places as they advanced, and were finally deserted by their guides. Fever had reduced the missionary to a mere skeleton, his clothes and tent were mere shreds, the hearts of his Makololo and Ambonda companions began to fail, but as they saw that there was nothing for it but to support one another to the last, they heroically resolved to continue on to the Portuguese settlements.

The Kasai and Quango rivers were reached flowing through deep marshy valleys, the character of the country being completely changed since they had left the watery plain beyond Lake Dilolo. The description of this part of the continent is so interesting, that it may be well to give it in the author's own words.

On the 30th (March 1854) we came to a sudden descent from the high lands, indented by deep narrow valleys, over which we had lately been travelling. It is generally so steep that it can only be descended at particular points, and even there I was obliged to dismount, though so weak that I had to be led by my companions, to prevent my toppling over in walking down. It was annoying to feel myself so helpless, for I never liked to see a man, either sick or well, give in effeminately. Below us lay the valley of the Quango. If you sit on the spot where Mary, Queen of Scots, viewed the battle of Langside, and look down on the valley of Clyde, you may see in miniature the glorious sight which a much greater and richer valley presented to our view. It is about a hundred miles broad, clothed with dark forest, except where the light green grass covers meadow lands on the Quango, which here and there glances out in the sun, as it wends its way to the north. The opposite side of this great valley appears like a range of lofty mountains, and the descent into it about a mile, which, measured perpendicularly, may be from a thousand to twelve hundred feet. Emerging from the gloomy forests of Londa, this magnificent prospect made us all feel, as if a weight had been lifted off our eyelids. A cloud was passing across the middle of the valley, from which rolling thunder pealed, while all above was glorious sunlight; and when we went down to the part where we saw it passing, we found that a very heavy thunder shower had fallen under the path of the cloud, and the bottom of the valley, which from above seemed quite smooth, we discovered to be intersected and furrowed by great numbers of deepcut streams. Looking back from below, the descent appears as the edge of a table-land, with numerous indented dells, and spurs jutting out all along, giving it a serrated appearance. Both the top and sides of the sierra are covered with trees, but large patches of the more perpendicular parts are bare, and exhibit the red soil, which is general over the region we have now entered. The hollow affords a section of this part of the country; and we find that the uppermost stratum is the ferruginous conglomerate already mentioned. The matrix is rust of iron (or hydrous peroxide of iron, and hæmatite), and in it are embodied waterworn pebbles of sandstone and quartz."

In this magnificent valley, among other new African products, the bamboo was met with, growing as thick as a man's arm. This shows a very great change of climate, as this plant is not met with anywhere in the more Southern latitudes. The usual demand of an ox, a man, or a tusk, was made by each

tribe, as a toll for free passage, and considerable difficulty was met with in getting through without a regular fight. At length the party fell in with a half-caste Portuguese trader, named Cypriano di Abreu, a sergeant in the militia of the settlement of Angola, and who knowing thoroughly how to deal with natives, brought them across the Quango River scathless, and with true generosity, led them to his station at the other side, and provided them with abundant food. The half-caste militia under this man's command, could read and write their own language very freely, but Dr. Livingstone at once finds fault with their possessing some Roman Catholic books, *Lives of Saints*, and having some relics and images, according to the form of that religion. Some remarks which he passes here upon their church, serve to show, that notwithstanding his long intercourse with foreign nations and rude people, the spirit of intolerance and prejudice, which is a main character of the religion he professes, have not been eradicated from his heart. A statement he makes also with respect to their not having any copy of the Bible, shows his complete ignorance of the doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic Church with respect to that book. We shall see hereafter, that a much milder spirit of Christianity was exhibited to him by the head of that religion in the province of Angola.

On the 10th of May the party left Cypriano, and advanced to the first Portuguese town, Cassange, where they were hospitably received by the commandant, and the missionary himself clothed anew. Easter day, the 16th, was celebrated in grand style with fruits and wine from Portugal, biscuits from America, butter from Cork, and beer from England. They were subsequently sent on, under the guidance of a sergeant, and crossing the heights of Tala Mungongo, similar to those down which they had descended from the plateau before described, came upon the Coango river, which runs down to the West coast. Great kindness was shown them wherever they came, as both Dr. Livingstone and many of his Makololo were severely handled by fever, and in many cases scarcely able to walk. They passed through the district of Ambaca, in which are found curious rocks, similar to those found at Stonehenge on Salisbury plains, and strange to relate, the teaching of the Jesuits in these countries is very much praised by the Protestant missionary. The district of Gohango Alto appears to be one of the most fertile and prosperous of the whole province, and is par-

ticularly remarkable for the flourishing state of the coffee plantations within it.

The Makololo began to fear as they approached the coast, that they would be kidnapped and sold into slavery. Their leader's repeated assurances, however, restored their confidence, but their fears with respect to the possibility of their obtaining food, after having arrived as they styled it at the end of the world, were not so easily allayed. They had formerly conceived, that the earth was one extended plain without limit, but when they first beheld the sea, and, as they afterwards expressed it, the world said to them "I am finished, there is no more of me," it was very difficult to convince them that they would have any prospect of sustenance. Dr. Livingstone was at this time dreadfully reduced by fever, and chronic dysentery, so that he could not remain on the back of his riding ox more than ten minutes at a time. He met, however, with the kindest reception from Mr. Gabriel, the English Commissioner for the suppression of the slave trade at Loanda, the chief port of Angola, and after having slept six months on the ground, enjoyed himself luxuriantly in an English bed.

The Portuguese province of Angola is not at present in a very flourishing condition, as to trade. Its chief town, Loanda, has decreased in consideration, numbering about 12,000 souls, and a large portion of its harbour has been filled up by shifting sands. The slave trade, which formerly existed here in great strength, and was the main export of the colony, being put an end to, the natural resources of the country have not yet been sufficiently developed to give it that importance which it merits in its relations with foreign countries. The Portuguese who go out there from the mother country, act in the same manner as the English civilians do, who proceed to India. Their object is to make rapid fortunes, and all the native produce being cheap, and the imports in their hands, a large accumulation of profits is not a labour of many years. The military commandants of the different districts are especially favoured in this respect, and form very wealthy establishments, sometimes at the undue expense of the natives. The capabilities of the province are not at all opened up, no high roads or proper means of communication are established with the interior, the whole commerce from the higher lands being brought down to the coast on the backs of carriers, according to a compulsory system.

Great attention was paid to the travellers by all the authorities; the Bishop of Angola at the head of them, offered his physician for their service. The Makololo were particularly amazed at the stone houses, ships of war, and celebration of mass in the Cathedral, which they look upon as a charming of demons, having never seen any religious ceremony, except those among the heathen tribes of Londa. They engaged themselves in unloading a ship freighted with coal for the ornizers, and worked for a month and a-half, receiving pay, for which they bought with exceeding discretion good strong calico, fowls, and other products, which they meant to bring home to their people at Sesheké and Linyanti. The worthy Bishop, who was also governor of Loanda, shewed the greatest good will towards the Protestant missionary, and declared himself averse to all persecution of sectaries. He shewed a toleration of religion in his opinions far above that evinced by Dr. Livingstone himself, in an interview with whom he compared the various sects of Christians, to a number of persons proceeding down the different streets in the town and sure to arrive at the same point at last, namely the eternal felicity of all their aspirations.

The missionary suffered a severe attack of relapse of fever, when he thought that he had nearly recovered from the effects of his previous journey, and was thus delayed for many months before he could hope to resume his journey back to the country of the Makololo, and the east coast. He had fondly promised himself to rejoin his family in England, but the destitute state in which his native friends would be left, the distance they should have to travel back to their own country, and the obligation he felt himself under to see them out of their troubles, determined him to undertake the wearying travel a second time. The Board of Public Works of Loanda gave him a handsome present for the chief Sekeletu, consisting of a colonel's complete uniform and a horse, complete clothing for all his men, and a brace of donkeys to perpetuate the breed in the interior, that animal not being subject to the ravages of the tsetse fly. The merchants of the town also gave many articles of trade, and letters of recommendation to the authorities on the East Coast of Africa. Fresh supplies of cotton cloth, ammunition, beads and muskets were laid in, and the Makololo had amassed great quantities of goods and fowl, which they intended carrying back to their families, so that when the party started on the 20th September, 1854, on their home journey, they were well provided against every emergency.

On their return Livingstone took a different route in order to explore more fully the interior of the Portuguese province. He visited the sites of many decayed monasteries, iron foundries, factories and plantations, no longer in the thriving condition in which they formerly existed. He found the interior very well fitted for all kinds of agriculture, coffee plantations, and particularly the growth of cotton. A peculiar species of fowl with curled feathers, calculated to abate the effects of the heat of the sun, attracted his attention and that of the Makololo, who procured some specimens for their own country. A strange insect was met with, which distilled water at the rate of two pints in the twenty-four hours, and seemed to derive it, as was proved by experiment, from the constituents of the atmosphere alone. Many other strange customs and peculiarities were observed which it would take up too much space to relate, although the details given in the author's own narrative are peculiarly interesting.

One curious geological phenomenon deserves to be noticed, namely, the rocks of Pungo Andongo, a group of huge columns, rising to the height of two or three hundred feet, in one of the most fertile districts. They are found on the estate of a Colonel Pires, who raises in their vicinity many European luxuries unknown in other parts of this region. They seem to have been formed by the abrasion of the waters of the sea, at a period beyond the memory of man, when the greater part of the low countries were submerged. They are composed of conglomerate, formed of a great variety of pebbles mixed up in red sand-stone, and fossil palms have been found embedded in their structure.

Crossing the ridge of Tala Mungongo, the party arrived again on their return at the frontier village of Cassenge. Here they resolved to change their route, and striking off somewhat to the north east, to avoid the inhospitable country through which the slave dealers usually went, in which they had been formerly frequently stopped by demands for toll. Scarcely, however, had they passed the Quango River, than they were at once assailed by fever, which in Livingstone's case assumed the rheumatic form, and laid him up for twenty-two days in a hut. They had surmounted the eastern ridge of the Cassenge Valley before described, and which was now found to be nearly 5000 feet over the sea. When they were able to move forward, the head man of the village in which they had stopped collected his warriors, and made a serious attack upon

them in a thick forest. Fortunately the missionary had possession of a six-barrelled revolver, a present from Captain Need, of Her Majesty's Brig Linnet, and the sight of its gaping mouths soon brought the chief to his senses. They found themselves now in the territory of the Balonda, the subjects of Matiamvo, and experienced great difficulty in passing through it, in consequence of the great number of small rivers to be crossed, and the rapacity and unfriendly conduct of the chiefs. At length they reached the banks of the Kasai, across which they gained a passage by stratagem, and came upon the watery plains in the neighbourhood of Lake Dilolo.

The progress of the party down the banks of the Leeba and the Zambesi, through those districts which they had formerly visited, was one continued series of rejoicings, and receptions, the villages vying with each other in kind offices towards the travellers, whom they had never expected to see returning to their homes. Shinté, who had formerly received them in such royal state, was now no less generous, and highly delighted by a small present of a couple of yards of cotton cloth. A species of unnatural civil war was found to be carried on between two brother chiefs, Masiko and Limboa, each of whom had fled from the rule of Sebituane among the Makololo, and set himself up independently with a portion of his tribe. Each sought the pre-eminence and had already had some engagements on that subject, but the missionary by his interference was enabled to settle the quarrel, and caused the younger to succumb to the elder. A message was sent to the female chief Manenko, whose husband came to meet the party, and performed the Kasendi with one of the Makolelo, named Pitsane. This is a ceremony, in which each person drinks a drop of the other's blood in some beer, and has the effect of making them be considered blood relations, bound to protect each other on all occasions. Dr. Livingstone once performed an operation on the arm of a young woman, some of whose blood was squirted into his eye; this accident was held sufficient to make him a blood relation, and to give him a right to have food cooked for him by the girl. He had a narrow escape on the banks of the Leeba from the charge of a Buffalo, who passed over him although the animal's shoulder was broken by a rifle ball.

At the village of Libonta, the frontier of the Makololo, the joy of the natives on the return of the expedition knew no bounds. The women were especially delighted, a kotla or

assembly was got together, and many speeches made at both sides. Oxen were slaughtered, meal, milk and butter supplied in abundance, and though the travellers could make no return, the hospitable villagers said; "It does not matter, you have opened a path for us, and we shall have sleep." This expression is made use of all through South Central Africa to denote cessation of warlike marauding expeditions. Their progress down the Barotse valley was a species of triumph, every village supplied an ox, sometimes two, notwithstanding that the party returned as poor as they set out, on account of the extortion that was practised by the Balonda.

At Naliele they found that the daughter of chief Mepololo, and her child, had been brutally strangled by one of the Makololo, through jealousy. The punishment was very summary, the murderer and his wife, who seemed to have known something of the matter and had not dissuaded him, being thrown together into the river. The Makololo of the expedition were in many cases disagreeably surprised to find, that their wives had married other husbands in their absence. The chief, however, on the application of Livingstone, caused some of them to be restored to their rightful lords. As they proceeded down the Zambesi in a canoe, a strange accident occurred, caused by the attack of a female Hippopotamus, whose young had been speared the day before. She made right at the canoe, pitching out one man, and nearly oversetting it.

Before arriving at Sesheke, above the confluence of the Chobe and Leeambye, Dr. Livingstone was informed, that a party of Matebele had been sent by Mr. Moffat of the Kuruman station, with parcels of goods for the missionary, but the Makololo being distrustful, and imagining that the Matebele, their enemies, had concealed some witchcraft medicine in the parcels, and wished to sorcelize the nation, would not allow the goods upon their territories, but deposited them in a island at the confluence, where they remained safely from September, 1854, to September, 1855. This serves to show what an influence superstition has over the minds of these otherwise shrewd savages, and how little the former instructions they received, was calculated to remove these prejudices. There is no characteristic of the African race more prevalent, than that of their belief in sorcery, and the influence of charms. Property may be preserved from thieves or plunder by merely tying around it certain kinds of medicine, which are supposed to

bring destruction on whoever meddles with them. Incantations are always used before a foray or battle, in order to weaken the opposite party and excite their fears. A common demand also is for "gun medicine," or some preparation by which warriors may be enabled to shoot straight and certain to kill their enemies in battle.

Arrived at the town of Linyanti, the capital of the Makololo, and head-quarters of their chief, Sekeletu, a full account was given in the Kotla by the party of their travels, and the presents sent by the people of Loanda were delivered to the chief. Great astonishment was manifested at the accounts given, the strange things seen, and particularly the fact of their arrival at the end of the world, namely the borders of the sea. Immediately another trading expedition was sent on foot, ivory and other articles collected, and it has since been learned from Mr. Gabriel at Loanda, that the native caravan had safely arrived on the sea coast and succeeded to a great extent in their trading. Their first attempt, however, does not appear to have been successful, on account of the impositions practised upon them by the dealers, and the high prices put upon the different commodities, which they purchased. It is to be hoped, that this unfair trading will not have the effect of shutting up the interior against the bona fide merchant, and preventing its produce from finding its way to either coast.

Dr. Livingstone was now anxious to make the best of his way to the eastern sea, to explore the course of the Lecambye, or Zambesi, down to the Portuguese settlements in that quarter, and then to reach his home. The Makololo appeared to be very much impressed with the religious doctrines, which he announced to them, and to commence thinking upon them, although the elders amongst them were still incredulous, and constantly said:—"Do we know what he is talking about?" That people and their chief Sekeletu appeared fully to appreciate the advantages to be derived from the trade, which they might carry on with either coast; the chief especially gave a large amount of ivory, and furnished carriers to bear it, in order that many commissions might be executed for him. He wished to have a sugar-mill, European clothes, a good rifle, beads, brass wire, and as he said himself, "any other beautiful thing you may see in your own country." It is strange that in the whole of this extensive district, gold is completely unknown, and no name to be found for it in the language.

On the 3rd, of November 1855, the missionary bid adieu to Linyanti, and went down the banks of the river Leeambye, accompanied by Sekeletu and some 200 followers. They arrived in a couple of days at the magnificent falls which Dr. Livingstone has dignified by calling them after our reigning Queen. His description of them will be found of considerable interest.

The falls are bounded on three sides by ridges 300 or 400 feet in height, which are covered with forests, with the red soil appearing among the trees. When about half a mile from the falls I left the canoe, by which we had come down thus far, and embarked in a lighter one with men well acquainted with the rapids, who by passing down the centre of the stream in the eddies and still places caused by many jutting rocks, brought me to an island situated in the middle of the river, and on the edge of the lip over which the water rolls. In coming hither there was danger of being swept down by the stream, which rushed along on each side of the island; but the river was now low, and we sailed where it is totally impossible to go when the water is high. But though we had reached the island, and were within a few yards of the spot, a view from which would solve the whole problem, I believe that no one could perceive where the vast body of water went; it seemed to lose itself in the earth, the opposite lip of the fissure into which it disappeared being only eighty feet distant. At least I did not comprehend it until, creeping with awe to the edge, I peered down into a large rent which had been made from bank to bank of the broad Zambesi, and saw that a stream of a thousand yards broad, leaped down a hundred feet, and then became suddenly compressed into a space of fifteen or twenty yards. The entire falls are simply a crack made in a hard basaltic rock, from the right to the left bank of the Zambesi, and then prolonged from the left bank away through thirty or forty miles of hills. If one imagines the Thames covered with low tree-covered hills immediately beyond the tunnel, extending as far as Gravesend; the bed of black basaltic rock instead of London mud, and a fissure made therein from one end of the tunnel to the other, down through the keystones of the arch, and prolonged from the left end of the tunnel through thirty miles of hills; the pathway being one hundred feet down from the bed of the river instead of being what it is, with the lips of the fissure from eighty to one hundred feet apart; then fancy the Thames leaping bodily into the gulf, and forced then to change its direction, and flow from the right to the left bank; and then rush boiling and roaring through the hills—he may have some idea of what takes place at this, the most wonderful sight I had witnessed in Africa. In looking down into the fissure on the right of the island, one sees nothing but a dense white cloud, which at the time we visited the spot had two bright rainbows on it. (The sun was on the meridian and the declination about equal to the latitude of the place.) From this cloud rushed up a great jet of vapour exactly like steam, and it mounted 200 or 300 feet high; there condensing, it changed its hue

to that of dark smoke, and came back in a constant shower, which soon wetted us to the skin. This shower falls chiefly on the opposite side of the fissure, and a few yards back from the lip, there stands a straight hedge of evergreen trees, whose leaves are always wet. From their roots a number of little rills run back into the gulf: but as they flow down the steep wall there, the column of vapour in its ascent licks them up clean off the rock, and away they mount again. They are constantly running down, but never reach the bottom.

On the left of the island we see the water at the bottom, a white rolling mass, moving away to the prolongation of the fissure, which branches off near the left bank of the river. A piece of the rock has fallen off a spot on the left of the island, and juts out from the water below, and from it, I judged the distance which the water falls to be about 100 feet. The walls of this gigantic rock are perpendicular, and composed of one homogeneous mass of rock. The edge of that side over which the water falls, is worn off two or three feet, and pieces have fallen away, so as to give it somewhat of a serrated appearance. That over which the water does not fall is quite straight, except at the left corner where a rent appears, and a piece seems inclined to fall off. Upon the whole it is nearly in the state in which it was left at the period of its formation. The rock is dark brown in colour, except about ten feet from the bottom, which is discoloured by the annual rise of the water to that or a greater height. On the left side of the island we have a good view of the mass of water, which causes one of the columns of vapour to ascend, as it leaps quite clear of the rock, and forms a thick unbroken fleece all the way to the bottom. Its whiteness gave the idea of snow, a sight I had not seen for many a day. As it broke into (if I may use the term) pieces of water, all rushing on in the same direction, each gave off several rays of foam, exactly as bits of steel, when burnt in oxygen gas, give off rays of sparks. The snowwhite sheet seemed like myriads of small comets rushing on in one direction, each of which left behind its nucleus rays of foam. I never saw the appearance referred to, noticed elsewhere. It seemed to be the effect of a mass of water leaping at once clear of the rock, and but slowly breaking up into spray.

On leaving this spot Dr. Livingstone was abandoned by Sekeletu, but at the same time furnished with a party of 114 men to carry the tusks of ivory down to the coast. The country being very hilly and intersected with ravines on the banks of the Zambesi, they left the river, and struck off to the North East in the direction of another branch. This road led them through the country of the Batoka, a savage people, who delight in slave-dealing and marauding, knock out the front-teeth of both sexes, as a mark of beauty, and surround the graves of their chief with ivory and human skulls. Their dread, however, of the Makololo nation, which formerly swept in conquest over this district, had a salutary influence in retaining them from attempting an attack. Abundance of fruit was

found in these districts, and regiments of black soldier ants conquering and eating up the white species, were met with in great numbers in the forests.

Crossing a stream called the Kalomo the party arrived at the summit of a ridge of land, on one side of which the waters flow to the south, and those on the other to the east. As water boiled at 202 degrees, the altitude here must be more than 5000 feet over the sea. The granite crops out, which shews that it is a summit of the continent, in fact it would appear that this point constitutes the eastern ridge of the great central valley of this part of South Africa. These elevated lands are most salubrious, well calculated for a station, whether trading or otherwise, and will very likely hereafter constitute one of the great centres of commerce.

All the waters at the other side of this ridge flow down to the sea coast. The natives are very savage, going in a complete state of nudity, and have a very strange method of salutation. They throw themselves on their backs on the ground, and slap the outside of their thighs, rolling about at the same time and crying out "Kina Bomba." Dr. Livingstone ran a great risk of his life from one of these madmen, who whirled round him a small battle-axe, and were it not for his admirable coolness, frequent fights could scarcely have been avoided. Monze, the chief of nearly all this tribe, has his town upon a hill called Kise-Kise, from which a magnificent prospect may be had on all sides, of at least 80 miles of grass-bearing plains. His people have a strange fashion, of plaiting the hair with bark and various kinds of grass, into a conical form on the top of the head, somewhat in the shape of a funnel. He is, however, very well inclined towards Europeans, and desirous of intercourse with them.

The country was now becoming more and more beautiful as they approached the Zambesi again. Numerous herds of buffalos and elephants were met with, and the young men of the party succeeded in killing two of these latter animals with their spears. One of these, a female, shewed a great deal of instinct in protecting her calf from the attacks of the human enemy, but finally succumbed to the number of her assailants. The author makes in another place a very good remark upon the probable cause of the elephant's flight before man. It may be, that the sight of one of our species, causes in that animal a degree of loathing, similar to what we feel towards snakes, scorpions, and various sort of creeping things. This opinion,

however, does not seem much to elevate the relative position of the human race. The tenacity of life in the elephant is also curious, an instance of which occurred here. One of them had been hunted by the Makololo, and having got seventy or eighty spears lodged in him, Dr. Livingstone approached to finish him with the rifle. But though he fired into the beast twelve two ounce bullets, he could not kill him; and darkness having come on, the next morning when the party went in search of him, expecting to find him dead, he was not to be discovered, although they followed his traces for ten miles in the forest.

The banks of the Zambesi are in this part of its course swarming with game of every description, but the poisonous tsetse also exists there, and attacked fatally many of the oxen belonging to the expedition. The natives also were becoming more friendly, presenting freely grain and other food to the party, as it passed. One headman gave a basin full of rice, the first which had been seen of that grain in this part of the continent. They shewed, however, in some places considerable distrust, from a traditionary fact which was remembered amongst them, of an Italian named Simoens, who had ascended the river to this point, and endeavoured to carry off a number of slaves. He received, however, the retribution, which he deserved, and lost his life in the attempt.

At the confluence of the Loangwa, a large river which comes down from the North, with the Zambesi, the expedition arrived at some ruins, evidently the remains of a church, as on one side lay the fragments of a broken bell, with the letters I. H. S. and a cross, but no date upon them. Zumbo was the name of this station; it was plainly the farthest interior residence of the Jesuit fathers, and had fallen to decay on their expulsion from the Portuguese settlements on this coast, as well as from Angola, under the Marquis de Pombal. The people of Mburuma village made great opposition to the passage of the river at this point, and only one canoe could be got to ferry over the large party. The next day they came to the ruins of more stone houses, with court-yards surrounded by walls, probably the remains of some trading settlement, which must have been admirably situated, at the confluence of those magnificent streams, which flow down through a rich and beautiful country. From this point of it is very likely that the expedition of Dr. Lacerda was made in company with a

Jesuit, to Cazembe a powerful chief in the North, who went at one time by the name of the "Emperor." He is now, however, stated to be a vassal of the Matiamvo formerly mentioned. Dr. Lacerda was killed in his journey, and the record of the occurrences were lost by the Jesuit, so that the information on that subject has been completely nullified.

The party were suddenly surprised here on passing through a wood, by a charge of three buffaloes, who fancied that they were surrounded. One of the Makololo, who had the temerity to stand, and spear one of the animals, was carried off a distance of twenty yards on the beast's horns, and then tossed off, fortunately, however, without either his skin being torn, or a bone broken. The shaking he got laid him up pretty well for a week, and prevented him from hunting. The party now found, that they had got among a tribe hostile to the Portuguese, who had just finished a species of Caffre War with them, and who were not willing to allow any white man to pass through them. They held the country only at one side of the river, which it was impossible to pass, as no canoes were to be had. They were obliged therefore to go forward, and met with a good reception at many of the villages, the young women in which took a great fancy to the Makololo, on account of some strange steps they practised in dancing. Mpende, the head chief, at first shewed strong signs of hostility, and collected his men apparently with the intention of disputing the right of passage. Dr. Livingstone's usual tact brought him through; he shewed his white skin to be different from the Portuguese, disclaimed slave dealing, and finally not only gained over the chief, but obtained canoes to cross the Zambesi. All this region, down to the Portuguese settlements, is governed by a peculiar system of Game laws, the country being meted out by certain streams between the head men, each of whom has a claim on certain portion of the animals killed on his land. A practical example of the effect of these regulations was given a short time afterwards, when the party killed an elephant, and were obliged to wait an entire day, and give notice to the chief, before they could cut it up for food.

They now arrived at a district called Chicova, which is annually overflowed by the Zambesi, and is well suited for the cultivation of corn. It has also this peculiarity, that the surface of the country is in many parts covered with silicified portions of trees of various kinds, some of them standing upright, and others lying down. One of them was four feet eight inches

in diameter, and the tree it belonged to must have been 168 years old. Another proved to be a piece of a palm, transformed into oxide of iron, and the pores filled with pure silica. Silver mines were said to have been formerly worked in this district; the general rock is sandstone, and Dr. Livingstone discovered a thin seam of coal underneath in the side of a stream. A small rapid is said to exist in the Zambesi opposite this portion of the country, but as the party had left the banks, and taken a more inland and straighter course towards the Portuguese settlement of Tété, they could not examine its nature.

Elephants and hyenas, a great variety of rare insects and singing birds, congregate in this part of the country. Traces were also discovered of the black rhinoceros and her calf, a very rare animal on the banks of the Leeambye. Dr. Livingstone endeavours to maintain that there are only two varieties of this species, the white and the black, the distinction between which are well marked, and that peculiarities observed by other persons, have only arisen from change of climate, habitat, or accident. Naturalists of great eminence, however, reckon generally three or four. The white rhinoceros, a comparatively timid animal, is fast dying out in the southern parts of the Continent, since the introduction of the use of fire-arms. The black, or two horned, is not so easily killed, being of a wild and savage disposition, but is not much to be found within the network of rivers of the central valley, on account of the effect of the periodical inundations upon him, and his being at these seasons completely at the mercy of the natives.

Here was met with the nest of a curious bird, the Korwe, whose dwelling is formed by plastering the holes in certain trees. The male bird at the period of laying and incubation plaisters up the female within the hole, leaving only an orifice sufficiently large for the bird's beak to pass. There she remains during the two or three months necessary for incubation and until the young are fledged, being fed during the whole time from outside by her mate. This is no doubt a provision of nature to preserve the young from the attacks of other animals, and is a good example of the stretch of instinct in the lower creation. The female bird gets quite fat during her confinement, while the male becomes excessively thin, and sometimes falls a victim to the effects of cold while in that state.

Large quantities of honey and wax were found by the party,

as they went along, thanks to the honey-guide bird, which leads man to the nest of the wild bee. Grapes were also found in abundance, well calculated to make wines if properly cultivated, in fact the whole valley of the Zambesi is full of the wild vine. One of the Makololo, named Monaluir, went mad, partly in consequence of an attack of pleuritis, which he had had, and walked off into the forest by night. He could never be traced again. At one of the villages the ceremony of *Muari*, or the ordeal, was administered to the wives of a chief named Monina, whom they were accused of endeavouring to bewitch. This species of purgation consists of compelling them to drink a poisonous draught, which causes either vomiting or purging. Those affected in the former manner are acquitted, those in the latter are burned. The innocent return home and sacrifice a cock or fowl to the *Barimio* (Deity) in thanks for their safety. This village, subject to a chief, Nyakoba, was the habitation of female lords, the women being here paramount. Any man who wishes to marry in a village separate from his own, must follow his wife thither, and if he leaves her, cannot take away with him the children. The husband also consults his wife on all things which he means to undertake, and if she refuses he will not venture to proceed with his enterprize.

The party, as they approached Tété, endeavoured to avoid the habitations of the natives, who are ruled by a chief named Katolosa, the descendant of the Monomotapas, or kings of the Motapas, who formerly shewed so much hostility to the Portuguese. These people never allow strangers to pass through their lands without paying toll, and some of them having got sight of the expedition, pursued it and were bought over by a present of two small tusks of ivory. The commandant of Tété, Major Sicard, hearing of the approach of Dr. Livingstone, sent two officers, with a company of soldiers and a handsome breakfast, to bring him into the town.

Tété, like all the other Portuguese Establishments on these coasts, though protected by a fort, and the residence of a commandant, is completely on the decline, as a trading station. It owed its former importance to the gold-washings, the ivory trade and sugar-fields, all of which were carried on by slave labour; the extinction of which has destroyed the produce. The natives have also become rebellious, one chief named Nyaude having formed a stockade in an angle of the Zambesi,

defied the Portuguese and burned the greater part of the town. This is very much to be regretted, as the country around is very well calculated for raising cotton, sugar, wheat, rice, and many other products of tropical climates, besides that seams of coal have been discovered in various localities, and the gold-washings are still pronounced to be profitable, if well worked. Two valuable plants are also found here, the *Budze* which would make an excellent substitute for flax, and the *Kumbanzo*, possessing many of the properties of cinchona bark, as a specific for fever. Iron ore also exists in great abundance.

From Tété, where he received every kindness from the Portuguese Officers, Dr. Livingstone descended the Zambezi to Quilimane, the fort at the mouth of one of its branches, passing through the Gorge of Lupata, by the village of Senua, a decayed place where boat building, alone is carried on, and the mountain of Gorongozo in the distance, on which formerly the Jesuits had a missionary station. The great river here forms a Delta, similar to that of the Nile, bounding which there are two principal branches, one going to Quilimane, the other called the Luabo, or Lueba, much the deeper and more navigable. At Mazaro where the bifurcation occurs the stream is half a mile wide, without islands, and deep enough to float a large sized vessel. The Landeens, a race of Zulus or Caffres, inhabit the Southern bank, and are very difficult to conciliate, and tenacious of their rights, but the Portuguese possess the Delta, which is very fertile and might be made the centre of great agriculture and commerce.

The missionary had contracted a tertian fever at Masaro, but was very much relieved by the kindness of Senhor Azevedo, a Portuguese gentleman well known to all the naval men, who visit the East Coast of Africa, the admiralty having rewarded his good offices by the present of a gold Chronometer Watch. This generous man furnished a handsome launch with a house in the stern to the sick and weary traveller, in which he was conveyed to Quilimane, where he was as hospitably received by the commandant Colonel Nunes on the 20th day of May, 1856. He found many presents, which had been left for him by friends from the Cape, from which he had been absent four years, and a letter from his family after three years separation. Unfortunately an accident occurred at the bar of the river to Commander M'Lune, of H. M. Brigantine "Dart," by which he, his Lieutenant Woodruffe, and five men were lost by the up-

setting of a boat, in attempting to reach Dr. Livingstone whom they were sent to pick up.

Quilimane or Kilimane is a most unhealthy situation, in fact the whole Delta and low country around is so, abounding in fever which can only be allayed by a judicious use of quinine. The Malaria seems to have an effect on human beings, similar to that of the bite of the Tsetse on oxen. They become by degrees pale and emaciated, and sink under the depressing influence of the climate. The crew of a Hamburgh vessel which had been lost on the bar, were completely stricken down by it, and with a single exception were swept off by its influence.

Her Majesty's Brig "Frolic," soon after arrived off the Port to bring off the missionary to the Mauritius, and carried abundant supplies, with a sum of £150 to carry him home. He decided on having as companion, one of the most intelligent of the Makololo, named Sekwebu. The others were sent, some back to Tété where food was abundant, others to Senna and different stations where they will be employed by the Portuguese government, until the return of Dr. Livingstone. Of the Ivory sent by Sekeletu down to the coast, twenty tusks remained, which were deposited in the hands of Colonel Nunes as a guarantee for the support of the Makololo. The traveller at length set sail for home, but on his arrival at the Mauritius, Sekwebu, who had already become a little bewildered by his life on board the vessel, and the continual expanse of sea, completely lost his reason at the sight of a steam vessel moving out of the harbor. He threw himself overboard, and drowned himself, though well able to swim, by grappling the chain cable and hauling himself under water. Dr. Livingstone himself reached England by the Red Sea, where he narrowly escaped shipwreck, and was refunded his passage-money by the Oriental Steam Ship Company. Thus ended a most eventful travel of nearly four years and a-half, through completely unknown regions, and among people, some of whom proved most generous and hospitable, and others barbarous and inhuman in the extreme.

Let us now cast a glance back at the discoveries made by this most adventurous of modern travellers, and the utility likely to be derived from them. As we said before, we regard him very little in the light of a missionary, and take no account of the doctrines which he may have endeavoured to inculcate to the various tribes as he passed along. His influ-

ence in this respect was too transitory, his preaching too little understood, to be of any greater effect than merely to arouse the attention and curiosity of the natives, and to set them thinking about the white man and his religion. But the benefit which they will hereafter derive through his means from the intercourse opened to them with Europeans, and the growth of civilization among them consequent thereon, are incalculable. The geological and geographical knowledge of the interior of Southern Africa has been very much enlarged by his researches, although the loss of his papers in the "Forerunner" on her voyage from Loanda to England, occasioned a great hiatus in the notes of his journey to the West Coast. As it has been already stated, he has confirmed completely the hypothesis of Sir Roderick I. Murchison, as to the formation of the interior of the continent and the origin of its river system. These arise from a large central basin of inundation, the ridges along the edges of which, are distant from each other, at one point at least, some 600 geographical miles, or ten degrees of longitude. One of these ridges is found on the borders of the valley of the Quango, beyond the confines of the province of Angola, about the nineteenth degree of East longitude, the other near the river Kalomo, a feeder of the Zambesi, nearly in the twenty-ninth degree. It is not likely, however, as the author suggests, that these subtending ridges extend very far either to the north or south, as we have below them on the one side, a chain of mountains in the country of the Matabele, and groups on the other in the interior of Benguela, while the river Kasai runs round the western one, to the north and falls into the Quango, and no great rivers run into the sea on the coast of Zanzibar. This, however, is satisfactorily established, that a great central basin does exist, the lowest point of which is Lake Ngami, and the highest the watery plateau in which Lake Dilolo is situated, and that all the periodical waters of inundation in these regions is drained off by the mighty river Leeambye or Zambesi. This huge flood seems to burst through the Eastern barrier at some point above its junction with the Kafue, nearly in the thirtieth degree of East longitude. It is much to be regretted, that the traveller did not follow the entire course from the great falls, as most likely he would have discovered a series of magnificent cataracts, or one tremendous leap ending in an immense cleft or gorge through the mountains.

He hazards, however, in another place, a very strange hypothesis, as to the origin of the inundations of the river Nile, which have been so long a problem among men of science. He says, that he considers it likely they take their rise from the most northern portion of the basin of inundation before mentioned, and that the waters making a circuit round the western portion of Abyssinia, fall from thence into the valley of Egypt. This, however, seems to us to be carrying the theory a little too far. It has been well ascertained by Bruce, Harris, and many other travellers in Abyssinia, that one great branch of that river, namely the Blue Nile, takes its rise in the very heart of that country, and after passing through Lake Denebia, joins in Nubia, the White, or greater branch, whose course has since been traced until it became a mere rivulet in the highlands. There is no reason therefore to suppose, that the rains which fall in the tenth degree of southern latitude in Southern Africa, find their way across the whole length of that continent into the Mediterranean, by means of the Nile, which rises in the region of the tenth degree of north latitude. Besides this, it has been pretty well confirmed from the relations of leaders of Kafilas in Darfur and about Lake Tchad, that a range of very high mountains run nearly across the continent from Abyssinia to the Bight of Biafra, and separate the northern from the southern basin. Again, there are several large rivers above the Zaire or Quango on the one side, and the coast of Zanzibar on the other, which come down from the southern slopes of these mountains, and drain a country much north of the furthest extent of this basin of inundation. In fact it may be considered, as Sir Roderick Murchison suggests, that there is another basin north of these mountains, in the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad, which is totally distinct and separate from that of which Lake Dilolo forms the highest point, and Lake Ngami the lowest.

The navigation of these inland waters of the Zambesi will, for many years to come, form the anxious subject of enterprise to many in our islands, who possess a too abundant supply of capital or an adventurous spirit of exploration. Indeed already some of the members of the Geographical Society, with Sir Roderick Murchison, and Dr. Livingstone at their head, have had an interview with the foreign minister, and made a formal petition, that a government vessel might be sent out to the East

coast of Africa, for the express purpose of surveying the Zambezi and reporting on its navigation. It is not to be supposed, that this can be done without communicating with the Portuguese Government and obtaining its sanction. Perhaps the best way would be to purchase from that country the right of settlement and trade on the banks of the river. At all events Dr. Livingstone gives a pretty good idea of its capabilities for supplying commerce, and suggests various methods of opening up the interior of Africa through its means.

He gives two reports of Captain Hyde Parker, R. N. and Lieutenant Hoskins on the fitness of the mouths at Kilimane, and the Lueba branch to be used as ports for merchant vessels. It would appear from these, that the bars, as in the case with all the rivers on the East coast of Africa, are very difficult of passage, especially that at Kilimane, but that a narrow and much deeper channel exists at the village of Mitilone on the Lueba. This and the fact, that at the season of low-water, there is a much greater flood at that mouth than down the river of Kilimane, would point the Lueba as the proper stream to be made use of by large ships. When once inside this bar, an easy navigation leads up a distance of at least 300 miles, to the rapids above Tété, which were formerly mentioned as being opposite the district of Chicova. Although no sounding were taken by the traveller, still from the noble breadth of the stream, the not very swift current of from 3 to 3½ miles an hour, and the appearance of depth in the water, it may be safely stated, that pretty large craft could ascend as far as Tété. Above the cataracts of Chicova there is again a stretch of navigable river, certainly to the mouth of the Kafue, perhaps another 300 miles, navigable for small steamers. From this point to the great falls, the course of the river has not been explored, but it would appear most likely that it runs through a deep gorge in the high ridge before alluded to, and is frequently interrupted by rapids and other obstructions. This part of the interior communication should be kept up by regular posts through the country where produce could be collected, and from whence it could be carried down for shipment.

The Chobé falls about the centre of the continent into the Leeambye, or Zambezi, and is connected by a great variety of other streams, and a net-work of sluggish waters with the Lake Ngami on the south. Water carriage here is therefore plenty enough, the Chobé and Leeambye being still na-

vigable for small steamers, the latter even up into the Barotse valley, the most fertile and productive of all central Africa. The Lake Ngami does not appear to be able to afford much communication on account of its shallowness, the natives being in the habit of punting, or poleing their canoes across it. Such capabilities for an inland trade by water-carriage is scarcely presented anywhere on the surface of the globe, except in the great Mississippi valley, where the advantages to be derived from it are being every day more and more developed. Dr. Livingstone recommends, that a chain of posts be established in the interior beyond the Portuguese settlements and claims, and the resources of the country at once called forth, as was formerly done on the rivers of North America, and in Canada. This, however, must be carried out, in concert with the government at Lisbon, and it is very much to be doubted, whether it can be effected in any manner except by private enterprize. The London Missionary Society has already stated its readiness to appoint four stations in the most healthy parts of the discovered lands, and other societies have also come to a similar resolution. It is very much to be regretted, that the Portuguese Government have thought fit to give up all idea of improving these valuable possessions, which lie so useless in their hands, and that they have prevented the Jesuits, whose memory is still revered wherever they had formerly fixed their monasteries, from carrying out their systems of civilization and education. Everywhere in Angola and Mosambique, where they were considered the friends of the natives, and interposed between them and the exactions of government officers, the effects of their teaching are still visible in the improved condition of the inhabitants.

It is strange, that in the central basin of the Leeambye, where iron and copper are well-known and manufactured into axes, arms, hoes, rings, and other matters, the two metals, gold and silver, seem to be completely ignored. The latter when shewn to them by Dr. Livingstone, was considered nothing more than some species of lead, and on one occasion where he ran short of bullets, some of his Makololo friends requested him to melt it down. At Tété however, and Chicova, both these metals are said to be found in considerable quantities, and to be still used as an article of exchange by the natives. The gold found in minute scales by a laborious process of washing, is placed in quills, for which when full, 24 yards of calico

may be bought. This latter article is the staple of barter through the country. But the most valuable of all minerals in those regions is that, which is now giving such an impetus to commerce all over the surface of the globe, namely, those small seams of coal observed in the sides of some streams near Tété, sure signs of the heap of treasures lying beneath the surface. This is what promised a remunerative traffic upon the bosom of the great river, supplying the untiring giants, which work night and day in the labour of transport. A dépôt of coals might even be established at the village of Mitilone, the mouth of the Lueba, for the convenience of the government and other steamers plying between the Cape and the ports of India, and as Dr. Livingstone suggests, that a lighthouse ought to be erected to point out the harbour, and ensure the safe navigation of it.

At present the most valuable products of the regions of the interior are ivory and wax, the latter being collected in great quantities by natives in the woods, and in many artificial hives constructed of the bark of trees, and protected by the thief medicine before noticed. Hitherto a great deal of this has been lost, on account of the want of a sufficient market, and the ignorance of its value. If stations were fixed upon, in which regular trade could be carried on, this could not be the case. But the capabilities, of this country in an agricultural point of view, form the chief ground of hope for the development of its resources. Cotton and coffee may be grown in almost any part to the greatest advantage, as has been shewn by the success of several enterprising individuals, such as Colonel Pires, in the Province of Angola. The same thing may be said of the vine, found in its wild state all through the forests, and the sugar-cane, which has been already planted, but the simple natives have no knowledge of the use of, or the possibility of extracting sugar from it, except by the easy process of chewing. In fact the cultivation of this valuable plant in this part of Africa, might be made the means of extinguishing the nefarious exportation of human beings from other quarters of the same continent, by supplying our markets at a cheap rate, with a commodity on which alone depends the maintenance of that abominable traffic.

The ethnological researches and discoveries of Dr. Livingstone are no less interesting and useful, than those he has made concerning the geology and geography of this vast region.

It would appear from them, that all the tribes of South Africa have a certain affinity, as is to be expected, and may be divided into three great families, the Matebele, or Makonkobi—the Caffre family living on the eastern side of the country; the Bakoni, or Basuto, to the west of the former, inhabiting some mountain ranges and groups; and the Bakalahari or Bechuanas, in the central part around the desert, which bears their name, and on the West Coast. The Zulus of Natal and the Matebele, subjects of the famous chief Mosilikatse, belong to the first group, the name Caffre being considered a term of reproach amongst them. This race possesses a strange peculiarity in their language, which is nevertheless nearly allied with the dialects of the other two. It is a species of unpronounceable *click* formed by pressing the tongue on the roof of the mouth, and making a strange guttural sound by the way of a new consonant. The letter *r* is also unknown in their tongue, and all foreign words with it in them, are pronounced with an *l*, shewing the affinity of the liquid sounds. These people do not extend themselves beyond the Zambesi, on the eastern banks of which they hold large possessions under the name of Landeens.

The Basuto are not a numerous, but very warlike race, some of them having formerly laboured under a strong suspicion of cannibalism, their songs even at the present day describing pretty clearly that fact, but they ascribe their having left off the practice of entrapping men, to their chief Mashesh having been able to procure cattle instead. The last or Bechuana family is by far the most extensive, including not only the tribes strictly of that name, but also the Bayeiye, who dwell near Lake Ngami, and the Makololo, who have extended their empire under Sebituane and Sekeletn from that lake nearly to Dilolo in the one direction, and along the banks of the Zambesi, to its confluence with the Kafue in the other. The Nemaquas beyond Orange River, and the Damaras further north, appear to belong to the same race, according to the researches of Messrs. Galton and Andersson, whose journeys through their territory were noticed in a former number of this Review. Beyond Lake Dilolo, however, and to the north of the Zambesi another extensive family exists under the generic name of the Balonda, and their country Londa, subject to a powerful chief Matiamvo, whose sway extends from the

frontiers of Angola on the west to those of Mozambique and Zanzibar of the east. Comparatively little is yet known of this enormous territory.

The colours of these different races differs very much even in localities placed in close proximity. The deep black colour seems to owe its origin, not to heat alone, but also to a certain degree of humidity in the atmosphere combined therewith. The Bushman for instance, who inhabit arid plains, in which very little water is to be found, except by digging, are of a palish hue, as if a great deal of the black had been washed out of the skin; others are yellowishly sallow, as the Makololo who live in a marshy feverish district; others again bronze, or perfectly black. Dr. Livingstone's observations led him to perceive, that the diversity of colour might be considered, as running in five longitudinal bands from north to south; those tribes on the sea coast east and west, being very dark, then two bands of lighter colour about 300 miles inland, nearly corresponding with the increased elevation of the central basin before mentioned, and those in the centre again generally black. The dialects, which are spoken over this immense tract, are found to bear a close affinity to each other, those on the east and west coasts being more cognate, than the extremes north and south. Still these latter may be traced, through the roots of the intervening languages, to merge very considerably into one another, and all to belong to two great families, that before alluded to amongst the Caffres, and the Sichuana, or language of the Bechuana. This is a very important fact, which will greatly facilitate the increased intercourse hereafter with the interior.

We before alluded in the efforts, which are being made by the different missionary societies of London to extend their influence along the frontier of the Cape Colony, and also their determination to establish stations in several of the most eligible portions of the central continent, among the Makololo and other tribes. Dr. Livingstone, however, has been obliged on account of the demands of his family upon him, to disconnect himself from the body to which he was affiliated, and although he considers himself bound to return to the Zambesi, and reconduct to their native land the Makololo, who were placed under his guidance by Sekeletu, yet it will be no longer in the character of a missionary, but as a traveller. In fact he has been treated by us, as he appears through his entire book,

almost in the latter character alone, for his efforts to teach religion, or cause the doctrines and precepts of Christianity to be understood, seem to have been of a very trivial and transitory nature. His use of a magical lantern to explain the events related in the Bible by its means, and the partial success or influence, which he gained by employing that means, serve to shew more than anything else, how necessary it is, in order to bring a religion home to the minds of a rude people or the vulgar, that some outward ceremony should accompany the abstract doctrines, which otherwise would be neither attended to or understood. His statement concerning the impression which the celebration of mass in the church of St. Paul de Loanda, had on the minds of the Makololo, who conceived the ceremony to be an incantation of demons, simply because there was no explanation given to them by a competent person, proves to a certain extent the same fact, because it would appear, that the only idea that people have of worship, is that of making conciliatory offerings to spirits hostile to their undertakings, or calling down disease and misery on their enemies by charms and sorceries. That they are eminently superstitious there can be no doubt, from their ceremonies of purgation, &c., and such a people are most easily drawn by their fears within the influence of the ministers of any form of religion.

The Portuguese seem to have given up the idea of extending the Roman Catholic form of worship even within their own settlements, as there are scarcely any priests to be found in the country parts of Angola, and the Jesuits have been long since expelled from both coasts of Africa. These fathers prosecuted their researches in regions, which are now totally unknown to Europeans; the ruins of one of their churches were met with by Dr. Livingstone at the confluence of the Loambwa and Zambesi, named Zumbo, two hundred miles above Tété. Another convent formerly stood on the mountain of Gorongozo, to the north east of that village, one of the most healthy localities in the country, where a mineral hot spring is said to exist. The utility of the teaching of these men, is shown very clearly in the province of Angola, where the population of districts, in which their monasteries were fixed, are well acquainted with reading and writing and possess a superior knowledge of the truths of Christianity, so much so that the missionary traveller himself is obliged to give them the due measure of his praise.

It is to be feared, however, that as soon as the doctrines of the Reformation begin to be preached in the vicinity of this province, there will be an end to all friendly feeling between the natives of the different districts. It is a part of the Protestant religion, and one of the main stays of its support, among its adherents, that it is antagonistic to everything savouring of what it calls Romanism. This unfortunately leads to intolerance, as a necessary consequence, and the two creeds must clash whenever they meet. On this subject alone is there any fault to be found with the volume before us; it contains only two passages at all objectionable. When Dr. Livingstone arrived on the frontiers of Angola he received at the hands of a poor half caste militia corporal named Cyprian di Abreu, a most generous welcome. In this man's room he perceived a few books, amongst which were some lives of the saints, and a few waxen images of holy men. This at once gives occasion to the traveller to cavil at the belief of these poor people, and to exclaim against the church, which had not provided them with the bible, to be perverted and put to bad uses as it has been before now. The second opportunity occurred when the Makololo went to the church at Loanda to hear mass; he compares the ceremonies he there witnessed to the beating of drums before the idols of a heathen tribe, the Batoka, which he had formerly met. These sentiments bear a strong contrast to the opinions expressed by the venerable Bishop of Loanda in the next page, and given already, where he described all sorts of Christians as arriving at the same point at last. It is to be hoped that the antagonism of these two churches will not render of no effect the attempt to civilize the poor natives. At all events the establishment of stations in the interior, and the connexion which it will be necessary to keep up constantly between them and either coast, will be in themselves sufficient to lead by degrees to the development of the resources of the country.

We cannot, however, praise too much the energy, perseverance, and self denial with which Dr. Livingstone prosecuted his travels through these remote, and in some cases inhospitable regions. It requires a peculiar genius, fertile in resources, untiring in expedients, and unconquerable by obstacles, to enable a man to overcome all the difficulties presented in such a journey. Perhaps, no amount of previous preparation, or precaution, could have carried out the enterprize to a happy issue, if he were not supported by a determined will, which bore him

forward throughout. Such a character will be found also in Bruce and Park, whose methods of travelling bear a great resemblance to that pursued by Dr. Livingstone. Then his conciliatory spirit towards those natives who attacked him, for instance, on the frontiers of Angola; his tact in getting his party out of disputes, and threatened combats, and his carefulness in avoiding the shedding of one drop of human blood, notwithstanding some very sufficient provocation, can scarcely be sufficiently admired. When he was fainting from the effects of fever and exposure in crossing the vast watery plains near Lake Dilolo, and not able to keep his seat upon the riding ox for ten minutes at a time, still his spirits did not flag, nor allow those of his Makololo companions to fail. He urged them on boldly, and reached Loanda scarcely able to crawl into the bed, provided for him by the English Agent, Mr. Gabriel. It is to be hoped, that the promise, which he considers himself bound to perform, of leading back to their country those of Sekeletu's men, who accompanied him down the Zambesi, will not prove disastrous to his health, or be frustrated in its good effects by the rapacity of any of the intervening tribes. Well has he deserved the honours conferred upon him by the University of Glasgow, the Royal Geographical Society, and other learned bodies, and long may he live to enjoy them. He says at the end of his volume, that the death of his father, and his aged mother being thrown on him exclusively for support, compelled him with regret to give up any further idea of prosecuting his missionary labours in foreign lands, but as he is determined to go out again to complete his survey, and in the fulfilment of a promise, the Government of this country, or the Geographical Society, ought to see, by providing a sufficient expedition, that he suffer no loss by the venture, and return to enjoy his well-earned honours for the remainder of his days in the bosom of his family.

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Since writing the above, we have perceived with pleasure, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer from his seat in Parliament, has formally announced, that an expedition is being prepared, the expense of which, to the extent of £5,000, is to be defrayed out of the funds in the hands of government for public services, the whole to be placed under the direction and guidance of Dr. Livingstone, for the purpose of exploring the course of the Zambesi. This is certainly a step in the

right direction—one which has received the approbation of the Legislature, and is calculated to elicit the applause of all classes of the community. But it appears to us to be only a very small effort towards the opening up of such a large tract of country, as that traversed by our traveller, and of such great value by its near proximity to the immense British possessions at the Cape. We would suggest a much more extensive scale of exploration, which would at the same time impress the natives with a proper idea of the commercial wealth, and of the power of the British, and leave very little to be desired hereafter by future speculators for information in these regions. In order to effect this, one at least, or two, small gun-boats of light draught should be sent up the stream as far as possible, and their crews instructed to take soundings, at least as far as the rapids opposite the district of Chicova, above Tété. Here the labours of the naval gentlemen might cease, except in so far as any of them might be geologically, botanically, or zoologically inclined to form excursions into the surrounding districts, and to enter into friendly communications with the natives. The rest of the expedition, however, being plentifully provided with instruments, specimens of British produce, presents for chiefs, mules or donkeys, (the only animals, which survive the Tseté,) to carry all requisites and firearms to overawe the hostile tribes, might sketch on from Tété, following the course of the river the whole way, to its confluence with the Chobé, and to the country of the Makololo. Notice might be taken of the various localities, where it would be useful to establish trading stations, and the various reaches of the river, where it would be possible to make use of small steamers might be sounded and surveyed, so as to afford certain information. It would be also well to establish relations of amity with some of the more extensive nations, bordering on the banks of the Zembesi, especially the Landeens on the south, and the different tribes of Londa or the Balonda on the north. Unless a party of sufficient magnitude and effect be sent out in the first instance, very many years will elapse before any intimate communication of efficacy for the requirements of commerce, or such as would efficiently open up the resources of the interior, can be established along the course of the great river. Every one knows what a length of time passed over, before the great streams in North America and Canada were rendered accessible to the trader; and what a vast tract of country in that Continent lay

idle, for want of a proper extent of exploration at first. It is very true, that actual commerce can only be developed by private enterprize, and not at the expense of government, but then every information, which it is possible to obtain or reasonable to expect, ought to be collected, in order to afford a fair field for the trader.

As to the advancement of religion, or to the establishment of missionary stations, government has nothing to do. It cannot undertake propagandism, or attempt to aid twenty-two sects of Christians, in endeavouring to fix their cameleon-like tenets among ignorant savages. Any attempt of this kind would probably only cause some disagreement with the Portuguese authorities, and render impossible any peaceful relations on the banks of the Zambesi.

ART. VI.—THE QUEENS OF PRUSSIA.

1. *Sophia Charlotte, Königin von Preussen: Varnhagen Von Ense.* Berlin: 1837.
2. *Memoires de Brandenbourg: par Frederic II.* Berlin: 1751.
3. *Memoires de la Margrave de Bareith.* Brunswick: 1812.
4. *Anecdotes of Frederick 2nd, King of Prussia, his Court and Family. From the French of Dieudonné Thiebault.* London: 1805.
5. *Histoire Secrète de la Cour de Berlin: par H. G. R. Comte de Mirabeau.* Paris: 1789.
6. *Luise, Königin Von Preussen: Madame Berg (geb. ohne Gräfinn Haseler.)*

It is a long time, even upwards of sixty years ago, since England saw a Princess Royal wedded, and departing thence to dwell among a foreign people. It was on the 18th day of May, 1797, when Charlotte, eldest daughter of George III, married Frederick William, then hereditary prince, but soon after duke, and finally King of Wurtemberg. The ceremony took place with all due splendour in the Chapel Royal, St. James's. The bride, a fine woman, looked to advantage in her robe of white and silver, relieved by a scarlet mantle, and her coronet of crimson velvet and diamonds. It was remarked that nothing could be more collected, and unembarrassed than her demeanour, while her royal sisters were bathed in tears, and their Majesties, King George and Queen Charlotte, were deeply affected. But the affianced pair were beyond the time of fluttering emotions: the bride was in her thirty-second year; the bridegroom was forty-three, a widower and a father.* His matrimonial alliance with England did not make him hesitate subsequently (in 1806) to accept the rank of king from the first Napoleon; the man whom England esteemed her deadliest enemy, and had sworn to overthrow, or to fall in the struggle.

That royal wedding day had its interest, but certainly in a less degree than that now excited, when the youthful daughter of England's popular Queen, contracts an alliance which promises to seat her, as Queen Consort, on a more important throne than that of Wurtemberg (which in 1797 was still but a duchy). Politicians will speculate upon the

* His first wife was Augusta of Brunswick, sister of Caroline, then Princess of Wales, of unfortunate memory. The Prince of Wurtemberg had not the reputation of having been a good husband to Augusta: one of her daughters, Frederica Catherine, married Prince Jerome Buonaparte.

future effects of this marriage upon England as a state ; close calculators will consider whether the nation is likely to receive anything like *quid pro quo* for her liberality to Prussia in point of dower. But just now it is early days for forecastings such as these : at this moment, doubtless, the predominant idea is the personal prospects of the fair young girl, who at the early age of seventeen leaves her native shores to occupy, henceforward, an important and responsible position among strangers.

Persons in general are often prone to argue the future from the past ; and infer what *may* be from what *has* been ; and the question suggests itself, what has been the lot of the Queens of Prussia ? have they had more or less than the usual share of the thorns that history reveals as lurking within the Regal Circlet ? The question is a natural one in this age, when a more than ordinary amount of attention has been fixed upon royal ladies, when far more than ever, in former times, is read and written of the Lives of Queens and Princesses.

A sketch of Prussian Royalties need not be elaborate ; for Prussia has had but seven queens and six kings, being but a new kingdom, dated from January 18th, 1701. And the review is more interesting to the English than to, perhaps, any other nation ; for of those seven queens all, save two, were Princesses of Hanover, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg, names that are like household words to us, since the termination of the Stuart dynasty.

The first Queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, was one of the most celebrated women of her time, and is recorded by her German Biographers, Varnhagen Von Ense, and Von Backer, as "the Philosophical Queen" (*die philosophische Königin*). She was born in 1668, and was the only daughter of Ernest Augustus, Duke (afterwards Elector) of Hanover, and of Sophia, youngest daughter of Elizabeth Stuart (daughter of James I) the admired Princess Palatine, sometime Queen of Bohemia—that Sophia on whose Protestant descendants the succession to the English throne was settled, and whose eldest son became our George I. Sophia had great talents and took pains with the education of Charlotte, who early displayed abilities of a high order. She learned perfectly Latin, French, Italian, and English, and with the three latter was as familiar as with her native German. She was an excellent musi-

cian, and thoroughly skilled in geography. She attained an extensive knowledge of books ; and she especially loved the study of philosophy, and from an early age she formed a warm and life-long friendship for the celebrated Leibnitz. Her mind was expanded, and her manners finished by her travels with her parents in France and in Italy.

In 1681 she was with her mother at Pyrmont, and there met the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg (afterwards the first King of Prussia) who had accompanied his invalid wife, Elizabeth of Hesse Cassel, to the Spa. Charlotte was then only thirteen, but her grace, beauty, and accomplishments made a favourable impression on the Electoral Prince.

In three years afterwards the long declining Electoral Princess died : and the widower offered his hand to the young and lovely Hanoverian. The Duchess Sophia considered him an excellent *parti* ; and the marriage was decided on without any reference to Charlotte's sentiments, which were unfortunately but too repugnant. The Electoral Prince was not more than 26, but he was very plain in face, ungainly in person, sickly, deformed, and solemnly frivolous in manner, and his mind was of a lower tone than Charlotte's. She was only 17 ; very handsome, with a charming expression, fair complexion, jet black hair, and clear blue eyes, beaming with sweetness and intelligence. Her figure was full, but not tall ; yet her air was graceful and majestic.

The wedding took place 21st September, 1684. During the ceremony a memorial ring bearing the motto " A Jamais," which the Electoral Prince had formerly given to his first wife, and which since her death, he had constantly worn himself, broke and fell from his finger to the ground ; a circumstance which the superstition of the age considered an inauspicious omen.

In November the bridal pair entered Berlin, where the Electoral family offered no cheerful prospect to the young wife. The Elector Frederick was old, and completely governed by his second wife (Dorothea of Brunswick Lunenburg) who lived on bad terms with the children of her predecessor (Louisa of Orange) and had endeavoured to thwart the marriage of the Electoral Prince. The Margrave Philip, own brother of the latter, was married, and lived much retired : and the children of the Elector's

second marriage were fond of frivolities which Charlotte disdained. She lived with her husband at Kopeneck : and all the different households kept up a mere formal intercourse.

Charlotte went through the duties of her station with a placid indifference ; but her manners to her husband were invariably cold and distant. She might have been happy in a high degree, had she but suffered her heart to do justice to her husband, who loved and admired her with intensity. He thought no woman could compare with her in mind and person ; and throughout her life he had her portrait repeatedly painted for him from time to time. He even endeavoured to adapt himself to her tastes, (and he was by no means illiterate) and he gave her full liberty to form a literary society around her, in which she lived a kind of esoteric life, devoted to philosophy.

In 1688 the Elector died ; and his son and successor Frederic, proved his magnanimity by the liberality and kindness with which he treated his stepmother and her children, after all the ill offices she had endeavoured to do for him. The court was now free from quarrels, and Frederic gratified his inclination for pomp and ceremonies, for which he soon had opportunity on the birth of a son, who was afterwards King William 1st of Prussia, and who remained the only child of Charlotte. She had previously borne a son, named Ernest Augustus ; but the infant had died at the age of three months, to her great affliction.

And now the young Electress pursued her own course in the fullest freedom. She never took any interest in public affairs (unlike her active and clear-sighted mother) but withdrew herself as much as possible from her husband's court, and kept one of her own at the castle of Monbijou (near Berlin) on the Spree, where she spent her days in music, reading, and correspondence with philosophers, especially Leibnitz ; and where she held receptions (apart from court days) for foreigners, with whom she conversed in their own languages. She particularly affected the society of the French Protestant Refugees, then numerous in Germany ; and appointed a French Hugonot for her own chaplain. She had the fault of being un-national : she gave no encouragement whatever to German Literature,

and the habitual language at her residence was French ; by which she unwisely made a chasm between the court and the people.

Subsequently she removed from Monbijou to the Castle of Lützenberg, also near Berlin, and on the Spree : and the Elector spared neither pains nor expence to adorn and enlarge the castle and the gardens for her gratification. There she lived as she had done at Monbijou, but on a more extended scale of enjoyment ; balls, concerts, amateur operas, and theatricals varied and enlivened the literary occupations ; and she collected a splendid library.

In 1692 her father, the duke of Hanover, was elevated to the rank of elector by the Emperor of Germany, Leopold 1st, to the great joy of the ambitious Sophia, his wife, who was destined to be still more gratified by the still higher elevation of her daughter's husband.

Charlotte had many sources of gratification : she had the privilege of frequently seeing her parents, to whom she was much attached ; she had a favorite residence of her own, with full powers over her household ; and uncontrolled indulgence of her tastes ; and she possessed the strong love and admiration of her husband, whom she influenced to bestow favours on literati whom she patronized ; to institute an academy of sciences at Berlin, and to send for her friend Leibnitz from Hanover, to preside over the arrangements. The inauguration of the grave academy was celebrated in the private theatre of Lützenberg by a comic masquerade of a village fair, in which the Elector and Electress, their son, and their principal nobles represented the peasants, mountebanks, jugglers, quack doctors, gipsies, &c. &c. and sang and danced in character.

Charlotte seems to have been one of those persons who like to have a pet grievance : in the midst of all her chosen companions, her books and amusements, she complains, in her letters, of solitude, and want of variety. She might have been doubtlessly singularly happy, if she could but have allowed her husband to win a small portion of the regard he so warmly sought ; but she never admitted him to any share of her confidence, met him as seldom as possible, and when they did meet behaved to him with cold reserve. At length Frederic, hopeless of finding a friend and companion in his wife, was literally impelled by her to

take a mistress. This personage who was handsome, but low born, artful, and arrogant, was the wife of Count Von Wartenberg, the Elector's minister. She did the honours of the court during the self-willed absences of the Electress from her own station; and though Frederic never permitted her to show any disrespect to his wife, yet in time the countess gained a degree of influence over him which she covertly and artfully used to thwart the wishes of the Electress.

Frederic had long cherished a desire to see his Electorate raised to the rank of a kingdom; and his mother-in-law, Sophia, warmly adopted his views, and zealously exerted herself for their accomplishment; for her husband, Ernest Augustus of Hanover, having died in 1689, she was able to devote her time and attention to the affairs of Brandenburg. Charlotte professed to despise Frederic's ambition, yet, nevertheless, strenuously co-operated with her mother; she even compromised her dignity by condescending to court and flatter Madame Von Wartenberg to induce her to influence the count (whom she ruled) to use all his diplomatic talents for the furtherance of the Elector's wishes. On this occasion the Electress invited her husband's mistress to her own particular court at Lützenberg, a compliment the lady had hitherto ardently, but vainly sought to obtain. Yet when the now gratified countess made her *entrée* into the envied circle, Charlotte inconsistently addressed her in French, of which the bewildered guest knew not one word; she felt herself insulted and exposed to ridicule, and became incensed; and the Electress had humbled herself in vain.

Charlotte went with her mother to different courts, to seek the interest of their princes with the emperor in favour of Frederic. To the Elector of Bavaria, whom she sought to conciliate with all her talents and all her graces, she made a speech of a very extraordinary nature for a lady of her cultivated mind. His Electress, by birth a Polish Princess, was eccentric, and very jealous of competitive beauty; and under pretence of indisposition refused to accord a gracious reception to the charming visitor; and the latter observed to the husband of the fair but sullen Pole, "Without flattering myself, I do really think *I* should have made you a better wife than the Electress. *You* like pleasure, *I* do not hate it; *you* are gallant, *I* am not jealous; you would never have frowned upon me; and I believe we should have lived

very happily together." To such flatteries, such arts, could she bow in order to place a crown which she professed to despise, upon the head of a man whom she incontestibly disliked. Frederic had promised, in case her exertions in his behalf proved successful, that he would pay her debts, and double her allowance. Alas! that philosophy should swallow the hook of ambition baited with mammon—but it is only consistent with human nature to be inconsistent.

At length, Frederic's wishes were literally *crowned* with success, and the Electorate of Brandenburg was elevated into the Kingdom of Prussia. The 18th of January, 1701, was the inauguration day of the Prussian Monarchy. Their Majesties, Frederic and Charlotte, were crowned at Königsberg, (the old capital of the Prussian provinces,) for the sake of the appropriate name, *Königsberg*, (the King's Mountain.) The ceremonial was long and pompous, the robes magnificent: the Queen looked so beautiful and so majestic, that she attracted the admiration of all present, but of none more than the King.

After her elevation to royalty, the Queen absented herself still more and more from the Court of Berlin, and suffered the Countess Von Wartenburg to fill *her* place still more prominently. Her own Court of Lützenberg she animated and adorned by her grace, and her talents; she had the tact to draw out even dull people; so that for the time, they appeared agreeable and intelligent. Among the foreigners whom she invited thither was Toland, the English infidel,* whose book, "Christianity not Mysterious," was condemned as blasphemous by the grand jury of Middlesex; and was ordered to be burned by the Irish Parliament: but he had written in favour of the Hanoverian succession to the British throne; and his political creed made amends for his theological.

As the Queen's only child grew up, he gave her great cause of vexation. He was passionate and stubborn, and rude, nay, brutal, in his manners; he detested literature, and cared for nothing that was not wholly military. He

* He was born in Ireland, (at Innishowen, County of Londonderry,) and there is a mystery over his birth: but he is always accounted English, as he left Ireland at a very early age, adopted England as his country, and therein acquired his fame, such as it is.

showed no affection for his father, and very little for his mother. But she had left him too much in the hands of strangers; he lived at Berlin, and though it was a rule that he should visit her twice a week at Lützenberg, yet she was often a long time without seeing him, when she was absent on her travels, and on her frequent excursions to Hanover. Frederic, at the instigation of Madame Von Wartenberg, sometimes forbade these excursions; but on such occasions the Electress Sophia descended so far as to court her daughter's unworthy rival, and even invite *her* to her court, in order to purchase her mediation with the king.

On one of Charlotte's visits to her mother, the latter forgot her propriety and good taste, and entertained the Queen by a buffoon festival, a part of which was so coarsely indelicate that we dare not allude to it. The details were reported to the King at Berlin; and he was so much irritated by his consort's want of self-respect in witnessing such a scene, that he testified his displeasure to her for upwards of a year. Certainly there is an inconsistency in the Queen's character: virtuous and highly accomplished, she yet could tolerate grossness, such as would now disgust even the vulgar. She could receive the revolting correspondence of her kinswoman, the German Duchess of Orleans,* she could write to her son's governor, relative to the young man's morals, in a tone of strange laxity: and in her billets to her confidante, Mademoiselle de Poelnitz, she could express her dislike to her husband, in tones of singular impropriety. But the root of these blemishes was the fault of her parents, in giving her hand where her heart was utterly repugnant. True and legitimate love refines: had she ever loved her husband, she would have attained to a better and purer light.

Towards the close of 1704, the Electress Sophia invited her daughter to Hanover; but Frederic, who still remembered the buffoon fête, refused his consent, and Sophia came to Berlin, to flatter her son-in-law's mistress, and wheedle her into using her influence, (*her* influence!) with

* Elizabeth Charlotte, second wife of Monsieur, brother of Louis XIV.; she was daughter of the Elector Palatine, son of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I., and was consequently niece to Sophia, Electress of Hanover.

the King for the gratification of his wife's wishes. In January, 1705, the Queen set out for Hanover; she was suffering from a tumour in the throat, but she concealed it, lest the King might require her to defer her journey. When she reached the Hanoverian Court, she strove to make light of her malady, and appeared in public: but her illness increased, and was soon pronounced to be hopeless. On her dying bed, she had not the consolation of her loving mother's care, for the Electress herself was then lying in a state of great suffering, and of some danger: her cherished friend, Leibnitz, too, was absent. She heard the announcement of her approaching dissolution with calmness, took an affectionate leave of her brothers, recommending Leibnitz to their favour, and wrote a kind letter to the king: and when one of her attendants observed that the latter would be inconsolable, she replied with a smile, "no: he will find consolation in the care of arranging a magnificent funeral for me." But she refused the offices of a minister of religion, saying, "why should we quarrel at the latter end?" Why should there have been a risk of quarrelling, if she were convinced of the essentials of Christianity?—She also remarked, that she knew very well everything that it was customary to say beside death beds, and therefore, it was unnecessary to repeat it to her; "she trusted she was well with God."

On the 1st of February, 1705, the Queen expired. When the mournful news reached Berlin, the King fainted away; for several days he would neither speak, nor be spoken with, subsequently he employed himself, as his wife had predicted: in planning splendid ceremonies, and solemn rites for her interment. Her body was brought from Hanover, and deposited temporarily in the Chapel of the Castle of Berlin, during five months: on the 28th of June, it was laid to rest in a superb mausoleum. The King changed the name of Lutzenburg to Charlottenburg, in her honour, gave it the privileges of a city, retained her household, and kept up the

* Her son said of her in after times, "my mother was a clever woman, but not a good Christian." The principles she had imbibed from Leibnitz, were not those of Revelation, so much as of (so called) natural religion.

castle and grounds in the same manner that she had been accustomed to do.

Charlotte was deeply regretted both at Hanover and Berlin, for her kindness, affability and benevolence. It was remembered as a sinister portent, that just before she left Berlin for her last visit to her mother, a bracelet that she habitually wore, (never removing it,) suddenly broke, and fell from her arm: it was a gift from Frederic at an early period of their union, and was made of his hair, and on the clasp were engraved his cypher and Electoral cap. It was also remarked that *Sunday* was her fateful day; on Sunday she was born, baptized, and married; on Sunday she died, and on Sunday was solemnly interred.

After Charlotte's death, the royal widower became very ailing and infirm; his ministers often took undue advantage of his state: the Prince Royal testified his displeasure at their conduct, and they, in order to sow discord between him and his father, induced the latter to marry again, after a lapse of three years. The Princess selected for his third wife, and second queen, was Sophia Louisa, sister of the then reigning Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin. The wedding was celebrated at Berlin, 28th November, 1708, with oriental pomp: one of the subsequent festivities was a combat of wild beasts. The bride from her box shot a bear with an arquebuss. The marriage was unpopular with the people, and with the courtiers; with the former because they remembered the dissensions caused by a step-mother in the family of the old Elector; and with the latter, because they dreaded the stern influences of a queen who was in all respects the opposite of the brilliant Charlotte, and the fêteloving Frederic. It was an ill-judged union; Sophia Louisa was 23, Frederick 51, but the latter seemed much older. Both were in bad health, but their tastes, ideas and feelings were utterly antagonistic. The Queen was narrow-minded and gloomy, she belonged to the German sect of Pietists: admitted no one graciously but their preachers, condemned everything as sinful, that was not replete with austerity, and unequivocally expressed to the King her belief that he was out of the pale of salvation. They were insupportable to each other, and naturally separated, and Sophia Louisa returned to Mecklenburgh Schwerin, to try the efficacy of her native air on her impaired constitution.

She had no child, and survived the King, who died in 1713.

The third Queen of Prussia was Sophia Dorothea, only daughter of George Louis, Elector of Hanover, subsequently George the 1st of England, brother of the philosophic Charlotte. Her mother was the unfortunate Sophia Dorothea of Zell; who being accused (falsely it is believed) of an intrigue with Count Konigsmark was confined for life, at an early age, in the Castle of Ahlden, in the Duchy of Zell. The young Sophia was under 10 years old when she was separated for ever from her mother's care; she was brought up in a court where the mistresses, first of her grandfather, Ernest Augustus of Hanover, and then of her father, were the prominent personages.

She grew up very attractive in person: her figure was noble, her air majestic, and her manners (in her youth) very winning. She was exquisitely fair: had beautiful blue eyes, luxuriant bright brown hair, and a sweet voice: though her features were not regular, the expression of her countenance was very pleasing. Her cousin, William,* Prince Royal of Prussia, formed an attachment for her: but his father, who had other views for him, refused his consent till he found that his son was determined against contracting any other alliance. The young couple were married in 1706, and came to the throne in seven years afterwards.

They were an ill matched pair. William was brutal in manner, obstinate, furious, and avaricious, even to meanness. He sold all the royal furniture, plate, carriages, horses, &c., annihilated the splendour in which his father had delighted, and reduced the court to a state below mediocrity. A wife of a stronger mind, and a better education, might, however, have won him to amend his faults; for he had good sense and integrity, and was neither immoral nor irreligious, far the reverse. But Sophia was weak, unreasonable, unstable, and was governed by worthless favorites, who treated her with disrespect, and to whom she babbled every thing, even affairs of the most serious importance. She had some taste for literature and the arts, but no application; and made no progress, except in music. She was addicted to gambling, and lost large sums, to the annoyance of the parsimonious King: and she enraged him by intermeddling in state

* His mother, Charlotte, was aunt to the young Sophia Dorothea.

affairs, for which she had no real talent. She had a large family, and her conduct as a mother is recorded by her eldest daughter, the Margravine of Bareith, as most injudicious ; sometimes cruel to her children, sometimes absurdly petting them, as caprice dictated ; and fomenting jealousies and enmities among them.

Sophia might have been improved by a gentler husband ; but William's conduct tended to sour her temper, and to harden her heart. He loved her (in his own fashion) and never mortified her by even the name, much less the presence of a mistress : but he would burst into fury on slight (and even unintentional) provocations, and would abuse his wife, beat and kick his children, and fling plates and dishes at the heads of all present : and he kept a miserable table : the meals were always bad and insufficient. He gave the Queen an allowance for house-keeping, but took back the greater part of it by "*per contra*" charges. Though he always made her some present of apparel, &c. at Christmas, yet she was kept in such want of money that when she sometimes ordered an Omelette in addition to her too scanty fare, her Chamberlain, Baron Von Poelnitz, was obliged to pay for the eggs from his own purse. She possessed fine jewels, but dared not wear them in the King's presence. Thiebault* relates, that once she had a reception day at Court during William's absence, and indulged her taste by decorating herself with all her diamonds. While she was at the card table, his Majesty was unexpectedly announced ; and the poor Queen in her terror hastily pulled off all her ornaments, and huddled them into her pocket, before the eyes of all the assembly—a strange court incident.

Her sad and circumscribed existence formed a melancholy contrast to the freedom and the enjoyments of the former Queen, Charlotte. At Sophia's court there was nothing but sordidness, restraint, cabals, and family quarrels. In summer her recreation consisted in driving from Berlin to Monbijou with a *cortege* of two shabby carriages, drawn by six old horses, with a little negro walking beside them. In Autumn William took her and his family to his hunting seat of Wosterhausen, a small chateau blocked up in front by a sand hill, and having a terrace enlivened by a wind mill just opposite, and surrounded by an offensive ditch of

* The French Professor of Belles Letter at the Royal Academy of Berlin

stagnant water, over which three draw bridges gave access to a railed-in court yard. The king, his family and court, dined in a tent pitched under an Elm, in a spot where there was a hollow; and when it rained, they all sat mid-leg in water. Twenty four persons formed the party at table, at which only six dishes were served, and they so small that two thirds of the company fasted.

The King rose from table at one o'clock, and repaired to the terrace, which had no shade to temper the glare of the burning sun; there he slept for two hours and a half in his arm chair; and the queen and her children lay down upon the earth beside him, and around; and endured the heat in silence as best they might.

The only amusement the queen had (except cards) was music; and she instilled a taste for it into her son (afterwards Frederick 2nd). He played the flute well, and took pleasure in it; but his father deprived him of his instrument, and nick-named him "The Piper."

But the crowning commotions in this agreeable court arose from Sophia's vehement desire for a matrimonial alliance between her own family, and that of her brother, George, who was *then* Prince of Wales, but soon after George 2nd of England. She wished to marry her eldest daughter, Wilhelmina to her nephew, Frederick, who was at that time Duke of Gloucester, but shortly became Prince of Wales on his father's accession to the English throne, we will therefore designate him and his father by their higher titles. To this earnest desire of Sophia the English Court would consent only on the condition of Frederick, Prince Royal of Prussia, espousing Amelia, sister of the English Prince. The Prince of Prussia was content; he had obtained and admired the portrait of his proposed bride. But his father objected to the double alliance; even *one* English marriage was distasteful to him, for William of Prussia and George of England, though cousins and brothers-in-law, had met in their youth at the court of their grandfather, Ernest Augustus of Hanover, and conceived a rooted dislike to each other; and in their mature years, William's feelings were constantly irritated by reports of the sarcasms of George, who always designated him, "My brother the corporal, at head quarters in Potsdam." The Prussian Ministry, also, was Anti-English; the Court of England

demanding their removal ; William refused ; Sophia intrigued to effect their dismissal ; and the Court of Berlin was filled with cabals. William had consented that his daughter should marry the Prince of Wales ; but he would not hear of the Princess Amelia as a daughter-in-law ; he said, " she should never come to Prussia to rule *his* court under her father's directions." The negotiations were all perplexity—when the English Court acquiesced, the Prussian refused ; when the latter made advances, the former drew back. Sophia worked hard against all obstacles, kept up a constant correspondence with England, argued with William, squabbled with his minister, and lavished on her daughter the most fulsome flatteries, or marks of contempt and aversion, according as her ambitious hopes of seeing her Princess of Wales rose or fell.

William was in a state of chronic fury ; he quarrelled with every one, but especially with his family ; he swore at his wife, beat his daughter, and caned his son, calling the one " that rascal Fritz," and the other " that *Canaillie* Wilhelmina," and he denied them the common necessities of life.

At length Frederick, incensed beyond endurance by his father's hard words and hard blows, determined, in concert with his mother, on escaping to England. He had proceeded, however, but a short way when he was pursued by the king's orders, and arrested as a deserter from his regiment. William was resolved on bringing him to the scaffold ; and was only prevented by the intrepid opposition of the Prince of Anhalt, and the interference of the Emperor of Germany. But the young prince was barbarously compelled to witness the beheading of his friend and companion, Lieutenant Le Katt, and was then consigned to an imprisonment, very rigorous at first, but that gradually relaxed. His sister Wilhelmina, also, was placed in a state of confinement, aggravated by the insolence of menials, and by such privations, that she says in her memoirs, she would have starved but for the compassion of the French settlers in Berlin, who contrived to convey to her privately a basket of plain provisions every day.

William's rage on the concerted flight of his son was so hot that he even attempted to kick the English Ambassador, which of course put a stop to further matrimonial negotiations.

At length the Princess Wilhelmina, in order to deliver her-

self from her misery, consented to accept a husband of her father's choosing, the Prince (afterwards Margrave) of Bar-eith. The Queen at first seemed friendly to the bridegroom, but suddenly changed, and treated himself and his bride with her worst displays of temper, and was never thoroughly reconciled to them. On the failure of her ambitious desires for Wilhelmina, the Queen next endeavoured to bring about a marriage between her daughter Charlotte and the Prince of Wales; but the English Court would not hear of any further matrimonial proposals from Prussia.

Wilhelmina had obtained her father's promise to liberate her brother on her marriage, and accordingly at a bridal ball William caused his son to be brought in quietly, and placed behind the queen's chair. He was dressed in a plain grey frock coat, and was not at first recognised; but as soon as he was discovered by his mother and sister, their feelings overpowered them, and the scene was deeply affecting.

Though Sophia had grieved excessively for the unhappy situation of her son, whom she tenderly loved, yet she was not well pleased when, to conciliate his father, he consented to receive from the hand of the latter a bride whom the young prince neither liked nor respected. Sophia had some other match in view; but the king was inflexible; and Frederick married Elizabeth Christina, sister of Charles Duke of Brunswick; and shortly after this union the Duke of Brunswick himself married Charlotte of Prussia, whom her mother had for a while hoped to see Princess of Wales.

It must be observed that the negotiations for the English-Prussian matches extended through a space of twelve years; and the ferment caused by them in the Prussian Court left lasting effects. The King and Queen of Prussia found their domestic life more embittered than it would otherwise have been. William's temper, originally bad, became more furious and more tyrannical; Sophia's spirits were completely broken; she fell into habitual depression, and became quite altered in manner and appearance.

The death of William in 1740, brought peace at least to Sophia, and it was peace only she desired. She had long lost the capability of any enjoyment. She retired to the Castle of Monbijou, and lived very plainly and very quietly; and from want of exercise she became so enormously corpulent that it was necessary to have chairs and

tables made for her especial use. Her son, Frederick II, always showed her affectionate respect; he regularly visited her every Wednesday, and never sat down in her presence till she desired him; and he was uniformly kind and generous to all her old friends and adherents. Sophia died at an advanced age in 1757.

Sophia's desire for alliances between her family, and that of her brother, George II, which was frustrated in the persons of her eldest son and daughter, Frederick and Wilhelmina, was accomplished after her death, in the descendants of her daughter Charlotte, whom, failing Wilhelmina, she had thought to unite with Frederick, Prince of Wales. The eldest son of this Charlotte (who became Duchess of Brunswick) was Charles William, Duke of Brunswick, who in 1764 married, Augusta daughter of Frederick,* Sophia's hoped-for son-in-law. Then, in 1795, Caroline, daughter of Charles William of Brunswick, and Augusta of England, married her cousin, George, Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. Again, Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, daughter of the above Charlotte of Prussia, Duchess of Brunswick, married her first cousin, William, Prince of Prussia (from whom she was divorced) and their only child Frederica Ulrica, married the Duke of York, brother of George IV, and grandson of Frederick, Prince of Wales. These Anglo-Prussian marriages were not happy, and the two last named have left no descendants.

The fourth Queen of Prussia, Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick, was married to Frederick, Prince Royal of Prussia, when she was eighteen and the Prince twenty-one. Though he had consented to marry Elizabeth at his father's desire, yet he had determined never to regard her as his wife; he wrote to one of his friends, "*Je me marierais; après, voilà qui est fait, et bon jour, Madame, et bon chemin.*"† She was wholly unsuited to a man of strong mind and literary tastes like Frederick, who has been surnamed the Great; for she was utterly untaught, except mere reading and writing, was profoundly ignorant, and so unable to express herself that she could not reply to the commonest question save by a monosyllable, yes or no; so that she had the ap-

* Prince of Wales.

† I will marry; after that it is done, and good day, madame, and a good journey.

pearance of an idiot. Frederick called her "the dumb lady," and his mother termed her "*Guenuche*,"* and said she was as dull as a bundle of straw. Frederick loved dancing, poor Elizabeth had not an idea of that accomplishment: a dancing master was engaged for her, but she made no progress; *elle danse comme une Oie*,† was the *mot* of the Prussian Court.

In person Elizabeth was very pleasing. She had delicate features, a fine complexion, bright blue (but inexpressive) eyes, fair hair that curled naturally, a beautifully formed mouth but black irregular teeth. Her figure was tall and slight, but awry, and she stooped considerably. The personal remarks upon her by her royal sisters-in-law (recorded by the Margravine of Bareith) are too gross to be repeated; the poor bride had fallen into unkind hands.

Frederick and Elizabeth at first resided at Ruppín, where the prince was under the surveillance of a general officer, and his table was very poorly supplied by his father. Afterwards they removed to Rheinsberg, a chateau with pleasant gardens; there Frederick had more liberty and more enjoyment; he gave gay supper parties to his friends, and Elizabeth had her card table. But the prince and princess lived as strangers to each other; they never met except at meals; he rarely spoke to her; when he did she was so much dismayed that, instead of replying, she burst into tears, to his great annoyance; therefore he ceased to notice her farther than by a bow on sitting down to table and on rising from it.

When Frederick succeeded to the throne he gave Elizabeth Schönhausen for a residence, but never went thither himself save once, in 1744, when his sister Ulrica was married to the King of Sweden. Subsequently, on the death of his mother he presented his queen with the Castle of Monbijou, where he attended her court regularly on her birth day, and remained half an hour; that was the only day in the year on which he left off his military boots and wore shoes and silk stockings.

After Elizabeth became Queen, her necessarily extended

* An ape.

† "She dances like a goose," an expression very descriptive of heavy awkwardness.

intercourse with the world gave her more ease of manner, and more readiness of expression. She spoke a little more, and her character was better known and appreciated ; even Frederick learned to speak of her with respect, and to do justice to her good qualities. She was mild, modest, pious and very benevolent. It then appeared that she was not the fool she was thought to be ; she compiled, and caused to be printed, a book of devotion, which she dedicated to her brother, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, in an affectionate and touching epistle : and her large and numerous charities were very judiciously regulated. She had an old Chamberlain, Baron Von Müller, whose passion for gambling reduced him to the direst want ; the Queen prevailed on him to allow her the management of his salary ; she paid monthly all his expenses, board, fuel, servants, &c., provided him with clothing, and then gave him the surplus as pocket money, and to indulge himself with an excitement which he could not live without, but which under the Queen's restraining hand could no longer be ruinous to him. When her Majesty's friends spoke to her of the trouble she took for a man whose character was every way contemptible, she replied. "And for that very reason, if *I* do not take care of him who will ?"

Her court was simple and frugal in the extreme. Thiebault relates that a jocular Frenchman, M. Charpentier observed to him, "The queen has a grand gala to-night, for as I passed the castle I saw an old lamp lighted on the staircase." Her suppers were so ill supplied that many of the guests could obtain nothing but a small biscuit, or a single preserved cherry ; and were obliged to sup at home after their return to Berlin.

Elizabeth's life was most monotonous : she had no amusement but cards : and her excursions were limited to Schönhausen, and Charlottenburg ; and (but rarely) to Berlin. The King never invited her to Potsdam, though she had the strongest wish to see his celebrated Palace of Sans Souci. On one occasion, when her brother, Prince Ferdinand, came to Berlin, just as Frederick was setting out for Silesia, he received a letter from the King requesting him to visit Sans Souci, where orders were left for his reception, and adding that the Queen might accompany him if she wished. But Elizabeth replied with an unex-

pected degree of spirit, that since his Majesty had never deigned to invite her when he was at Sans Souci himself, she would not take advantage of his absence to go thither.

This Queen of "a rayless royalty," was, however, never mortified by the triumphs of a rival: the King had no "female friend." She had, also, a consolation in the occasional company of her sister Louisa Amelia, who was married to William Augustus, the next brother of the King. She was a placid, amiable woman, and lived much retired: but Frederick disliked her as the sister of his Queen whom he deserted, and as the wife of his brother whom he despised for not having the same military talents as himself. His manners were sufficiently cold to Louisa during the life of his brother; but after the death of the latter, in 1758, he never vouchsafed the least notice to his widowed sister-in-law.

Frederick died in 1786: he did not even ask a last interview with his neglected Queen; she survived him eleven years, dying in January, 1797, aged eighty-two.

William Augustus Prince of Prussia, next brother of Frederick the Great, having died before the latter, Frederick William, the son of William Augustus, and of Louisa of Brunswick, became heir to the childless King, whom he succeeded as William II. William was very tall, and robust, handsome with an open countenance; like his uncle and predecessor Frederic, he was fond of music, and played well on the Violoncello, but he was licentious, extravagant, and unamiable. - While he was Prince Royal the King kept him under strict military discipline, and himself selected a wife for his nephew. The lady was Elizabeth Christina Ulrica, daughter of the King's beloved sister, Charlotte, Duchess of Brunswick, and was consequently niece by the father's side to Frederic's forsaken Queen. The marriage took place in 1767, and proved very unfortunate. The Prince Royal was addicted to gallantries, the number and notoriety of which incensed his Princess, a handsome, lively, intelligent, and high-spirited woman; she conceived a hatred for him, and forgetting every consideration of self-respect, and religion, in the frenzy of her resentment, with a strange, but not uncommon inconsistency, she yielded to the same guilt (but not to the same extent) that she condemned in him, and descended to a criminal intrigue with a Chamberlain of

the Court. Her younger brother, Prince William of Brunswick, who tenderly loved her, and deeply pitied her for the wrongs she endured from her husband, was drawn in step by step, insensibly to become the confidant of her fall. He had endeavoured to calm her mind while she was still innocent; and afterwards he strove to conceal her criminality while trying to win her from a continuance in it.

But his efforts were fruitless: at a masked ball at court, given in honour of a birth day, an unknown mask led the Prince Royal of Prussia aside, and revealed to him his wife's intrigue. William, exasperated, complained to the king, and demanded a divorce. But Frederick loved his niece both for his sister, her mother's sake, and for her own; her intelligence and vivacity amused him, and formed an agreeable contrast with the dullness of his queen and her sister Louisa: therefore he sought to dissuade William from his purpose, engaging to put a total stop to the offence. But the prince was un-persuadable, and threatened to appeal to all the crowned heads in Europe; and Frederic was obliged to sanction an investigation, which resulted in clearly proving the guilt of the princess. She was divorced, and imprisoned in the Castle of Custrin, where Frederic himself, when Prince Royal, had been confined by his father, William 1st. The only amusement of the princess consisted in placing chairs in rows opposite to each other, and performing among them the figures of English country dances. After two years she attempted to escape, but was re-taken. She supported her imprisonment with firmness, and retained her vivacity. When her former husband succeeded to the crown, she enjoyed thence forward more liberty, and greater indulgence. She was afterwards removed to Stettin, where she died in 1840, aged 95.

Her brother William incurred the king's displeasure for not having apprised him of the Princess's levity, and given him an opportunity of checking the evil in the bud. Frederic accused him of complicity, and ordered him to join his regiment (in the king's service) and not to quit it again. With difficulty the prince obtained leave to resign; he then entered the Russian Army, and served under Romanzow. In a severe campaign he was seized with a quinsy, which was aggravated by distress of mind, and soon proved fatal. In the will that he left he says, "I de-

mand, as an act of justice due to me, I command as far as I have a right to do so, that all my MSS.* shall be deposited, and carefully preserved in the Library at Wolfenbittel, not that I consider them as worthy of such an honour, but that posterity may know in what manner I passed the time which I have been accused of consecrating to the vilest, most absurd, and most odious of intrigues."

One daughter was the only child of the short-lived union between William, and Elizabeth Christina; she was named Frederica Ulrica, and in 1791, was married at the age of 24, to the Duke of York, from political reasons, for the bridegroom's heart was not in the match; and it was very distasteful to his father, George 3rd, who felt by no means satisfied of the bride's legitimacy, and was ill pleased at receiving a daughter-in-law whose mother was living in confinement in consequence of her immorality. This marriage did not secure peace between England and Prussia, nor happiness between the wedded pair. The Duchess of York was plain almost to ugliness, and very eccentric: but good, unaffected, and charitable; her virtues scarcely obtained for her the cold respect of a libertine husband, who openly preferred the most worthless women. The duchess lived in great retirement; her chief predilection was for idle dogs, of which she always had several about her; she was childless; a lonely woman, a deserted wife.

William of Prussia in two years after his divorce from Elizabeth Christina, married Louisa Frederica, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, a mild, virtuous, amiable woman; middle sized, of a pleasing countenance, but not handsome. To Frederic the Great she was not acceptable; he could not forgive her for taking the place (though justly forfeited) of his favorite niece; he was always unkind to her, and frequently took occasion to mortify her in public.

Frederic dying in 1786, Frederica Louisa became 5th Queen of Prussia; her's was a melancholy royalty; she was ill treated by the king when she was Princess of Prussia, and by her husband at all times, Queen and Princess. The immoralities of William 2nd were of such gross licentiousness that much caution is necessary in touching upon them. Mirabeau's history of this monarch's court is so full of

* The prince had some abilities, and was fond of literary composition.

abominations, as to stagger belief ; but if one tenth be true, the tone that pervaded it must have been of the most revolting grossness.

Vice paraded in triumph ; one mistress succeeded another, sometimes two or three bore sway at the same time, and obtained titles and treasures for themselves, and pensions and places for their creatures ; and were lauded, and caressed, even by the king's female relations. There was a Mademoiselle Voss on whom large sums were lavished, and to whom regal honours were paid ; there was a Countess Donhoff, called " Hebe," who had the audacity to profess herself married to the king, by the left hand, with the permission of the queen ! She took a dictatorial air with the children of the queen, assumed the airs of royalty, and often moved Frederica Louisa to tears.

On breaking with the Countess Donhoff the king settled a large pension on her, and renewed a former *liaison* with a Madame Rietz, whom he created Countess of Lichtenau. This woman took upon her to exclude the queen wholly from the king's chamber during an illness with which he was attacked. She was introduced at court with great splendour ; and the broken spirited queen was compelled to present her with her portrait set in diamonds ; she completely set Frederica Louisa aside, and tyrannized over her. In 1797 she had an opera performed at her house, and insisted on the attendance of the queen, her eldest son and his wife (the late king of Prussia and the beautiful Louisa of Mecklenburgh.) The countess displayed more diamonds than the royal ladies, and received William's marked homage. In June, the same year, when the queen went, in a very plain manner, to a petty watering place, called Friesenwald, for her health, the Countess Lichtenau paraded at the famous spa of Pyrmont, at the head of a brilliant suite. At a dinner given by the people of Berlin to the king, the queen absented herself on the plea of illness ; and the Countess Lichtenau assumed her majesty's place by William's express desire ; he even went so far as to compel his royal heir to kiss the hands of his shameless concubine.

When William was on his death bed, and the countess was supporting him in her arms, he made signs to have his wife and eldest son sent away ; the queen's spirit had been so subdued, her self-respect so trampled out, that she fell

on the neck of the profligate woman, and thanked her for her care of the king! The Crown Prince looked on with contempt, but made no remark. Madame Lichtenau, however, was fast asleep when the king breathed his last. On the accession of the prince he caused the countess to be arrested and imprisoned; and she died deserted and impoverished in 1820, having survived William the 2nd 23 years.

The 6th Queen of Prussia was the beautiful and amiable Louisa Augusta, daughter of Duke Charles Louis of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, and niece of England's Queen Charlotte, who was the sister of Louisa's father. The lovely princess was born at Hanover in 1776, and was but six years old when she lost her mother, Frederica Caroline, a Princess of Hesse Darmstadt; whose place was supplied in a year after by her own sister, Charlotte Wilhelmina. But the step-mother aunt died in 1785, two years after her marriage; and Louisa was thenceforward brought up by her paternal grandmother, a highly accomplished woman, Maria Louisa Albertina, a countess of Linange Heidesheim, and widow of Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt.

In the spring of 1793, when Louisa was 19, she accompanied her grandmother, and her younger sister Frederica, to Frankfort, where she became acquainted with Frederic William, Prince Royal of Prussia, who had arrived there with his brother, Prince Louis Ferdinand, and their father, William 2nd. Louisa's grace and beauty made an indelible impression on the heart of the Crown Prince; and her sister Frederica, then but 15, attracted his brother, Prince Louis Ferdinand, who was remarkable for his musical abilities. The double betrothal, by exchange of rings, took place in April.

On the 23rd of December Louisa made her public entry into Berlin; and on Christmas Eve her wedding was solemnized with great splendour, and the festivals that followed were magnificent. At a Bridal Banquet, in the Knight's Hall, the stately and national torch dance was performed. It was headed by 18 Ministers of State, two and two, holding large wax lights; the king led the bride, and the Prince Royal the two queens (his mother, and Elizabeth, widow of Frederick the Great) the rest of the court followed in pairs, promenaded the suite of rooms (keeping time to the

music) and returned to the Knight's Hall. Louisa loved dancing (in which she excelled) and was able to indulge her taste, as the Prussian Court was then very gay, for the amusement of the reigning sultana, Countess Lichtenau. But the presence of such a person must have been a source of great displeasure to a pure minded woman like Louisa ; she enjoyed, however, some indemnity in the society of her young sister Frederica, and her husband Louis Ferdinand.

On the death of William 2nd in November, 1797, the new king and queen, Frederick William and Louisa, purified the court ; and for the ensuing nine years they enjoyed a life of tranquil happiness, devotedly attached to each other, and to their children, and sharing together their occupations, and their recreations. The king employed himself with measures for the welfare of his people, and was materially assisted by his intelligent and amiable queen. They took great pleasure in reading together the works of Augustus Lafontaine of Halle, the German Novelist ; on whom the king bestowed solid marks of the gratification he had derived from his writings.

But a cloud came over the sunshine. In November, 1805, Frederick William had been induced by Alexander of Russia to join the general coalition against France ; yet in the following month he was led to a convention with France ; and after ceding some of his territories to Bavaria, and some to France, he received as a compensation from Napoleon a gift which was not *his* to give, the Electorate of Hanover, the ancestral territory of that sovereign to whose son (the Duke of York) the king of Prussia's sister was married (as we have before observed.) England went to war with Prussia for the recovery of Hanover : and then followed the war between France and Prussia, that was so destructive to the latter ; Louisa's was the energetic spirit in this collision, in contrast with the vacillations of the king, whose character is described in the Grenville Letters, published by the Duke of Buckingham. Lord Malmsbury writes to Mr. Thomas Grenville, " I know from experience the weakness of his (the king's) character, and the facility with which he gives way to the last advice." Mr T. Grenville remarks ; " the king is well disposed in his general intentions, but having no original ideas of his own, nor habits of forming his own judgement." The queen thought the war

a necessity ; and full of German feeling, she considered an union amongst *all* Germans (of whatever states) to be the best security for universal Germany. Her sentiments were the same as those that animated the spirited war songs of Körner, Arndt, Rückert, Schenkendorf, &c.

But the star of Napoleon prevailed. At the outset, in October, 1806, the Prussian army was routed at Saalfeld, and Prince Louis Ferdinand was killed. Misfortunes followed in quick succession, Prussia was crushed to atoms, all her important fortresses taken, her army destroyed, her king a fugitive. Louisa accompanied her husband in all his wanderings, and retired with him to Memel, and consoled and animated him in his affliction.

Prussia was glad to accept of peace on any terms. At the momentous meeting at Tilsit (in July, 1807) between Napoleon and Frederick William, Louisa exerted all her powers of fascination (and they were great) to obtain some concessions, and especially the restoration of the important fortress of Magdeburg. But Napoleon was firm ; as he afterwards observed to Josephine, he could not afford to make sacrifices to gallantry. On sitting down to dinner he offered Louisa a beautiful rose ; she hesitated, then recollecting herself she took it saying, " But at least with Magdeburg ?" Yet he replied coldly, " But I must observe to your Majesty, that it is *I* who present, and *you* who receive." He dreaded (as did Talleyrand) the influence of her surpassing charms, and hurried the negotiations to a close ; and the treaty so disastrous to Prussia was signed that night, to the queen's dismay, when she learned the fact next morning. Napoleon said of her, " The Queen of Prussia was unquestionably gifted with many happy resources ; she possessed a great deal of information, and had many excellent capabilities. It was she who really reigned for more than fifteen years."

The king lost half his dominions, and the French occupied the remainder, and by their exactions reduced the state to bankruptcy. The king and queen lived in exceeding poverty, sometimes at Memel, sometimes at Königsberg : they coined their plate, borrowed where they could, dispensed with attendants, and suffered the utmost privations. Frederick William thought of resigning ; but his true-hearted wife encouraged him to support his misfortunes with fortitude and dignity.

Once again, in 1808, at Erfurt, she made a fruitless attempt on Napoleon to recover Magdeburg. His answer was, "you are a very beautiful queen, but Magdeburg is worth a hundred queens." The loss of this fortress preyed so much upon her mind, that adopting the words of our Queen Mary on the loss of Calais, she often declared that after her death the name of Magdeburg would be found upon her heart in letters of blood.

The French evacuated Berlin at the close of 1808; the king and queen returned in peace and hope to their capital on the 23rd December, 1809, the anniversary of Louisa's joyful entry as an affianced bride.

But the poison of long and deep sorrow was undermining the constitution of the beautiful and beloved queen. In July, 1810, she went to Strelitz, on a visit to her father; but she became very ill at the Castle of Hohenzieritz. Her sister Frederica was with her, no longer the widow of Louis Ferdinand, but re-married to the Prince of Solms Braunfels. An express was sent to the king, who arrived only a few hours before his wife's death: in his arms and supported by her sister, she died calmly and religiously on the 19th July, 1810, aged 35. Her malady was ascertained to be polypus of the heart, occasioned by grief. Her body was conveyed to its resting place, at Charlottenburg, on the 23d of December, 1810, the seventeenth anniversary of her bridal entry into Berlin. Her mausoleum is in the gardens of Charlottenburg: a Doric temple shaded by cypresses and willows. Within, on a sarcophagus of white marble lies the statue of the queen (the work of the sculptor Rauch): it is said to be a perfect resemblance. The features are calm and benevolent: the hands folded on the bosom, the limbs in the easy repose of sleep (not of death.) Thither the king was in the habit of repairing to indulge his intense affliction through hours of solitude; and thither he annually brought his children to lay memorial wreaths upon their mother's tomb on the anniversary of her death.

After the lapse of 14 years, the King, at the age of 54, sought a companion for his lonely heart and married (morganatically) the young Countess of Harrach,* created Princess of Leignitz, who, though the King's wife, was

* She was then twenty-four.

never his Queen (according to German etiquette) nor her children Royal, though legitimate. This union seems to have brought the King all the quiet happiness he expected : yet it is well known that his affectionate remembrance of Queen Louisa never suffered any diminution to the day of his death, which took place, June 7th, 1840.

The present and 7th Queen of Prussia, Elizabeth Louisa, is daughter of Maximilian Joseph, King of Bavaria (deceased in 1825) by his second wife, Caroline, Princess of Baden. The four first children of that Royal Bavarian marriage were four daughters, two pair of twins : the first pair, born in 1801, being the Queen of Prussia, and Amelia, married to John, Prince of Saxony ; the second pair born in 1805, Sophia married to Francis Charles, Archduke of Austria, and Mary, Queen of Saxony. Her Prussian Majesty was sister of Louis, the late King of Bavaria, the patron of Lola Montes, and is Aunt of Otho, the not much lauded King of Greece.

The Queen of Prussia was married at Berlin in November, 1823, to Frederick William 3rd, then Prince Royal. She is a quiet and un-remarkable personage : perhaps the most *prononcé* trait in her character is her dislike to the English : she understands the language but does not avail herself of her ability to speak it, in order to avoid, as much as possible, any intercourse with persons of the unfavoured nation. She is childless, and that must be a greater grief in the case of Royalty (or rich inheritance, or illustrious name) than in perhaps any other circumstances. It is said that her mind was deeply, sadly, and enduringly depressed by the commotions of 1848—but we can justly speak no dictum, whether for weal or woe, on the lot of any one who is yet living. “Who,” said the Grecian Sage, “can be pronounced happy before death?” and so sings the Latin Bard—

“Ultima semper

Expectanda dies homini dicique beatus

Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet.”

OVID.

And now, a few words upon the Authors whose works have furnished our text. Varnhagen Von Ense (“Life of Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia”) is professedly the

panegyrist of the philosophic Queen, of whom he writes truly *con amore*: yet he is not dishonestly biassed: he permits us to see how Charlotte stubbornly resisted the affection, the admiration, nay, the lover-like wooing of her husband, to whose character the biographer renders justice. He does not conceal from his reader Charlotte's abnegation of her proper position, as wife, Electress, and Queen, for the selfish pursuit of her own individual tastes; and he lays before us some of her letters which would have been suppressed by any one who was anxious to show only the best side.

Frederick the Second, in his "Memoires de Brandenbourg," piqued himself on holding an impartial pen, and if coldness of style be a proof of impartiality, he did not deceive himself. But his short portraiture of the second Queen of Prussia, Sophia Louisa, of MecklenbourgSchwerin, is all gloom; he does not throw into it one brightening touch, yet, at the same time, he seems desirous to say as little as possible of those peculiarities in her disposition, mind, and manners, which rendered her union with Frederick the First so unfortunate.

It would be but natural to suppose, that the faults of Sophia Dorothea and her husband, would have been treated with filial leniency by their daughter's pen—on the contrary, they are dragged forward into the most glaring light. The Margravine of Bareith was so imbued with the spirit of satire, that we feel a conviction all her portraits must be more or less caricatures: she spares no one, her parents, her sisters, her brother Frederick, the family of her husband, Mademoiselle de Poelnitz, the favourite of her grandmother, Queen Charlotte—all are painted with the coarsest of colours, and the roughest of brushes; in her pages no one seems to have had any idea of principle, virtue, or common decency of manners.

Yet the Margravine's pictures of William the First and Sophia Dorothea, are greatly corroborated by Dieudonné Thiebault, who as Professor of Belles Lettres, in the Royal Academy of Berlin, and enjoying the notice of Frederick the Second, was wisely determined to see only *en couleur de rose* all that related to the family history of his Kingly Patron. Discreetly laudatory, he takes care to bring out all that is commendable—and especially in the instance

of Frederick's deserted Queen, which is much to his credit, as *she* could in no wise influence his interests. Yet even in *his* cautious "Anecdotes," we see enough of the brutality of William to comprehend his wife's melancholy position. Thiebault paints *her* with a touch far more delicate and forbearing than her daughter's; still, in looking at his cautious outlines, we cannot help thinking, "what a group of unhappy people."

Mirabeau was sent from France to Berlin, on a diplomatic mission, in 1786, at the commencement of William the Second's reign of profligacy, which broke the heart, and still worse, crushed to the dust the matronly dignity of Frederica Louisa. His "Secret History," contained such scandals, that the French Government were afraid to permit its publication; and it was condemned to the flames, but the French Minister, Montmorin, paid the Author for his (supposed) loss. He had, however, preserved a copy, for which the booksellers paid him over again. In most of the editions now current, whole passages are omitted, and their places supplied by lines of asterisks—little stars that give no light.

Madame de Berg (née Countess Haseler) who wrote a memoir of the beautiful Louisa of Prussia, was mistress of the robes both to that afflicted queen, and to her sister Frederica, the late queen of Hanover (widow first of Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, and then of the Prince of Solms-Braunfels.) Her little book is an account of the last days of Louisa, and is a pathetic memorial of her patience and resignation. Among the six deceased queens of Prussia what a large amount is there of unhappiness! excepting, indeed, Charlotte, whose lot might have been considered peculiarly blest but for the one bitter drop in her cup, which to her taste spoiled all *else* that it contained, marriage with a man whom her heart utterly rejected. The history of these royal ladies casts forward no pleasant light of anticipation; but it must be remembered that the *causes* of their sorrows are not existent in the case of England's princess. Unlike Sophia Charlotte she is no disdainful and reluctant bride. She has not been imbued with the gloomy views of Sophia Louisa; she has not been deprived, like the ill-trained Sophia Dorothea, of a mother's watchfulness, but on the contrary, has enjoyed the advantage of exemplary maternal

care and example to fit her alike for the duties of wife, and of queen, and there is every reason to believe that Prince Frederick William is *much* superior in mind and manners to the rough William the I. and the dissolute William the II. Highly educated, unlike the ignorant but amiable Elizabeth of Brunswick, she has not the misfortune of being forced, as that despised queen, upon an unwilling husband. The afflictions of the beautiful Louisa were not occasioned by domestic circumstances, but by a peculiar combination of European affairs, *so* peculiar that it is scarcely possible to anticipate (at least for this generation) such a recurrence of them as would bring back the same calamities to the princely palace and the peasant's hut. As the rocks which shipwrecked the happiness of the Princess Royal's predecessors do not lie along *her* course, it may be hoped for her that "Victoria" will be known in history as the "happy queen of Prussia."

As for any advantage to accrue to England as a nation from this Anglo-Prusso marriage, that is a contingency, and can be but problematical. History records abundant and *trite* instances that a matrimonial alliance between states forms one of the most fragile bonds of friendship; nay, even sometimes gives rise to claims and encroachments that eventuate in hostilities; it can occasion the jarring quite as much as the fusion of interests. The policy of Prussia under Frederick II. was grasping and aggressive; later, it has been *cautiously* selfish, on the principle of "running with the hare, and holding with the hound." But "it is never too late to mend"; a better policy may be taught by the Times (we do not mean the Jupiter *Tonans*, but old Father Chronos and his progeny)—as we observed before, it is too early for speculations financial, commercial and political; so we conclude with good wishes to the young Bride of the Isles.

ART. VII.—NATIONAL EDUCATION.

1. *Essays upon Educational Subjects, Read at the Educational Conference of June, 1857, with a short account of the objects and proceedings of the Meeting. Published by Authority of the Committee. Edited by Alfred Hill, Barrister-at-Law: one of the Honorary Secretaries.* London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1857.
2. *The Twenty-second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, (for the year 1855,) with Appendices. Vols. 1 and 2. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by Command of Her Majesty.* Dublin: Printed by Alexander Thom and Sons, 87 Abbey-street, for Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1856.

The Statistics of the last Census showed, that out of 5,000,000 children in England and Wales who ought to be at school, 3,000,000 were absent, of whom only 1,000,000 were at work, leaving 2,000,000 on the streets *graduating* in crime. As to the few kept at home to assist in transacting household business, the number is too insignificant in a question of such magnitude to be taken into consideration.

The absence of children from such cause is generally only *temporary*, and therefore, the number is not included in the statistics above. But even admitting the number kept *permanently* at home, to be considerable, we are prepared to point out, before the close of this paper, a safe and simple remedy. The question is not, how shall we provide schools for the children in England and Wales—but how shall we provide children for the schools? His Royal Highness the Prince Consort, at the Meeting of the Educational Conference held last June, glancing at these statistics said, "Gentlemen, these are startling facts which render it evident, that no extension of the means of education will be of any avail unless the evil which lies at the root of the whole question be removed, and that it is high time that the country should become thoroughly awake to its existence, and prepared to meet it energetically. To impress this upon the public mind is the object of our conference. Public opinion is the powerful lever which in these days moves a people for good or for evil, and to public opinion we must therefore appeal if we would achieve any lasting and beneficial result. You, gentlemen, will richly add to the services which

you have already rendered to the noble cause, if you will prepare public opinion by your inquiry into this state of things, and by discussing in your sections the causes of it, as well as the remedies which may be within your reach."

England is a great manufacturing country—long may she continue so—her greatness as a nation depends upon the stability and excellence of her manufactures, therefore, nothing must be done which would clog her free action in this respect. English factories give employment to nearly 1,000,000 children. Neither the employers nor the parents would be willing to forego the benefits of the labour of these children. It would be worse than madness to attempt force, and while pounds, shillings, and pence are in the way, no persuasion will take any effect. Many schemes based upon the *voluntary* principle have been devised to meet the evil, but none are found able to cope with it—and we fear it will be so. Appeals to employers in these days of amazing competition, both home and foreign, to give up the 1,000,000 children in their employment, even for half the day to attend school, would if responded to, paralyze their efforts to compete with foreign manufacturers, unless another 1,000,000 of children were found to fill up their places during the remaining half of the day. It does not appear at all probable that the employers, as a body, could ever be induced by the most thrilling appeals to do any such thing—but even if they were, would the parents of the children now employed be satisfied with half their present wages? Doubtless there are some well educated and Christian men amongst the employers of England who would *sacrifice* a great deal to promote the education of their people; but it would not be fair to expect them to do so, as their losses would be pocketed by their less conscientious competitors in trade.

Many of the employers voluntarily tried the half-time system, as it is called, that is, allowing the children to school for half the day—but upon the best authority, the inspector of factories, Mr. Redgrave, it proved a failure, owing to the partiality of its adoption.

This gentleman, in his paper on the operation of the half-time scheme in factories, read at the Educational Conference, states, that—

The most prominent of the schemes which have hitherto attracted public attention are the half-time schemes and the certificate system.

To these a serious objection would at once be found in their disarrangement of labour. An employer may be willing to adopt the half-time system, but he will find many difficulties arise which are not easily surmounted. In the first place he will require twice as many children as he formerly employed; in the next place he has to satisfy the parents with half the weekly wages for the children's labour; the school fee has to be provided for; if left to the parents they will too often neglect and refuse to pay it; if the employer does not exercise some control over the school attendance it will be irregular, and the absences very frequent. But judging from the effect of the half-time system in factories, employers will cease to employ young children whenever the supply of children of a riper age is sufficient, and thus the half-time system would be valueless to the children. But the chief objection to a voluntary half-time or certificate system would be the partiality of its adoption. If parents presented a memorial to employers, urging them to adopt the half-time or certificate system, or to postpone the age at which children would be admitted to work, then we might reasonably expect employers as a body to concur in such a memorial; but can employers of juvenile labour in the present day, when competition in price is most severe, a competition frequently depending upon the cheapness of manual labour, can they be expected voluntarily to restrict the class from which the cheapest labour is to be obtained.

We repeat the question, "can employers of juvenile labour in the present day, when competition in price is most severe, a competition frequently depending upon the cheapness of manual labour, can they be expected *voluntarily* to restrict the class from which the cheapest labour is to be obtained?"—certainly not; and therefore the voluntary adoption of such a system must be partial so long as the employers of juvenile labour are of a *mixed* class.

At the final meeting of the conference, it was moved by Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, that registration, certificate, and prize schemes have been shown to have been applied in certain localities with advantage, and to be worthy of more extensive trial. Mr. Baines seconded, this resolution, which was supported by Canon Girdlestone and carried. It is now six months since a more extensive trial of these schemes was recommended by the conference, and where, let us ask, has a further trial been made? If all our employers of juvenile labour were Prices, Bagnals, or Winfields, then indeed the education of factory children would be secured. Such men do not require to be reminded of their duty to their people, but with employers of another stamp the case is different. Many of our employers have but one idea—how to make money, and nothing will ever, we fear, entice them to receive any other.

As long therefore as existing circumstances continue, so long is day schooling out of the question, for boys employed during the day. We might be able to persuade *all* employers to open night schools for their people, by a strong appeal accompanied with a plain proof that the opening of such schools would further their *own* best interests. We will allow one of themselves to make the appeal, and at the same time permit him to prove by his own practical experience, that it is the interest of an employer to provide for the education of his people. "I appeal then to the great manufacturers of our country, to men who are gaining thousands from the labour of young persons. Capital and influence have their duties; and whatever may be the distance between employer and employed, no elavation of the one can separate their common interests; and those who neglect the interest of others will themselves eventually suffer. If employers will educate their people, their labour and expense will return ten fold into their own bosom; they will give joy, and happiness, and prosperity, to many a dark and desolate home: they will as faithful stewards discharge their duties; and they will be blessed and rewarded by him who loves children, who wills not that one should perish, and who says, 'inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me.'"

"Your people became attached to you. They serve you from a love to you, because they feel you care for their best interests. They are not eye-servants. *We have no strikes, no disorder.* I have our lads at my house under perfect control; we can *trust* them, and look upon them all as members of our own family. Workmen and children prove, by their conduct, their gratitude; and though from knowing our own schools best, I could speak more fully of them did time permit, yet I could go away from them and refer to others in proof of the success which has attended (evening) factory schools." From the testimony of this gentleman (J. F. Winfield Esq. of Birmingham), it is plainly the interest of the employers to provide education for their people, and we require nothing to convince us that it is just as much the interest of the people. Now we know Bull won't allow his liberty to be invaded—Bull is right. But some people confound *Liberty* with *Licence*. No one enjoys liberty in one sense. So long as Bull has the enjoyment of that true liberty defined by Archbishop Whately, viz: "that every man should be left free to dispose of his own property, his own time,

strength, and skill, in whatever way he himself may think fit, provided he does no wrong to his neighbours," we think Bull will be satisfied, and from what we know of Bull, he is not at all an unreasonable creature.

Now when it is clearly the common interest of employer and employed, that education should be provided by the employer for the employed, and when, it is to be feared, some employers through ignorance or prejudice can never understand all their own interests, it certainly could never be called an invasion of their liberty to compel them to act in such a manner as they themselves would assuredly chalk out, if they were thoroughly enlightened as to their own best interests.

Surely it would not be unreasonable to say to the employers, you may have the labour of children up to 18 years of age, each day from 6 o'clock, A. M., till 6 o'clock, P. M., provided they are allowed an hour for breakfast, and an hour for dinner. You must register opposite the name of each child in your employment, the evening school which he attends, and you must forward a copy of this list to the Chief of Police in your district; the trouble won't be much, as the one list will probably last a long time. Of course you are to let the Chief of Police know in writing when any change takes place, so that he may have always a faithful copy of the one in your own office. As you will find abundance of lads willing to attend evening schools, until they shall have earned a "certificate of competency,"*

* The following might answer as a form of a Certificate of Competency:—

Having examined _____, we certify that he is able to Read a *newspaper* with *ease* and *intelligence*; to write from Dictation in a good legible hand, with correct spelling, any passage in Archbishop Whately's "Easy Lessons on Money Matters;" to work sums in Commercial Arithmetic, and to be familiar with Scripture History.

_____, Inspector of Schools.
_____, Teacher.

Name of School _____

Date _____

(Seal.)

The Certificate to be parchment, and a Register kept of those to whom Certificates were awarded.

It would be well to have Certificates of Honor issued to those passing an examination in English Grammar, Geography, and English History, in addition to the proficiency required above.

Certificates of a yet higher order might be given to such as passed an examination in the Physical Sciences as applied to the arts, &c.

you must employ no youth under 18 years of age, who does not attend a night school, or has not obtained a "certificate of competency." It is your own interest to observe these orders, and, therefore, you cannot in reason say it is a hardship.

Neither would it be unreasonable to turn to the boys employed during the day, under 18 years of age, and say, "now lads, as we won't allow your employers to break down your constitution by over working you, and as we wish to afford you valuable relaxation after your day's toil,* we require you to attend an evening school, until you have arrived at the age of 18 years, or until you have obtained a certificate of competency. You must attend an evening school every day, unless prevented by illness; in which case you are to produce a medical doctor's certificate to excuse you.

"If you neglect these injunctions, your employer cannot help dismissing you, and bestowing your situation on a more promising boy. You will derive much benefit and avoid much evil, by devoting your evenings to the cultivation of your mind. Not only will you be going the surest way to find happiness in this world, but you will be making a good preparation to secure eternal happiness in the world to come. Your parents, either through greed or poverty, sent you to work when you should have been sent to school, and some of your employers, if allowed, would force you into decrepitude by over-working you; so you plainly see that these regulations are devised with no other aim than the advancement of your own best interests, and as we know you will be good and faithful servants to your employers, and peaceable and useful members of the community, when education clearly shows you the common interests of society; we gain other objects not less desirable, while placing restrictions upon you, and your employers—restrictions which you yourselves would impose, could you see as plainly as we do the many lasting advantages which must accrue to both you and to all of us."

This measure would provide for the 1,000,000 children en-

* Mr. Horace Mann, urging the establishment of Evening Schools, writes—"It is indeed objected that the previous toil is likely to unfit the child for study; but a well conducted evening school might easily make study so attractive as to be in truth a recreation." We know from actual observation that this agreeable state of things is easily attained by a skilful schoolmaster not jaded with the toil of a day school.

gaged in factories and other employments. Now let us see how are we to reach the parents or guardians of the remaining 2,000,000!

Children not employed, (nearly 2,000,000!) are constantly idling on the streets, and are well-known to the police. These children, as we before said, are graduating in crime, and if not removed by death, will in time assuredly become a burden to the State, and a pest to society. Why not inflict a fine upon the parents for allowing society to be exposed to such danger? In mid-summer, if a policeman sees a dog unmuzzled, he immediately deposits a summons with the owner, who is fined by a magistrate for his carelessness in exposing the safety of the public. It is a parallel case. The one cure will do for both. Fine the parent, and in a few days all our *day* schools will be filled. There is no appeal like one to the pocket. There is no hardship. The State merely requires the parents to take proper care of their lawful charge, and while doing so, it only takes proper care itself, of its own lawful charge—society. Who will say this is an invasion of the liberty of the subject? Fudge:—we should not be surprised if we shortly hear people talking of a man's liberty being invaded by a police-man who collared him for innocently amusing himself firing at little boys bathing, or another taken up for letting mad dogs loose on the streets.

It is with these worthless parents that the law must deal in stern severity. In the Reformatory School Act, there is ample provision made to meet these cases. Neglected children, idling on the streets, may be taken up by the police, and the parents summoned before a magistrate who is authorised to send the child to a Reformatory for a number of years, and compel the parents to contribute a certain amount towards its support during the period of detention. Perhaps, a fine would be a sufficient admonition in the first instance. Of course the law to be put in full force, should the neglect be repeated. Parents ought to be responsible for the education of their children up to 18 years of age. Should a child through persevering assiduity, or natural talent, succeed in mastering the knowledge required, to deserve a certificate of Competency, no matter at what age, the certificate ought not to be withheld, or the parent held responsible any longer.*

* "By the Scotch Act, a magistrate may order any vagrant boy or girl under 14 years of age, found begging, or having no home or

Stray children might be sent to a work-house, or to a Reformatory School, and there supported by the State, whose duty it is to provide for them.

The chief of police in each district could very easily see whether the children were attending the schools, set down opposite their names, simply by addressing a query to the manager or teacher of the school.

We by no means wish to depreciate the power of the voluntary principle, when applied to objects really within the sphere of its influence, but this is plainly not a field for the successful application of the voluntarism.

Mr. Akroyd, M.P. for Huddersfield, in a paper read at the Conference, on the plan of Juvenile and Adult Education, adopted in the writer's manufactory, says the "Factory Act required the attendance of half-timers (children under a certain age), for five days in the week, and for three hours in each day. One-twelfth of the children's wages, to the extent of two-pence per week, might be appropriated to the cost of schooling; so that in fact the child paid for its own education. The principles of factory education might be thus briefly stated:—1st. The responsibility of the child's education rested conjointly upon the parent and employer, who were both equally benefited by the child's labour. 2nd. Compulsory attendance was combined with voluntary provision for education; thereby the religious difficulty was avoided, which had wrecked all other educational schemes."

settled place of abode or proper guardianship, and without lawful or visible means of subsistence, to be received into any Reformatory School, Industrial School, or other similar Institution, whether established by a parochial board or by an association of individuals, there to be detained at the expence of the parents, whom failing, of the parochial board of the boy or girl's parish, for such period of time as may appear necessary for his or her education and training, but not beyond the age of 15 years without his or her consent; power being given to the Privy Council's Committee on Education to grant pecuniary aid towards the erection of suitable buildings, and the annual expence of such institutions.

"By the British Act, a magistrate may direct any juvenile offender under sixteen years of age convicted of any offence punishable by law whose sentence shall be one of imprisonment for at least 14 days to be sent in addition to, and at the expiration of, his sentence to be detained at the expence of government (failing the cost being recovered from parents) for a period of not less than two, and not exceeding five years; with power to the Secretary of State at any time to order the offender's discharge." See Appendices I. II. to "Notes on Irish Reformatories," in present number.

"The parent had the choice of the school, and could, therefore, select one where the master might accord with his own religious tenets." These are wise provisions, which no future change in the Factory or any other Act should ever alter in the least. Our suggestions are merely an extension of these provisions rendering the operations of the Act more comprehensive.

Mr. Akroyd, in another part of his paper, writes:—"Employers bade high for children's labour, and this bribe outweighed the natural desire of the parent to educate his child. Should not then the law step in to protect the child from this cruel usage, *as it did already against bodily mal-treatment?* Was the mind of less consequence than the body? And whilst prevented from starving and ill-using the one, should the parents be allowed, with impunity, to stint and degrade, to hopeless decrepitude, the other, the noblest faculties which God has given to man? But where is the machinery to carry out the general education of the people of this country? If the short-time provisions of the Factory Act have worked well for factories, then there exists no intelligible reason why similar provision should not be applied to *all other trades.*" This gentleman then goes on to show that the *voluntary* efforts of benevolent men, to effect these objects, have proved, even under the most favourable circumstances, altogether unequal to the task. The Rev. H. G. Robinson, in his paper read at the Conference, says:—"The difficulties of the question are immense (that of providing children for the schools), and all that I, or better men than myself, can hope to accomplish, is to devise some palliatives for the evil complained of; perhaps to illustrate, in our schemes, the difference between theory and practice; possibly to demonstrate, by the very barrenness of our suggestions, the necessity for legislative interference." The Rev. gentleman is right. The Conference demonstrated a knotty problem, viz:—Whether the application of the voluntary principle, or legislative interference, or both, were the best calculated to remove the evil revealed to us by the statistics of the last census.

Lord John Russell, in his Educational Resolutions of 1856, proposed to meet the case by requiring employers of children, between nine and fifteen years old, to furnish half-yearly certificates of attendance at school, and to pay for their education. There is a wide difference between *imprisoning* a child in a school for a few hours a-day, and having him profitably em-

ployed in school for the same time. By requiring children to have a certain amount of useful knowledge before they are permitted to leave school, instead of requiring a certain number of years' attendance at school, would be an improvement. In the one case, the child would languidly put up his *sentence* like a prisoner as best he could; but in the other case, the natural desire to be free from the inseparable restraints of a school, would force him to apply himself heartily to the work, knowing that the sooner it was commenced and mastered, the sooner would his evenings be to himself. This would be his first notion, but when accustomed to the task, and had tasted the "pleasures of science," instead of leaving when the required amount of knowledge was gained, he would be found in the Mechanics' Institute, following up the education, commenced against his will, in the night school.

"The principle of a certificate system," writes Mr. Redgrave, "is that which I would support, as thoroughly sound in principle, as really effective for the children themselves, and as capable of adaptation, with the authority of the Legislature, to all classes of labour in this country. I look to the eventual establishment of the principle, that education is not mere attendance at school for one or two years, but that it is sound instruction gained in school or at home."

Compulsory education works well in other countries—why not work equally well in England? We anticipate the hackneyed objection, viz.—the circumstances of the countries are different. Granted: but why not frame an Act of Parliament suited to the peculiar requirements of this country? We admit the principle that the people ought to be left as much as possible to themselves, to provide food, clothing and education for their families. But then they are not to be left to themselves when in their ignorance and short-sightedness they are inflicting injuries both upon themselves and upon society.

The ablest men of the day met at the Educational Conference to discuss the causes of the evil, and upon a just appreciation of the causes, to suggest measures by which they may be removed. Nearly every one who read a paper, either broadly advocated legislative interference, or indirectly hinted at it. Is not this enough to convince us of the necessity of legislative action? At that Conference the intellectual power of the nation was concentrated, and brought to bear upon the solution of the difficulty.

In the suggestions we have thrown out for legislative interference, we have fully guarded against the two evils pointed out by Prince Albert, in his opening speech at the first meeting, viz. : "interfering with the labour market, and cutting into the quick of the labouring man's condition."

In Ireland the question is not, how shall we provide children for the schools, but how shall we provide *competent* teachers and *suitable* school-houses for the children.

The Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, at page 30, Vol. I., of their last annual Report to His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant (for the year 1855), give 5,192 as the number of schools in operation, but in the very same page it appears that there are only 5,124 in operation. The discrepancy is accounted for thus:—45 are in progress of erection, and the remaining 23 are suspended. We shall take the last number, 5,124, as correct.

At page 7, in the same book, the following statement occurs : "The following table shows that we had in our service, at the close of the year 1855, 5,042 Principal and Assistant Teachers (of whom 2,206 are trained), and the classes and divisions to which they respectively belonged."

Table showing the number of Teachers, Principals, and Assistants, in the service of the Board, on the 31st December, 1855, and their classification.

Principals.	Assistants.	Total.	Classification.
4,749	293	5,042*	{ 1st Class, 544 { 2nd " 1,219 { 3rd " 2,361 { Probationers 918

The number of schools being nearly equal to the number of teachers, it is to be inferred that there is only one teacher to each school; the exceptions are inconsiderable, as may be perceived from the small number of assistants (293), for in large schools there are sometimes five teachers, of whom four are assistants.†

The number of children attending the National Schools is

* "This number is exclusive of Teachers in the Workhouse, and Prison schools in connexion with us, and Teachers in Convent schools, no record being kept of their classification: the former not being paid by the Board, and the latter being paid according to the average daily attendance in their respective schools. Teachers of District Model Schools are also not included."

† In the Male National School, Westland Row, of which Dean Meyler is Patron, there are five masters.

538,246 giving an average of 105 children to each school, that is giving 105 children, on an average, to one school-master! This is rather a large number for one man to teach and train: the National-School Teacher is expected to do both. But the Commissioners have in their service 600 monitors and 347 work-mistresses to assist them, making a total of 947, which gives an average of only *one* teacher to every *five* schools. The number, therefore, is hardly worth considering. Well, but the average daily attendance of each school is only forty-nine, so that one teacher, instead of having 105 children to teach and train, has only forty-nine, this being the average attendance daily: granted—has he not to keep very *elaborate* school-accounts, a Register of the proficiency and progress of each child; a Roll on which the attendance of his scholars is to be marked; and various “queries” to be replied to from time to time. The school accounts alone, if properly kept, (and where is their use if not properly kept?) would give a teacher sufficient work for the day without attending to either the teaching or training of his pupils. We conceive this is not the legitimate employment of a schoolmaster. It may be argued indeed that the teachers of National Schools are so zealous that they do not attend to anything during school hours (from 10 to 8 o’clock) except the instruction of their scholars, and that their evenings are devoted to the keeping of the school accounts. We will show that this is not to be expected. The average salary paid to each teacher, including Board’s grant, school fees, and other local contributions, amounts to a little over £26 per annum.* National Education, in its true sense, we have not in Ireland; we have so-called National-School Teachers, a very high-sounding title indeed; we have so-called school-houses;† and we have 538,246 children in attendance,

* The “amount paid during the year to Teachers of all classes in salaries, gratuities, premiums, &c.,” is £102,439 1s. 5d., and the “total amount of local contributions” (school fees, subscriptions, &c.) is £31,904 15s. 11d. making a gross total of £134,343 17s. 4d., which divided between the total number of teachers of all grades, in the service of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (5,042) gives a little over £26 per annum as the average salary. See p. 339, Twenty-second Report, vol. 1.

† A person travelling along the main roads of the North of Ireland is seldom favourably impressed with the aspect of the school buildings which he chances to meet with. They are usually very plain, devoid of all architectural pretension, built of stone and mortar

but for every forty-nine of these at school, there are fifty-six not at school. Compulsory education seems to be required here, but until there are schoolmasters to teach, and school-houses to teach in, compulsory attendance must be postponed.

in the roughest way, and in some instances thatched. One cannot look upon them as they ought to be looked upon, as *signs* of a great permanent institution of the country, as churches, court-houses, hospitals, barracks, &c., are respectively viewed; and yet in other lands the fundamental laws upon education require that the school building shall bear an architectural appearance commensurate with its objects; and whilst it may at times approach the beauty and elegance of the church, it must always be far superior in style to structures that are raised for penal or protective purposes. In most parts of southern Germany and in Switzerland the schools are generally the finest buildings after the churches; and in Saxony one of the regulations of the National Chambers declares—"If there is any building which deserves the careful consideration of the architect it is that which is intended for the village school." In Austria the government exercises its control with great stringency to ensure reasonable elegance in the school houses. The people of France were so sensible of the importance of neatness and design in their school buildings that they expended between the years 1833 and 1843 no less than £2,000,000 in the erection of schools; and in England between 1839 and 1854 the sum expended by the Government in building, enlarging, repairing and furnishing elementary and normal schools, amounted to £650,849 : 11 : 1½. The schools built in continental countries and in England can generally boast of some architectural excellence; but of the 1,100 vested school-houses built partly by aid from the Commissioners, there are few that can take rank higher than second or third rate tradesmen's cottages. Some of our non-vested schools are most wretched cabins; however, like the vested schools, they are usually commodious and tolerably convenient, although, as a rule, deficient in shapeliness or design.

Rule 13, section 2, part 3, of the Commissioners' Regulations, although not discountenancing moderate ornament, does not favour it; for it simply says—"The Commissioners do not contribute to the ornamenting of school-houses, but merely to such expenditure as may be necessary for having the children accommodated in plain substantial buildings. If buildings of another description be preferred, the whole of the extra expense must be provided by the applicants." With this rule before them, Managers have, I fear, regarded it as a merit to make their schools as commodious, and, at the same time, as plain looking as possible; and this is done in a country in which immense pains are *properly* taken to decorate railway termini, banks, colleges, &c., and to beautify police-barracks and poor-houses. It ought not to be forgotten that form, magnitude, symmetry, and colour, have their influences upon the minds of children as well as upon the minds of adults, and that the house in which children sit out five hours upon every school day, at an age when the power of observa-

If the Commissioners advertised for *clerks* to keep school accounts, one clerk to conduct the accounts of one school, would the Commissioners find men qualified, for a salary of £26 per annum?

The Commissioners grant £46 a year to teachers holding the highest rank in classification: teachers of a lower rank are paid in proportion. Is it not natural for a man to exert himself in every lawful way to increase his comforts? If so the National-School Teacher, if he have no other prospect, will devote his mornings and evenings to study, in order to raise his classification, and so raise his salary. It is not likely that after toiling during the hours he must spend in the school, the teacher will through zeal take home as much work as would rob him of that time which could be turned to profitable account; and it is the opinion of many of the National School Inspectors that, instead of the teachers taking home with them their school accounts, they sometimes venture (through a pressure of real want, we fear) to prosecute their studies in their schools.

This does not argue a very high tone of morality amongst the instructors of the future men of this country, but iron necessity forces the stoutest hearts to yield, though at the same time only inch by inch, and that with the greatest reluctance.

The state of National Education in Ireland stands thus :—
A schoolmaster with a salary of £26 per annum has charge of

tion is keenest, is most likely to be ever afterwards through life, to them, a standard of architectural co-aptation. The poor peasant cannot be condemned for clinging to his mud cabin; if the State imparts knowledge to his child, in a house that being perhaps better roofed and better walled, is nevertheless, in point of comeliness or design, very little superior to the cabin at home. Our schools are erected for no fleeting purpose. They surely ought to have equal claim with the police barrack and bridewell upon the architect's care, and instead of being the hap-hazard edifices which they are, too often in no way favourable to the preservation of health, or the cultivation of taste and manners, they ought to be patterns of neatness and suitability to the country, and creditable evidences of the nation's interest in the education of the people."—*General Report of Patrick Joseph Keenan, Esq., Head Inspector, upon Schools inspected, and Teachers examined during the year 1855. Page 50, Vol. II., The Twenty-second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.* A most admirable document.

a school attended off and on by 105 children, or with an average daily attendance of 49. He is responsible for the moral and intellectual improvement of these 105 children, besides the keeping of records, which in themselves are sufficient to keep him employed for several hours of the day. His school is, in the majority of cases, wretched and ill-ventilated, where an atmosphere, fatal to the exercise of healthy energy in teacher or pupil, is rapidly generated. Let us not shut our eyes to these facts, however painful their contemplation. The schoolmaster is not able to get through the work required by the Commissioners. If he were well fed; if he were sufficiently qualified as to literary attainments, so that further study would cease to be remunerative; if his emoluments were sufficient to reconcile him to his situation, and prevent him from looking after more lucrative employments; if he were well trained and a master of the arts of teaching and school-keeping, we do not think he would be *forced*, as he now is, to means neither manly nor honest to retain his situation. One of two things a schoolmaster with the wretched salary of £26 per annum must do, either to confess his inability to get through both his clerical and scholastic duties, and thereby forfeit his miserable pittance, or put on the appearance of discharging these duties with efficiency. There are many ways by which a teacher may put on this appearance. He may falsify his accounts;* he may neglect his pupils to keep his school accounts, or neglect his accounts to attend to his pupils, the particular way being always regulated according to the character of the inspector. If the inspector have tact, ability, and a technical knowledge of school-keeping, and is alive to the responsibility of his office, doubtless such mean shifts

* Teachers have been detected acting thus, and as we understand severely punished by the Commissioners. We have no doubt that in spite of the vigilance of the Inspectors many such cases escape detection. All managers do not bestow that amount of attention on the checking of the statistical returns furnished by their schoolmasters to the Commissioners. There is no manager of a school in Ireland so ignorant as not to be in full possession of the vast importance of these numbers to the educationist. If they be inaccurate, the deductions drawn from them—deductions which concern a Nation's greatness—mislead instead of safely guiding those whose province it is to devise ample means to meet the requirements of the age.

must be soon detected and brought under the notice of the Commissioners. In general we are sure this occurs ; but what is the penalty ? the teacher is fined or dismissed : if the latter, his situation is generally filled by a man not anything better qualified, and the same impropriety takes place again.

To tell us there are over half a million of children attending our national schools ; to tell us our national schools number over five thousand ; to tell us there are in the service of the commissioners of education, 5,042 teachers, principals, and assistants, is to give us a very imperfect idea of the state of education. We have the children, but we want the schools, not the mere roofed masonry work sheltering half a hundred children under the tuition of a half-starved public servant, but the commodious well-ventilated, and judiciously furnished school-room, with the respectable teacher whose income derived from his school enables him to hold a position in society, at least equal to the importance of his profession ; whose income makes him feel contented in his situation, and so desirous of retaining it, that he will never through neglect, or dishonesty risk the animadversion of his superiors. Should he be base or foolish enough to do so, the income will be worth looking for, and eagerly sought after, by a superior class of men. The Rev. Canon Girdlestone very properly remarks, "there is as much difference between a *school-room*, and a *school*, as between a clock-case, and a clock. The clock-case may be very pretty to look at, and it might by the ignorant be assumed, that if the country were covered with such good-looking clock-cases, time must be kept. In order, however, to time being really kept, there must besides the case be the spring, and all the various wheels, axles, levers, without which there may be indeed a clock-case but cannot be a clock. In like manner, in order to the population being really educated, there must be not school buildings alone, but competent teachers, competent appliances for teaching, and a right proportion not merely of the infants, but of the youth of the country regularly under tuition, and for a sufficient time. In practice nothing misleads so widely as an ambiguous use of terms. The sooner we accustom ourselves therefore to distinguish accurately between school buildings and schools the better. The one is a mere shell and nothing more. The other is a shell with the kernel in it."

If competent teachers could be procured for £26 per annum, why do the commissioners of education in their own *Model* schools

grant salaries averaging £100 per annum to each schoolmaster? Mr. Kavanagh, in a report to the Commissioners, states that the principal teacher of the Clonmel Model School derives an income of £150 a year from his situation, and Mr. Kavanagh goes on to say that this salary is barely sufficient to remunerate this gentleman for the duties of his office. We fully agree with Mr. Kavanagh; and we venture to affirm that the Commissioners before granting this salary were quite satisfied, that the duties could not be discharged in the manner they required for a less expenditure. We are fully satisfied that until the schoolmaster's creature comforts are provided for by the state, (the people are too poor to support him) no man of respectable education, no man of business habits, no man with even ordinary capacity, will be found willing to accept the drudgery of school teaching. Yes, but his zeal will overcome these low animal desires, will they?—we doubt it. A man to have zeal, must be fed, and clothed and housed comfortably. We can scarcely admit, there may be even an odd exception but if there is, the number is very few; too few we fear to take into consideration. A tradesman's wages averages 25 shillings weekly—the National School Teacher's averages only 10 shillings; under such circumstances, what father will bring up his son to the profession of Pedagogy, when he knows a tradesman earns three times as much, and enjoys three times the comforts, and three times the respectability of a National-School Teacher? We hope we shall be distinctly understood. We are not advocating the cause of the National-School Teachers, but we are advocating the cause of National Education; and we emphatically deny that there can be anything like a sound Education in the broad sense of the word, until the main body of the literary instructors of youth be on a par, as regards efficiency, with the Teachers of the *Model* Schools, under the immediate control of the Commissioners, and there can be no efficiency expected in the Teacher until the money is laid down to purchase it. The Commissioners when they wanted competent Teachers, went through the length and breadth of the land searching for the best value, for the least money, and what is the result? Hear what the Commissioners say: "For the encouragement of the Teachers of our District Model Schools, we have decided, on the recommendation of our Head Inspectors, that after the completion of three years' service, the head master of each Model School, provided he shall have been re-

ported throughout that period as in every way faithful and efficient, shall be entitled to an increase of salary of £5; and that, under the same condition of continued faithfulness and efficiency, £5 shall be added in each succeeding year, until the salary amount to £100."

"We have further decided, that after the same term of service, and on the same conditions the salary of each head or principal mistress shall be raised 2*l.* 10*s.*, and that a like sum shall be added in each succeeding year until the salary amount to £55."

These teachers are allowed three-fifths of the school fees of their respective schools, £20 a year for a thorough servant, £16 for the maintenance of each pupil teacher, from which there is a slight profit, together with respectable apartments, coals and candle-light, &c.* Listen to the commissioners again. "The salary of an organizing master, including all expenses, except those of mere locomotion when removing from one district to another, is to be £150 per annum; and similarly, of an organizing mistress, £100."

We will now proceed to adduce further facts, taken from the "Blue Books" of the commissioners of National Education, as corroborative of the low ebb at which education is in Ireland. Excluding the 756 schoolmasters engaged in workhouse and prison schools over whom the commissioners exercise no control, there are 5,042 teachers in their service of whom a little more than one-half (2206) are *trained*, the remainder being no more fit to conduct schools with efficiency than shoemakers are to make watches that will keep good time. We are borne out in this observation by the fact, that only in teachers of the first or second class are efficient schoolmasters to be found. In the first table we inserted from the Report of the Commissioners may be seen the classification of the teachers at present in the Board's service. From this table we perceive that there are only 544 in the first, and 1,219 in the second class, making a total of 1,763 schoolmasters. In this number only are to be found competent teachers; and even of these, according to the reports of Head Inspectors, there are many whose schools do not warrant the conclusion that they are efficient; so that if we allow the majority (say 1000) to be really efficient in conducting their schools—and we fear that if we err, we err *above* the mark—

* See Mr. Kavanagh's first Report on the Clonmel District Model school.

and taking fifty as the daily average attendance in them we find that out of the half million children—pupils of our national schools—only 50,000 are efficiently taught, or, in other words, one in every 10 ! This is our reasoning, we shall be most happy to be persuaded that our deductions are not just ; but we shall require *facts* and *figures* and *logical* argumentation to convince us. This is a question which concerns every one. No man is safe while the education of the people is neglected, and therefore we expect the hearty co-operation of all classes in demanding of the State a yearly grant to the commissioners of Education commensurate with the requirements of the country. The present sum, £175,000, is not half sufficient. This at first sight may appear to favor increased taxation, but it is in reality far from so doing. To withhold an increased grant is false economy. Education is the great lever by which crime and pauperism are to be prevented—it is the lever by which criminals and paupers are re-cast through its almost omnipotent agency, and thrown out on the world useful members of the community.*

The Commissioners of Education have been training teachers since their first year in office, 1834, now nearly twenty-four years. They have during that time trained 5,105 masters, out of which number they have only 2,206 in their service. What became of the remainder (2,899) ? If they died, it was fearful mortality, greater than that of any other class in this country. If they emigrated or turned to other pursuits, it argues a rotten state of things. In a foot note, at page 168 of the second volume of the Commissioners' Report the falling off is accounted for thus :—they have died or left the service of the board.†

Their best teachers are admittedly those trained under the board. Let us just glance at them. We meet about fifty men, walking two by two, nearly every morning carrying their

* See "A Paper on the Irish Convict Prisons, Read at the first meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held at Birmingham under the Presidency of Lord Brougham, By Matthew Davenport Hill, Recorder of Birmingham. London: J. W. Parker and Son, 1857. Also the reports of the Directors of Irish Convict Prisons, and Capt. Crofton's pamphlets. Dublin. W. B. Kelly

† Report of Rev. Professor McGauley on the Central Model Schools and Training Department. This able document was drawn up whilst Mr. McGauley was an officer of the Board and is printed in the last Report.

school books under their arms. We made inquiry who these men were, and were informed that they were schoolmasters living at Glasnevin who were proceeding to the schools in Marlborough-street. Schoolmasters ! we exclaimed—impossible—these men are surely not men of education selected for the important duty of administering food to the mind of the rising generation. But we were wrong in our conjectures, they were schoolmasters attending a course of training under the Professors. As a body the police are far beyond them in appearance. We admit appearances are sometimes deceptive, but we think not in this instance. We never knew a sharp intelligent man who had not a sharp intelligent look. The schoolmasters in training are a heavy stupid looking body of men equally awkward in dress and gait, and foolishly staring everybody and everything which passes. Speaking of the uncouth appearance of these teachers to a friend some time ago, we were told not to take the “book by the cover,” but have the trouble to attend the examination of these men at the termination of the training course. We did so, and we still retained our first impression. The examinations were conducted with great tact and ability on the part of the examiners. No one, it appeared to us, was asked a question unless the examiner was confident of his ability to answer it. When a question was started those able to answer held out one of their hands, as a sign of competency. In many cases very few hands were held out—this gave us an idea of how much the others knew about it. Under such circumstances it was no wonder that every question proposed on the day of the “public examination” was answered by *somebody*. We give the professors great credit for their cleverness in concealing the weak points of the teachers ; but we would have been much more pleased had we seen a *few* teachers, say twelve, three out of each class, selected *indiscriminately* for *individual* examination in *all* the various branches of their calling. We conceive this would be a fairer test, although an imperfect one, yet we feel assured that the public would be more satisfied with it, imperfect as it is, than the unmeaning display of a show of hands, for let us suppose that every teacher present holds out his hand it is not likely that the professor who knows his *best* men perfectly well will pass them over and ask the question of one whose literary attainments are not of so high an order.

Although the schoolmasters in training know a good deal of

arithmetic and geography, and many other branches of learning, still we deny that they are educated men. The head inspectors generally complain of the ignorance of the schoolmasters examined by them. These gentlemen say, that amongst the best informed of the teachers their knowledge is purely technical, and this state of things must exist until the schoolmaster gets a position in society. There is a wide difference between learning and education. The National School Teacher's mind is nearly as undeveloped to-day as it was the day he commenced to learn the alphabet; the majority of them escaped from the plough, for which, if one may judge from the appearance of great muscular development, nature really intended them—but they are still in mind and manners ploughmen, because their learning never raised them above the society from which they sprung. We do not mean to imply that any amount of salary would qualify such men for a higher order of society, but it would induce men of a higher order of society to qualify themselves for the Teacher's Profession. At the same time we are fully aware there exists a class which is happily termed "Nature's Aristocracy." Such men are sure to find their level. We only wish to have the office of National Teacher open to a wider field of competition, so as to afford the Commissioners of Education greater scope for discrimination in their appointments of schoolmasters. We would be very sorry to see the son of a poor man excluded from even this present unwholesome competition—we only wish to make him exert himself strenuously in qualifying himself for a post, the emoluments of which would induce men of a higher standing in society to enter into competition with him.

We conclude our observations upon the salaries of our National School Teachers, males and females, principals and assistants, by recommending the State to grant an adequate sum to the Commissioners of Education for the payment of Teachers, so as to induce the best masters to remain in their service, and smart intelligent young men to qualify themselves as candidates for this most important office. In the next report of the Commissioners of Education we would be glad to see—

- 1st. How many masters in their service deriving incomes from their schools,
between £100 and £150 per annum.
- 2nd. do. between £50 and £100.
- 3rd. do. between £30 and £50.
- 4th. do. under £30.

We do not require any information about the salaries of the mistresses, as we think they are very well to do for some time ; but we should like the following table :—

5th. Number of Schools efficiently conducted.

6th. Number of children attending, do.

7th. Average salary of the Teachers of do.

If these numbers are not made out by the Head Inspectors, we cannot attach any importance to them, for reasons which we shall assign presently in our remarks upon the District Inspectors. We have great confidence in the Reports of the Head Inspectors for various causes. We have perused many of them very attentively from time to time. We have observed a striking unanimity of thinking in them ; their tone was sound, and they bore irresistible evidence of the great ability of their authors. Mr. Keenan's in particular convinced us of his claims to the rank of an educationist ; his practical knowledge of School-keeping ; his clear and distinct ideas of the art of conveying instructions, grounded upon a keen penetration of our national idiosyncrasies ; his just appreciation of those branches of education, bearing upon the practical pursuits of life—stamp him as eminently qualified for the high office he holds under the Board, whose discrimination in raising this gentlemen to his present post deserves the highest commendation.

All the Head Inspectors are tried men : men who had to prove themselves while discharging the duties of district Inspector—not so the District Inspectors. It is a great defect in the system that all Inspectors have not been appointed on probation of six or twelve months. For the first six months to be engaged in organising and conducting a School as like the ordinary village National School as possible. At the end of this period the school to be inspected by two Head Inspectors. This would test his qualifications. Unless a candidate for the office of district Inspector proves himself a schoolmaster of a high order, he is not fit to be appointed to inspect our National Schools. Such a searching examination would we conceive keep aloof the *protégé* of my Lord This, or Sir That ; it would infuse fresh life and vigour into the inspection department ; it would throw open such situations to the schoolmasters, and so produce honest rivalry among them ; it would give them something worth looking forward to as the

sure reward of efficiency: it would in fact compel such men as now get them, to graduate for the office by commencing to teach in the village national school. We may be told that the district Inspectors have the advantage of three or four months' training at the Normal establishment under the professors, before they are permitted to enter upon their tour of inspection. This is no test. This does not warrant the conclusion that the Inspectors trained at the Normal Schools are a whit better than the school-masters trained at the same establishment and under the very same men. As far as brains are concerned, a trained Inspector or a trained schoolmaster is a distinction without a difference. What technical knowledge of school keeping—the possession of which in an Inspector is simply indispensable—can a gentleman educated as a barrister acquire from a few month's training*? We ask the Commissioners of Education, as candid men, do they regard an Inspector as fully competent who has not been educated to the profession of Pedagogy? An Inspector who visits the convict depots in Dublin reports most favourably of the Schools attached to these prisons. The prisoners whose proficiency merited this report went to Spike Island Depot, and were examined by another Inspector of Schools who reported most unfavourably of their attainments. This is strange—Inspector contradicting

* Some of the National School Inspectors have been called briefless barristers. They may have been briefless, but if they be not brainless we see no objection to their appointment. Dr. Sullivan may not have been troubled with many briefs—does this circumstance disqualify him for his post as head of the Training Department? This gentleman's school-books have done more to diffuse education in Ireland than all the District Inspectors put together. In fact Dr. Sullivan's works have been mainly instrumental in making a name for the system of education pursued in the National Schools.

As a lecturer, Dr. Sullivan does not, like other lecturers we have heard, inundate his audience with a flood of brilliant eloquence, dazzling the imagination and captivating the mind with its irresistible charms, rather than appealing to sober reason, and seeking to convince by a series of well-timed and logical deductions; but Dr. Sullivan does what is more valuable, he goes through the subject of his discourse systematically, bringing his hearers gradually with him through a clear and well-defined analysis. He lays a solid foundation, upon which he builds his edifice, taking due care that each stone be laid firmly upon the one under it, so as to prevent the possibility of its slipping or ever giving way under another. When a roof is thrown over the pile, the building stands as if it grew.

Inspector—but it is easily accounted for. Perhaps Mr. Sheridan the Inspector who visits Spike Island never proved himself in the manner we have suggested. We place no confidence in any report of his until he is subjected to such a test. We would say the same of Mr. Coyle the Dublin Inspector, but we know he has earned the reputation of a high order of schoolmaster, and we therefore entertain no doubt of his ability.

The managers of National Schools in Ireland are principally Clergymen of various denominations, the great majority however belong to the Roman Catholic religion. This fact of clergymen being managers is most favourable to the inculcation of moral principles and the promotion of religious habits in the children. But these gentlemen being too much shackled in the management of their schools, makes it no wonder that they are found careless in co-operating with the Commissioners, when these Commissioners place such unmeaning and disagreeable restrictions upon them regarding Religious Instruction. Can anything be more ludicrous than a Teacher calling out aloud to the children that the time for Religious Instruction has arrived, and that any child whose parents object to his being present during this hour may leave the room. Again, the Commissioners insist that not a word shall be spoken of a religious tendency during the hours set apart for secular instruction, or a religious book exposed to view—no not even the Bible—although Educationists are agreed that no education is worth having which is not grounded upon Religion. In the best schools attended by the most respectable children there is scarcely a minute in the day that a child is not guilty of some mischief or some injustice to a schoolmate which requires to be checked, and which requires too that the sacred rules of morality, where the opposite course of virtue is strictly enjoined, should be gently whispered in the delinquent's ear. Why not tell a child every time he is guilty of an injustice to his schoolfellow, or deficient in forbearance, or is uncharitably viewing his neighbour's actions, that Christ has commanded us to "Love even our enemies," "that we should do to others as we would wish others to do to us," and that unless we observe these commandments we are really not Christians at all, any more than those who have no belief in our Saviour; that certainly many people call themselves Christians who are only Christians in name, and that to be Christians only in name will profit us nothing if we be not Christians in heart. Such teachings as this would familiarise children with

the heavenly precepts with which the word of God abounds, and give them the habit of living in accordance with the teachings of religion. But this teaching the Commissioners of Education will not allow, because they wish to sacrifice the ground-work of education to the principle, that there is a time for every thing, forgetting our Saviour's injunction that we should always pray. We know it would not be right for a Roman Catholic schoolmaster to inculcate religious precepts to children made up of Protestants, Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. But it is perfectly allowable for a Roman Catholic schoolmaster to inculcate religious precepts to children of his own communion, or Protestant teachers to those of his own persuasion. But the commissioners desire mixed education, that is children of all religious denominations to be taught in the same school under the same teacher. It appears that the realization of this mixed education is the darling object of the Commissioners, and so far as we can see they have spared neither pains nor money to effect it. One of their Inspectors, in a Report to the Board, says mixed education has been tried, tried too in the Catholic south, and it has proved successful, more successful than its most ardent supporters could have anticipated—we quote from memory, but we have given the substance of this portion of his report. We hope these ardent supporters, whoever they may be, may perceive as clearly as we do, the danger of such a system of education to the diffusion of true religion amongst the people, and its inevitable results—National infidelity. What can be the cause of this yearning after such a pernicious system? We suppose it is the truly Christian object of rearing the future men of this country, long since torn asunder by religious strife, as a peaceable community, to live in harmony with each other. The means employed in attaining this grand object are dangerous in the extreme, and we therefore demand that in a Christian Nation like this, measures antagonistic to the spread of genuine religion be at once laid aside never to be again adopted.

This is the "religious difficulty" so puzzling to statesmen because they want a solution impossible to be given. There is only one solution, simple, yet effective—and that is the adoption of "denominational schools" throughout the empire, England, Ireland, and Scotland. Let Roman Catholics have Roman Catholic schools, and Protestants have Protestant schools. Thus it is practically in Ireland. A Roman Catholic priest is

manager of a school—his schoolmaster is a Roman Catholic, and the children are all Roman Catholics—what Protestant would send his children to such a school if National School were a hundred times written on the outside of the building? Or what Catholic would send his child to a school conducted by a Protestant teacher acting under a manager of the same religion? To cap the absurd climax, what Protestant would send his child to a Nunnery National School, where Catholic prayers are said every time the clock strikes. The difficulty will be solved by the Commissioners drawing a pen through their rules relating to religious instruction, and leaving this part of the manager's duty to himself and the parents, who must be more competent judges than the Commissioners sitting in their office in Marlborough-street.

This change in the National System will not involve a change in the inspection department or in any other department under the board. There can be no objection to a Protestant or Catholic Inspector visiting a Protestant or Catholic School and reporting upon the amount and quality of the secular knowledge possessed by the pupils. Of course he may be charged with favoritism, but he is open to the same charge now. It is very easy to meet this difficulty.

We are opposed to separate grants as they would involve two boards and increased expense for separate staffs of officials, not to mention the endless bickerings of two boards acting in the one country, and the consequent train of evils. Denominational Schools are what the clergy of all religious denominations earnestly desire; they are what the people want—they will teach Christianity and, therefore, brotherly love—their establishment involves no change or increased expenditure—therefore we implore the people of these realms—we implore the parliament—we implore the government to sanction the immediate adoption of Denominational Schools throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, and let us hear no more in our public assemblies of religious difficulties meeting us at every turn of our inquiries as to a more efficient system of National Education.

There is just one other advantage which, it strikes us would, as a matter of necessity, arise from the adoption of Denominational Schools. The advantage is that the children would no longer be tacitly taught that religion is a thing about which we differ so materially as to be compelled to inculcate its truths at fixed hours and separate times, and that although God is everywhere

Faith is occasionally nowhere. Doubtless in Denominational Schools children will be taught that the faith of their particular denomination is the saving faith, but they will not have placed constantly before their minds that the child with whom they have at one part of the day studied, talked, laughed, and played, is taken off at another part to be indoctrinated in a creed which teaches that the late play-fellow is wandering away in the paths of error, and they will not feel that bitterness which too frequently arises as the little school-mates meet together after religious instruction, their young minds saturated with that dislike or terror which doctrinal instruction frequently produces. Besides if Catholicity, if Protestantism, if Presbyterianism, have peculiar means of acting upon the minds of their followers (and of Catholicity who can doubt it?) why should any one of these religions be deprived of the means of leading its young believers heavenwards?

Oh, it will be objected, why should we "encourage Popery?"—the question is not why should we encourage Popery, or Protestantism, or any other ism, but shall the people of Ireland be driven to educate their children in a manner of which they do not approve, and under a system trammelled by rules unknown in England to the Council of Education, galling to the people of this country, and distasteful if not reprobated by every section of Irishmen.

The National System of Education was a great boon to Ireland when first introduced, but the country has grown in intellect and in a thirst for knowledge since that period, and the full development of an intellect, as bright, and noble, and all-embracing as ever gave a glory to a nation, is retarded from its full growth by the adherence to rules and to a system, great when first designed, but calculated, now through want of expansion and through unadaptability, to become a curse even though it was once a blessing.

We turn now to another branch of the system:—At the Glasnevin Model Farm there are nearly 180 acres of land, statute measure, under cultivation. An immense sum of money out of the yearly grants to the Board of Education has been expended upon this farm in effecting permanent improvements, such as draining, fencing, and building. We are told the land is extremely high, being £3 : 19 : 3 per acre, exclusive of taxes. But does not its proximity to the Dublin markets make it as cheap as if the rent was extremely low whilst removed to a district more remote from good markets? The

land is worth the money or it is not—if it is not worth it, why squander public money which ought to be laid out with the same care as if the Board were embarking their own capital in a private speculation? This ambiguity in an official report is not without an object—“the rent is extremely high.” Whether is the land dear or cheap—whether is the land worth the rent paid for it or not—this is what we desire to know? But the farm is not self-supporting, although the greatest amount of skill is brought to bear upon the working of it; although an unlimited fund is at the disposal of the directors or managers, or whatever they are, who have charge of it; although the labour is the very cheapest, being paid for by merely supporting the labourers. If a private farmer in the same neighbourhood, paying the same rent and possessing the same advantages, should tell his neighbours that he was not adding to but diminishing his capital, who would believe him? or if there were any stupid enough to give credence to such a story, could they place any value in a combination of skill, unlimited capital, and cheap labour?

We may be told that the young men working on the farm are educated as well as fed, and that consequently their labour is very dear in place of being very cheap; in other words, the education of these young men swallows up the profits. But more extravagant still, we are told that this farm is not worked with a view to large profits, but to afford practical instruction in superior farming to the pupils. Did any one ever hear anything more absurd? Are there not grounds to suspect that there is a woful leakage of public money somewhere about the same model farm? and the sooner this leakage is discovered the better for the public. Hear Dr. Kirkpatrick himself, the Inspector of Agriculture, capping the climax—“And again it is to be borne in mind that about 90 acres (out of the 180) of the farm have yet to be thoroughly drained, and otherwise improved.” What are the officials in the model farm doing? The “red tape” and the “how-not-to-do-it” systems we fear are not wholly extirpated from our great official establishments as yet; but until the Legislature steps in we have no hopes of establishing a thorough reformation amongst them. Let us hope that the time is at hand. In a future number we shall devote a paper to a more minute detail of the working of the Model Farm.

If space permitted we could multiply instances of this sort of red-tapeism; it can hardly be otherwise while the official business of the Board is left to be transacted by their officers; men very competent we admit to discharge duties of a high order, but not duties properly belonging to a Board responsible to the Parliament and people for their acts. The Commissioners of Education cannot take that interest in their work, which men paid for their labour would feel. Which of the Commissioners takes the same interest in the working of the system, or knows as much about it as the paid Commissioner. If there were five men of the same standing in society, with the same stake in the country, and with the same salary as the paid Commissioner, assisting the business of the Education Board, we feel confident that the increased expense would be more than counterbalanced by the value of their services to the public.

At present we hear constant complaints of books and school-requisites being delayed for weeks; the wretched pittance *promised* to the Teachers, are rarely, if ever paid when due, and many a poor National schoolmaster sees his wife and children in want of necessaries, even though the price of them may be due to him, because the clerks in the Education office, Dublin, are not sufficiently watched and directed, and this whole unsatisfactory state of things arises from the fact that the enormous, well-designed, and well-intentioned scheme of National Education in Ireland is committed to the working of a staff of paid directors-in-chief, fully sufficient to work it thoroughly and ably twelve years ago, but totally incapable of meeting the requirements of its present widely-extended and National position.

We do, not for one moment impute incapability, want of zeal, or intellect, or anxiety to the resident Commissioner, or to his secretaries—but these three men cannot do the work of six—and moreover, they are hampered by the interference of unpaid Commissioners, most of whom make attendance at the Board a compliment, and bestow their countenance freely only when some party or sectarian object is to be served—or when some protégé, capable or incapable, is to be pitchforked into office.

We do not, and we cannot, allow this opportunity to pass without paying a tribute of respect to the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell, Resident Commissioner—he has done all that man could do to advance the system of National

Education in this country; his faults of administration have been as few as could be hoped for in the difficulties of his position; and with every temptation to be a partizan, or with every luring to back one party against another—he has ever been as upright as he is able, as able as he is well-intentioned. No officer ever had a more arduous post to fill—no man ever discharged the duties of an important office with more honor to himself, with more utility to the country, and with more integrity to the Government which he served, than has the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell discharged the duties of Resident Commissioner of National Education. This is high praise, yet it is but simple justice; the evils of which we have complained in the administration of the internal management of the Board do not arise from any fault of Mr. Macdonnell, but rather from the fact, that those duties which should be performed by Commissioners as able as Mr. Macdonnell, and as zealous, and like him directly responsible to the nation, are in many cases, through the want of sufficiency of Commissioners bound to discharge the duties of their office, compulsorily delegated to Secretaries responsible to nobody.

We contend, and have all through this paper contended, that Denominational Schools are those *now*, and will be for the future, those best suited to meet the educational requirements of the people of Ireland. We have been driven to this opinion by the fact that the National System of Education in this country is no more *national* than it is *MIXED*. Why then carry out any longer the dreary sham of schools open to all? Why teach the Catholic child that the cross on which his Redeemer died, can be banished from any society or excluded from any building to which Catholics resort? Why teach him that he may *not* pray always according to the custom of his co-religionists? and why tell him that the pictures, which awaken his faith, and enkindle his love of God, are to be excluded from his sight during the hours of school instruction? Why teach the Protestant child that he must lay aside his Bible and Book of Common Prayer save at the hours of religious teaching? Why teach the Presbyterian child that his catechism is to be taught to him only when he is shut out from all children of other creeds?

Will Catholic parents send their children to National Schools taught by Protestant masters? Will Protestants send their children to the Convent Schools if they can at all avoid it? Nay, even in the lauded Model Schools, out of Dublin, there is

but one, in a Catholic district, fairly attended by Catholics ; this school, to which we refer, is the Clonmel Model School, a school managed by a teacher, Mr. Terence Smith, which would do honour to any country in the world. But why is it attended by Catholics?—because Mr. Smith, besides being a most perfect, and accomplished, and thoroughly earnest schoolmaster, is also known to be a practical Catholic, foremost in all works of charity and goodness, not foremost in money, which he has not, but in noble Christian deeds of active benevolence. Take away this man to-morrow, and appoint a Protestant, or a doubtful Catholic in his place, and we venture to declare, that before one month, every Catholic child now attending would be removed.

The restrictions, necessary restrictions, imposed by the present rules, do not please the Catholics, they do not please the Presbyterians, and they exclude a vast mass of the Protestants. Why then should the state hesitate to throw open the advantages offered by the system to all, by declaring that each denomination shall have its own grant proportioned to the number of children of the particular denomination in the locality.

Thus those who desire the Bible could have it ; those who desire to teach its rules, without giving its text to young children, could teach according to their own views ; and then God's love could be taught to each child, and he could never learn, in the school, that there is anything in his faith, in the faith of his father and of his mother, that may not be proclaimed to all, and in every place. We do not write thus without authority. Take that *Tractate on Education* of John Milton, where thought lives in light more glowing than beauty ever shone in upon the canvas of Rubens ; take John Lock's *Thoughts Concerning Education*, in which all the energies of a logician, and all the lore of a scholar are concentrated upon his subject ; take every writer on Education, from Ascham to Newman, from Bacon to Whewell, and the reader will find that all but teach what Henry Brougham so perfectly expressed in the House of Commons, just thirty-eight years ago when he declared—

“ A Religious Education is most essential to the welfare of every individual. To the rich, it is all but everything ; to the poor it may be said, without a figure, to be everything. It is to them that the christian religion is especially preached—it is their special patrimony ; and if the legislature does not secure

for them a Religious Education, it does not, in my opinion, half execute its duty to its fellow-creatures."

If the people of Ireland considered that the National Schools gave a Religious Education, how came it, and how comes it, that the schools of the Christian Brothers are crowded by Catholics, and the schools of the Church Education Society overflowed by Protestants? If we ask the Christian Brothers to spare a Brother or two for any purpose save that of mere teaching, we cannot have him; we cannot have him for any purpose save that of mere, and pure, and simple teaching, and he cannot be spared, for all the brothers are required, and none can be had. The like answer will be given at the Church Education Schools, with regard to their teachers; and thus it comes to pass, and to be proved, that although there is a system called the national system, it meets the peculiar needs and wishes of no religious Irish community.

To tell us that all are satisfied because no particular creed of the three bodies into which Ireland may be divided, Catholic, Protestant and Presbyterian, refuses to attend the schools, is simply to talk nonsense, or still more interested sophistry.

National Education must be for the nation, for all; and if the nation will not have mixed Education, as all men know it will not have, the sooner the nation crushes the farce the better for all. When the Protestant Bishop of Ossory starts and supports his plan of Education, the Conservative papers are delighted; when it is stated that Dr. Denvir and Dean Meyler have resigned their seats at the National Board, the Catholic journals are in raptures, or in throes of half suppressed approbation! Could this be the case had either religion the slightest confidence in the National System? Should a truly fair National System depend upon the adhesion or disavowance from the system of any man of any religion, or order, or calling?

Doubtless, the friends of the present system of National Education in Ireland are extremely unwilling to adopt the Denominational school system. They feel with Wordsworth:—

"Even as a river,—partly (it might seem),
Yielding to old remembrances, swayed,
In part by fear to shape a way direct,
That would engulf him soon in the ravenous sea—
Turns, and will measure back his course, far back,
Seeking the very regions which he crossed
In his first outset."

But this is neither the feeling of a patriot, nor the spirit of a statesman. "Old remembrances" must give place to new exigencies; and the fear that any change "would engulf him soon in the ravenous sea," can never be permitted to stand between the fixed notions of any official, and the requirements of a people.

We know perfectly well that it will be said, "Oh! the country was satisfied with the National System"—but whilst we admit that it *was* satisfied with it, we know that it *is not* satisfied with it now, and so the whole question resolves itself into the plain query—Will the grant be paid to support a scheme pleasing no section perfectly, whilst by a modification of the rules, (safe and easy,) and of a regulation of the internal administration (cheap and facile), the National System of Education in Ireland may be made thoroughly and thoroughly acceptable to all in every phase of its well designed form—Religious, Literary, and genuinely National?

The scholar may dream of a perfect system of National Education; the Philosopher may form plans for it; the Economist may prove schemes for its ultimate success, even to rendering it nearly self-supporting, but above them all, and crushing them all, arises, and will arise, a National Will, more potent than dream, or plan, or scheme, founded on sympathy, strengthened in, (if the reader please) prejudice, and fostered in every association of childhood.

A foreign statesman might try to crush such things; an English legislature will endeavour to foster them as the grand National characteristics making this land a free land; as free in education as in thought and literature, and enabling us to feel how truly Milton wrote when he proclaimed, in words which have rung through all time since his—

"Lords and Commons of England I consider what nation it is whereof we are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to."

The following, from *The Philanthropist*, January 1st, 1858, may with propriety be introduced here:—

RAGGED SCHOOLS.

Should these schools be supported by government aid? **Hear** what red-tape says:—It is impossible to state in the official minutes, in formal and technical language, the class which should be admitted into Ragged Schools, and consequently there is a difficulty in granting government aid to Ragged Schools, without breaking down general principles. **Hear**, on the other hand, what common sense says in answer to the above question:—Here are some 20,000 children of a peculiar class, belonging to the State, requiring a peculiar instruction; here are peculiar schools, just adapted to give the instruction required; but only private and consequently uncertain means to support them. Government ought to and must step in to aid.

If Ragged Schools are so constituted as to be adapted to the hearts and requirements of a class hitherto neglected, but whose education is naturally important, and cannot in any other mode be accomplished, then the propriety of government aid is unquestionable; it should be determined—not by a definition of an almost undefinable class, but by the kind and degree of instruction imparted.

If it can be shown that schools of a peculiar kind, after a fair experiment by private enterprise, succeed in bringing under successful educational treatment a class whom none of the schools previously established have been able to get at, then clearly government aid should be granted. We apprehend that there will rarely be found within the walls of a Ragged School any scholar who is not in every sense of the word, an object of national care, nor for whose education there would not be a perfectly legitimate claim on the Government; nay, we are disposed to think that the Ragged Schools should take precedence of all others in government support. It is impossible to estimate rightly the results of the Ragged School system; but in years to come, when many of those, numbering nearly 20,000, who are now attending the day, evening, or Sunday schools connected with the Ragged School Union, shall take their places in society, they and generations yet unborn will trace their happiness and prosperity to the noble efforts made by Lord Shaftesbury and his abettors to snatch this peculiar class from impending ruin, and bring them under such training as shall prepare them for a future life, and qualify them to enter into the duties of this life, with some capacities for earning an honest subsistence. We cannot allow ourselves to doubt that, whatever official difficulty may lie in the way, Lord Granville will use every effort to complete the good work which has been effected in the department over which he presides, by extending government assistance to that class of schools, if well conducted, which, above all description of Schools, most specially require it. The deputation will, of course, not rest contented with what they have done, but should strain every nerve to obtain the assistance so properly sought for. Lord Granville admitted that they would have great weight with the Government: let them respectfully but firmly pursue their advantage; and let them rest assured that the good sense of the country generally will go with them, and that they will carry with them also the sincere prayers of all who know anything at all of the singular class in whose behalf they are so labouring.

QUARTERLY RECORD
OF THE
PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND
OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Whilst we are debating and drawing up bills for Transportation at home, it may be well to observe what our Colonists think on the matter. We take the following from the *Melbourne Argus* of January 29th, 1857 :—

A desperate attempt to escape was made by some of the prisoners confined on board the hulks at Williamstown, which ended in the death of two of the prisoners and one constable, and also, fortunately, in the capture of the whole party. The hulk President, or No 1, is appropriated to the most desperate ruffians, many of them the conditionally-pardoned men from Norfolk Island. One of these is known by the name of "Melville," but he is also called Thomas Smith; which of these may be, or whether either be his proper name I cannot say, but his notoriety has been chiefly acquired under the name of Melville. His accumulated sentences now amount to thirty-two years, which is, probably, more than his expectation of life. In the President the prisoners are shut up in strong cells, ironed with fifty pound weight, and chained to the solid timber of the ship. Melville had succeeded in persuading the gaolers that he was morally improved. He amused himself, or affected to amuse himself, by translating some part of the Scriptures into one of the native languages. The most desperate men are known to be the most prone to "go in for religion" as the readiest mode of "gammoning," and with Melville it succeeded, for he had been removed to the Success, No. 2, where the discipline is less severe, and the men are put to labour—a great alleviator of suffering in their case. A gang of prisoners had been on shore at Williamstown from the Success to break stone. At five p.m. about fifty of them were ordered into a launch to be towed back to the ship. More than a usual number were observed to crowd towards the bows of the launch, beyond which lay a small boat, manned by four boatmen (committed by the magistrate as refractory seamen), and attached to the launch by a tow-rope. When they got about 200 yards from the shore, the prisoners made a rush towards the boat, the prisoner Melville having drawn the launch and tow-boat nearer to each other by hauling upon the tow rope. At this moment Owen, one of the boatmen, cried for help, and Jackson, shipkeeper of one of the hulks, rushed forward through the prisoners on the launch. He was seized by Melville and thrown overboard. He swam back to the small boat, and was immediately

seized by Melville and held under water, but he escaped to give evidence. Owen Owens, one of the seamen, was also thrown overboard; he too regained the boat, and clung to her, but his brains were beaten out by one of the prisoners. Several other sailors were thrown into the sea, but were saved. One of the prisoners jumped out of the boat and was drowned. The prisoners being masters of the small boat, having cut the tow-rope plied the oars to seaward, and as they passed the last hulk the prisoner Melville stood up, kissed his hand, and cried out, "Adieu, Victoria, at last!" They were then fired at, and one prisoner was killed and another wounded. They were pursued by one of the boats from the hulks, and by the water-police boat, and were overtaken and captured after proceeding about eight hundred yards. One of the witnesses says, he saw Melville strike Owens with the hammer, but this he denies. He says he calculated the chances of escape as nine to one against him, and he gave the odds and lost. He says he is tired of his life, and knows that he must be hanged: but he seems very anxious to relieve himself from the imputation of being guilty of the cowardly act of beating a defenceless man's brains out. There are nine captured, all of whom will be tried for the murder of Owens, and they will probably end a life worse than death upon the scaffold. About a week before, a police-sergeant, M'Nally, was shot dead while attempting to secure a desperate bushranger named Turner or Smith, commonly called Gipsev Smith. Turner had been seen among the stores (shops) at Mount Ararat Diggings, and was traced by M'Nally and another policeman, named Moore, to a tent. Turner turned out, and was seized by the men, who are known as courageous fellows, and accustomed to that sort of work. They got Turner down. Moore at first quieted him by beating his head with the butt end of a pistol, but while M'Nally was putting the handcuffs on him he called out, "I am trapped; shoot the fellows," when shots came from the direction of the tent, killing M'Nally and wounding Moore. I mention this case—adding it to the Williamstown rush—to introduce the subject of the scheme of the British Government sending out convicts once more to the Australian continent. The view we of Victoria take of this matter is, that even if Western Australia on the one side, and Moreton Bay on the other, should desire the cheap labour of convict slaves, we, 800,000 people of the other colonies, ought not to be called upon to submit to have any part of this continent polluted by the presence of a fresh batch of Gipsev Smiths, Rocky Whelans, and Melvilles. England must, sooner or later, learn to submit to keep her own felon class; her statesmen must strike at the root of the evil by spreading education much more extensively than has ever yet been attempted. Judging from the specimens of Irish who are sent out here, their system of education has been most defective. Obedience to the priesthood seems to be the virtue which is to cover all other defects. The women servants are so ignorant of the minor decencies of life in the way of clothing, cleanliness, cookery, and domestic economy, that they seem to me to be almost unfit for the grand offices, which they are nearly sure to accept, of wife and mother. It is not surprising that the proportion of crime to population has increased within the last century, and I repeat that Eng-

land must not rely upon a free people like ourselves submitting to be made the recipients of the outcasts of British and Irish society. Let it not be forgotten that this colony has once beaten the mother country on the Convicts' Prevention Bill.

We turn now to our own shores, and find much to be thankful for in the details of the Criminal Statistics of 1855.

The usual annual criminal tables have been recently laid before Parliament, and contain tabulated statements of the amount and nature of crime during 1855. These are highly satisfactory, as they shew a decrease of offences compared with the return of previous years. Adopting the last two quinquennial periods in conformity with our former notices of these tables, we have the following figures :—

Years.		Number of Commitments.	Years		Number of Commitments.
1846	...	25,107	1851	...	27,960
1847	...	26,833	1852	...	27,510
1848	...	30,349	1853	...	27,057
1849	...	27,816	1854	...	29,359
1850	...	26,813	1855	...	25,972
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		138,918			137,858

It is necessary to state that a portion of the decrease in the number of commitments in 1855 as compared with those in 1854, is due to the power given to justices to punish summarily in cases of larceny. The law giving this power came into operation on the 14th of August, 1855. We are not informed what number should be eliminated from the commitments in 1855, in consequence of this law, in order to institute a fair comparison between the offences of that and the preceding year, but the law giving magistrates summary jurisdiction relates to the largest class of offences, comprising two-thirds of the commitments. This must be borne in mind with reference to the following remarks :—

The decrease in the last year has been general as the increase proved in the previous year; only nine of the English counties are exempted from it. In Middlesex, where the system of stipendiary magistracy would give the earliest effect to the new summary powers of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855, the decrease was 22·3 per cent.; in Surrey and Kent, where the same cause would be more partially in operation, the decrease was respectively 20·3 per cent. and 11·6 per cent. But that this was not the only reason to be assigned for such a marked decrease is seen by a reference to some of the larger manu-

facturing counties. In Monmouth the decrease per cent. was 20·2, Cheshire 1·92, Glamorganshire 11·2, Staffordshire 9·4, Lancashire 8·7, Warwickshire 7·6, and Yorkshire 4·0. The decrease was not, however, less remarkable in some of the agricultural counties. In Suffolk it amounted to 30·2 per cent.; in Dorsetshire, following a large increase in the preceding year, to 29·6; Berkshire 19·2, Somersetshire 18·3, Lincolnshire 17·7, Sussex 17·0, and Norfolk 13·4. The counties in which the commitments for trial increased last year were Bedford; Bucks; Derby; Durham, where the increase amounted to 21·9 per cent.; and Northumberland where it was 18·0 per cent.; Northampton, Nottingham, Southampton, and Worcester, in the latter county reaching 13·1 per cent. Such considerable fluctuations are unusual, and the increased commitments in the latter counties must be referred to other causes, not so apparent as those to which the increase or decrease of commitments in the greater part of England has been attributed. In the nature of the different offences committed there has been as much fluctuation as in their number; and it should be borne in mind that the prisoners tried at the Winter Special Assize were charged with the gravest description of crimes, the increase of which should be partly attributed to the extended Winter Circuit in 1855. *The offences against the person*, Class I., show an increase of small amount for murder and attempts to murder; but in malicious stabbing and wounding an increase of 88 per cent., and in manslaughter 14 per cent. In the unnatural offences the numbers have slightly increased. In rape and attempts to ravish there is a small increase. In bigamy the commitments are nearly stationary; and this offence is a curious illustration of the uniform recurrence of certain crimes. In the last ten years the average commitments have been 82·7, and the numbers have been in each of three years 83, two years 82, and once 84. The assaults have decreased 18 per cent., arising on the common assaults; the newly defined offence of assaulting and inflicting bodily harm having increased nearly 10 per cent.—*The violent offences against property*, Class II., have slightly decreased. Burglary, which for the three previous years had continued without variation, increased 7·7 per cent.; breaking within the curtilage 69·0 per cent., and shop and warehouse breaking 9·0 per cent., while in housebreaking, the largest offence in the class, there was a decrease of 23·5 per cent. The robberies increased 7·7 per cent.—*In the offences against property without violence*, Class III., the decrease on the year has mainly arisen. It amounts to 13·7 per cent., and includes every offence, except stealing fixtures and receiving stolen goods. In simple larceny it amounts to 18·4 per cent., larceny by servants 4·1 per cent., and larceny from the person 7·2 per cent.; these three offences being those to which the summary powers of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855 apply.—*In the malicious offences against property*, Class IV., there is a decrease of 3·2 per cent., which extends to the chief offences of the class, except the maliciously killing and wounding cattle.—*In forgery and offences against the currency*, Class V., the decrease is 5·4 per cent., arising on uttering counterfeit coin, and is for that offence nearly 9·0 per cent. On the other hand, the forging and uttering forged Bank of England notes in-

creased 37·0 per cent., and other forgeries 14·8 per cent.—In the *miscellaneous offences*, Class VI., there is a marked decrease of offences against the Game Laws, which, adding the large decrease on the previous year, is in the two years 54 per cent. In riots and breach of the peace the commitments are only half the number in the previous year. For perjury there is a considerable increase; and also in the proceedings against disorderly houses.

The result of the proceedings in the commitments in 1855 was as follows:—Acquitted and discharged, 5,967; detained as insane, 34; sentenced to death, 50; transportation, 323; penal servitude, 2,041; imprisonment, 17,397; whipping, fine, &c., 160. Of the above 50 capitally convicted, 7 of the 11 found guilty of murder were executed, two of whom were foreigners. Under the head of secondary punishments the operation of the sentence of penal servitude instead of transportation is strikingly shown. In 1851 and 1852 the numbers sentenced to transportation were 5,371, and in 1854 and 1855, 633 persons were sentenced to transportation, and 4,149 to penal servitude.

The *First Report of the Committee of the Calder Farm Reformatory School, in the County of York*, is now before us. Most of our readers are aware that this is the Mirfield School, established on Mr. E. B. Wheatley's land, and of which, as we have long since shown, he was so earnest, and zealous, and yet wise a promoter, and of which he is now one of the acting managers. The following are the Principles and Rules:—

I.—The purpose of the Institution is,

1st.—That such boys as the Managers shall approve, of those who, —having committed some offence against the law,—may be sent under the provisions of the 17 and 18 Vict., c. 86, “at the expiration of the sentence passed upon them as a punishment for their offence,” may be received therein, not for further punishment, but for reformatory education.

2ndly.—That such other boys who have formed, or are in danger of forming, habits of crime, may be received therein, as may be agreed upon between the Managers and those who send them.

II.—The object sought in the education of these boys is,

To restrain them from what is evil, and to encourage in what is good, by admonitions, rewards, and punishments adapted to their respective cases and characters;

To train them by field labour, and such in-door work as may be convenient, to hardy, industrious, and active habits;

To teach them the necessary truths of morality and religion, “endeavouring to form those truths into practical principles in their minds, so as to render them of habitual good influence upon their temper and actions, in all the various occurrences of life;”

And to give them such other elementary instruction as may guard them from the dangers of gross ignorance, and fit them to be useful members of society; avoiding anything likely to make them discontented with the humblest station of honest industry therein.

III.—The Committee are responsible for the current expenditure of the Institution, and for the general management. They may add to their number, may make, from time to time, rules for management, and may delegate such of their functions therein as they think fit, to two of their number as Visitors or Acting Managers.

Mr. Wheatley is an ardent follower of M. Demetz, and having examined closely the working of the establishment at Mettray, he and his friends resolved to open their school on the Family System. It is quite unnecessary to explain here what the Family System is, as this Record is meant solely for those who are acquainted with all the facts, figures, and phases of the Reformatory System at home and abroad. Suffice it to say that the Calder Farm School is a humble English Mettray. The Report informs us that—

In November, 1854, at a special adjourned Sessions held at Wakefield, a Committee was appointed to take measures for the establishment of a Reformatory School for the West Riding.

After several meetings and much enquiry and discussion, and after advertising repeatedly for a site, the Committee were unable to obtain one, no satisfactory answer having been received to the advertisement.

Several members of the Committee, unwilling that the matter should fall through altogether, then associated themselves, with a view to try what could yet be done.

Others joined them, forming together the Committee whose names are given above. They undertook to be responsible for the annual current expenditure of the proposed Institution; Mr. E. B. Wheatley, one of the number, offering to provide land at ordinary farming rent, and buildings at a rent, equal to four per cent. upon the outlay.

The place fixed upon is within a mile and a-half from the Railway Station at Mirfield, and easily accessible from all parts of the county. The School is placed on high ground, but sheltered by trees. It was apprehended that some inconvenience might result from the neighbourhood of a populous manufacturing district. After a year's experience, however, no material inconvenience has been found, the situation being itself sufficiently secluded, and separated from the populous part by the broad river Calder. It is hoped, on the other hand, that the proximity of the manufacturing and mining districts, in which there is a great demand for labour, and especially for the labour of the young, will afford facilities for placing out the boys in situations, without which reformatory action is very incomplete.

The buildings consist partly of some which were already in existence, and have been adapted to the purpose, and partly of new erections.

The School was opened November 22nd, 1855, with six boys from the Hardwicke School, in Gloucestershire. These boys were of the criminal class, but not under legal detention.

On the 15th December following, having been previously viewed by one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Prisons, the School was certified by the Secretary of State as a place of legal detention for boys sent under 17 and 18 Vict., c. 86.

The present staff consists of the Headmaster, a Schoolmaster, and a Labourmaster whose wife acts as Matron.

Mr. Robins has been Headmaster from the first. Of his zeal, ability, and fitness for the work, the Managers entertain the highest opinion. Nor can they omit to mention the gratuitous services of Mrs. Robins, who, though a sufferer from weak health, has brought to bear, with good effect, that softening and humanising influence which her sex can best exercise, on the rough untutored nature of many of the boys.

The present Schoolmaster and Labourmaster have only recently been appointed; but the Managers hope that both will prove efficient for a task which requires at once much of firmness and kindness, of patient endurance, and quick tact, of energy and self control.

35 boys have been received into the School. Of these—9 were not under legal detention. Besides the original 6 received before the School was certified, 3 other free boys have been received under special circumstances. Of these, 4 are in situations, and are doing well; 3 have been removed to other Schools; 1 left at his own request shortly after his admission; 1, brother to the last, remains in the School.

26 have been received under legal detention. Of these, 1 absconded a few days after his admission, and has not since been heard of, having probably gone to sea, where he had been before; 2 were removed by order of the Secretary of State, to the Roman Catholic School at Market Weighton; 23 remain in the School, making, with one free boy, the number 24, present December 31st, 1856.

Of the 35 received—1 has been convicted 7 times; 2, 6 times; 1, 5 times; 3, 4 times; 5, 3 times; 3, twice; 16, once; 4 never were convicted, but had formed vicious and degraded habits which would inevitably have led them to crime; 15 are *above*, 20 *below* 14 years of age.

A little consideration of these last figures will shew that the caution, before mentioned, against too rapid increase of numbers, is not without reason.

In some Reformatory Schools, it has been determined, and in some respects wisely, to admit no boy above 14 years old. Such a rule no doubt renders the task of Reformatory Education easier; and would have been adopted gladly by the Managers of this School. But they were unwilling to shut out any from that opportunity of reformation which the law allows up to the age of 16. They also bore in mind that consideration which has been so very well pointed out by Mr.

Baker, in Gloucestershire, viz., the importance, in checking youthful crime, of weeding out the ringleaders—the boys who are not only criminals themselves, but trainers of others to crime. Several boys of that class have been received. Indeed the Managers have not declined to receive any boy sent under legal detention, except when they have deemed it necessary, for the reasons before mentioned, to abstain, for a time, from any increase of numbers. They trust that they will be held justified in the exercise of that discretion, by the consideration that they have to deal with a large proportion of the oldest and worst class of young offenders.

The same consideration, with that of the comparatively short time which any of the boys have been in the School, will obviously justify them in withholding any sanguine expression of opinion as to their reformation. With such boys, reformation must be a work of much labour and time. But the Managers see much reason for hope, none for despair even in the worst cases.

They see much to hope in the fact that such boys, accustomed often to a life of lawless liberty, are found generally willing to remain and submit to a discipline, which, though based on kindness, is strict to severity in the correction of every fault committed in the School. The regular habits, and out-door work in which they are engaged, are, at first, irksome to boys, for the most part accustomed to a town life. The out-door work necessarily affords abundant opportunities for escape; the grounds being quite open, and only the precautions of an ordinary School taken against the boys going out at night, with vigilant care that they shall not be absent without its being known. Yet but three serious attempts to escape have occurred. The first, mentioned above, was successful. In the second case, the other boys gave information, and the fugitive was caught immediately. In the third, two boys who had gone in a foolish expectation of finding some concealed money, returned of their own accord as soon as they found themselves disappointed.

Care is taken that no unnecessary temptation to theft be placed in the boys' way; but, as they are employed in the kitchen and about the house, and frequently sent on errands, opportunities for it must constantly be open to them. Yet but one serious act of that kind has been known since the School began.

These facts, with the marked improvement apparent in those who have been longest in the School, the exchange of the sullen, suspicious look into a frank and cheerful demeanour, and the general readiness for active and not merely passive obedience, give the Managers and Officers much encouragement in an anxious and laborious task.

The prevailing faults arise from tempers which have been left utterly uncontrolled through neglect, stimulated by mischievous excitements, or embittered by brutal violence. These, rather than want of instruction, seem to have been the chief causes of crime among the boys received here. In degree of instruction and intelligence, they are probably equal to, if not above, the average of their age and station in life. Many of them have an energy and strength of character which—though misdirected hitherto—may yet, it is hoped, by the blessing of God on the means used, make them useful members of society, instead of being, as they would inevitably have become,

if left to run the course they had entered upon, a terror to it and a curse.

Industrial Schools, to which Mr. Thomson, of Banchory, and Mr. Alfred Hill, have drawn so considerable and well-deserved a portion of public attention, have at length been brought before the House of Commons in an English version of Dunlop's Scotch Act.

The bill of Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Adderley, and Mr. Headlam, to make better provision for the care and education of vagrant, destitute, and disorderly children, and for the extension of Industrial Schools, in which Ireland is somewhat interested, comprises thirty clauses. The fifth clause defines the objects of the bill to be—"Any child who may be found begging, or who may be found wandering in the streets, or sleeping therein at night, and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or any lawful or visible means of subsistence." Such children may be taken into custody by the police, and taken before a Magistrate, who shall cause enquiries to be made, and notice to be given to the parents or guardians, if any can be found. While such enquiry is pending, the child is to be lodged in the Workhouse, and if the parents or guardians of the child come forward and offer to give security to the amount required by the Magistrate, which shall not exceed £5, for the child's good behaviour during the ensuing twelve months, it shall be restored to them. But if security be not forthcoming the child may be sent to a certified Industrial School, and if the parents object to the School proposed by the Magistrate, and propose some other, the managers of which may be willing to receive the child, the order shall be for the school selected by the parents, on condition of their paying any difference there may be in the cost of sending the child. Children charged with offences against the Police Acts may be sent to Industrial Schools, and such as are known to be associates of thieves, or other bad characters, or to be of notoriously vicious or depraved habits, are to be sent to Reformatory Schools. The term "child" is defined to mean any boy or girl between the ages of five and fourteen years. Children may be discharged from school on employment being found for them, or security given, or on their attaining the age of fifteen. The cost of maintaining children in Industrial Schools is to be defrayed by the unions in which they were respectively taken into custody, but the parents, if they can be found, may be ordered to reimburse the union. Child-

ren absconding from school may be sent back by any Magistrate, or committed to any Reformatory School, the managers of which may be willing to receive them; and persons withdrawing children from school before their discharge, inducing them to abscond, or harbouring them, are made liable to a penalty not exceeding £5, which may be enforced and recovered under the provisions of the act for facilitating the performance of the duties of Justices of the Peace, with respect to summary convictions and orders.

Of the Government scheme of Transportation we shall here be silent, as we wish to "let the dead rest;" but of Sir George Grey's once contemplated Reformatories' Bill we must permit Sir Stafford Northcote to be heard. We quote from *The Law Amendment Journal* for March 5th, 1857, and in the report of the First General Meeting, of the Second Session of the National Reformatory Union, held February 28th, we find—

Sir Stafford Northcote, M.P., addressed the meeting on the Bill of Sir George Grey, and expressed an opinion decidedly adverse to it. The first objection that struck him was the permissive rating power, as regarded counties especially, where the parties, who were to decide whether the reformatory should be established and the rate imposed, were the justices, who could not be said to be invested with a representative character, as was the town council, by whom in boroughs the power was to be exercised. Another objection with the promoters of reformatories on the voluntary principle, was the system of management which under this bill would be introduced. The proposition was, that the justices should appoint certain of their body as visitors—not exceeding seven, nor less than five in number—who were to make all necessary regulations, appoint the officers (whom they would also have the power to dismiss), control the expenditure, and in short to carry on all the business connected with the management of these reformatory schools. Able and competent as the justices unquestionably were for the performance of their proper functions, they were many of them ignorant of the management of these institutions, which was almost a new science which had sprung into existence within the last few years; while others would have whims and prejudices in reference to it which might seriously endanger the success of the movement. It was also feared that having the rates to fall back upon, without any direct control on the part of the ratepayers, they might be disposed to incur an unnecessary expense in erecting showy buildings, and establishing full dress reformatory schools, instead of the plain and useful institutions which were required. It had been intimated by Sir G. Grey, in the speech in which he introduced his bill, that there would be a provision in it making it incumbent on the managers to admit all children sent to them by the magistrates, on the ground that, as the charge would be borne by the rates, the schools should be open alike to all. Those

who took an interest in the subject felt that the effect of this would be to destroy the system altogether. Every child that was brought before the magistrates and committed was not a fit and proper object for the reformatory school, or for that particular class of reformatory school which might be established in the locality. While there was an independent management, the members of which took a personal interest in the success of the institution, they would exercise a discretion as to the children who ought to be admitted—there would be a principle of selection—but the magistrates, if they had the whole power in their own hands, would probably send on the one hand incorrigibles, who would corrupt those who were in course of reformation, and on the other hand children who had not been guilty of crime, but whose only offence was perhaps throwing stones or ill-treating a dog or a donkey, and whose parents might be well able to take care of them, but were desirous of avoiding the responsibility. The consequence of this would be to crowd the schools with children for whom they were not suited, and to exclude those for whom especially they were provided. Both in regard to what the bill contained and to what was omitted (amongst which omissions he might mention a provision for incorrigibles, supposing Parkhurst not to be available for that purpose), the bill was open to serious objections, and was calculated to do harm rather than good. He would suggest, therefore, that they would thank Sir George Grey for his kind intentions, but represent to him that his bill would not accomplish what the promoters of the reformatory system were anxious for, and was calculated to put a stop to voluntary effort, which had been so far successful. In conclusion, he moved that a deputation of the members of the Union should wait upon Sir Geo. Grey to explain the objections they entertained to the bill, and to request that it might be withdrawn.

We have just received the Second Annual Report of that new curiosity of London, the Belvedere Crescent Reformatory and Ragged Factory. Our friend William Driver, the superintendent of this establishment, is one of those men whose minds are always being developed by the circumstances around them; men who are to be met in the manufacturing districts, or in Australia, but quite unknown about Downing street or Whitehall. Driver cannot bear to see any body idle, and thus the main rule of his factory is—"That it is of less consequence to prepare the lads for any special occupation which they are hereafter to pursue, than to train them to habits of industry upon some uniform system which shall be most profitable to the institution."

The working of such a principle is to be considered from a threefold point of view, as regards its effects upon—I. The future destination of the boys. II. The discipline and tone of the establishment. III. The remunerative capabilities of the industrial department. I. Its effects upon the future destina-

tion of the boys. It is enough to show that it does not prejudice their prospects ; for the whole subject of this future destination is one of no little difficulty, and still waits for a satisfactory solution. Four outlets the most readily suggest themselves to our notice : 1. Emigration. 2. The Army or Navy. 3. Apprenticeship to some trade. 4. Domestic service, or any other occupation afforded by employers of unskilled labour.

Mr. Driver shows that in each of these points his views are proved by success to be sound, and that the main point is well grounded, we learn from the Recorder of Birmingham, who, in a most interesting letter addressed to Mr. Driver, and printed in the *Report* tells us, "At Birmingham, my native town, it has passed into a proverb, that no artisan works at the trade to which he was brought up, and this is almost a literal truth. Some are forced to migrate to a new trade because their own is dying away ; others are attracted to those which are springing into existence by the hope of advancing their wages ; others, again, change their handicraft to one for which they are better fitted by nature, or which better suits their predilections ; and it is almost marvellous to observe how rapidly they acquire their new art, while the old one which they have abandoned often furnishes them with useful suggestions for the improvement of that for which they have forsaken it." Writing of the effect of the rule on the remunerative capabilities of the industrial department, Mr. Driver thus states his opinions :—

Every one admits the importance of endeavouring to make the inmates of Reformatories earn something considerable towards their own support ; at the same time we believe that no one now underrates its difficulty. Indeed it is an insuperable difficulty if we are to teach special trades under the superintendence of skilled masters. The very wages of these masters swallow up the greater part of the profits. Then they have not the same self-interested motive for making their pupils efficient which influences an ordinary master with his apprentice. These trades, too, being difficult to learn, and necessarily unremunerative till thoroughly acquired, preclude the notion of pecuniary profit, seeing that when a lad becomes useful for such a purpose it is time for him to be removed. As a matter of fact, he has generally even then to be apprenticed, and that is expensive. Possibly it would be desirable, wherever such a system is adhered to, that only one trade should be taught, and that the superintendent of the institution should himself be the workman who teaches it. Now that there is a centre of communication, some system might be devised whereby the metropolitan reformatories should each adopt a different

trade, Nevertheless, we think that the best solution of the difficulty lies in the giving up altogether of the notion of the indispensableness of skilled labour. The fact of the Shoe-black Brigade being self-supporting shows what may be done by a very simple process. The fact, moreover, of some workhouses clearing several hundreds a year by carpet beating alone, is even more to the purpose. It is quite conceivable that the very simplicity of the requisite processes may be one cause of their having been overlooked. We make these suggestions in the hope that we may set other minds thinking on the subject. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we have chosen our own course, one involving many difficulties, and shewing as yet more what may be done than what has been done. In former statements we have set forth the various obstacles we have had to encounter from the commencement. Circumstances caused us to change our plans just at a time when provisions became dear and public benevolence was diverted into other channels. We began, in November, 1854, to establish a kind of factory for the making of card-board, mill-board, and scale-board boxes, which were to be made and sold by the gross, and upon regular contract with wholesale houses. During the whole of last year, 1855, being without capital or experience, having no proper plant, and having to purchase materials at a disadvantage, we had to feel our way through many mistakes and misadventures. It was not till December that any satisfactory results were perceptible; indeed, from November, 1854, to December, 1855, there was, in the work department, a loss of nearly £100. Since December, owing to various causes, we have had upon an average only eleven of the inmates regularly at work. Among other causes was their having to do all the household work, and paint and whitewash into the bargain.

Here are the returns—

December, 1855	...	...	...	£43	6	0
January, 1856	...	...	...	32	18	0
February	...	...	...	39	1	8
March	...	...	...	31	8	6
April	...	...	...	31	13	8
May	...	...	...	21	4	1
Total				199	11	11
Profits				61	6	4

So that it is plain that not only will the loss just mentioned soon be made good, but that a steady profit will, in course of time, be secured.

It must, however, be understood that since December the superintendent has been subject to such constant and manifold interruptions that he has been unable fully to develop the capabilities of the work. For the last three months the boys have literally conducted it all by themselves, even to the cutting out. We hope to be able to relieve the superintendent from many of the duties which now press heavily upon him. We could easily do so if some practical men, who also

have *leisure*, would actively lend a hand. As it is we have ourselves but little time to spare. In Decem., when the superintendent was able comparatively to get into full swing, he realised £43 6s., notwithstanding he then worked with all the anxiety and doubt caused by a debt of £600. The part he has had to take in our efforts for diminishing this debt, now very considerably reduced, has constituted his main interruption. The repairs of the house done, and still doing, by himself and the boys, have been, and are, another serious interruption. Take that one month as a specimen of what can be done without capital, and it becomes apparent that, with anything like a capital, and full scope to conduct the business, the most important results may be accomplished. In this six months 137½ gross—i.e., 19,800—boxes have been manufactured. The striking capabilities of this sort of occupation are daily becoming so evident to us, and such favourable openings for engagements are now so constantly presenting themselves, that we feel that, if we can but make thoroughly smooth the path of our superintendent, we shall be able eventually to show the spectacle of a Reformatory Factory, simple, uniform, and profitable to a degree not hitherto deemed attainable.

We have on former occasions, and through various channels, adverted to the nature of the moral and religious influences brought to bear upon the inmates of this establishment, and therefore we do not consider it necessary to dwell upon them now, especially as this Report is intended chiefly to meet the eyes of persons tolerably familiar with the history and character of the Institution. Nevertheless, for the information of strangers into whose hands the Report may fall, we wish it to be distinctly understood that it is the aim and object of the superintendent and those who co-operate with him, to render the Bible, by plain, forcible, unsectarian exposition and application of its precepts and doctrine, the rule of life among the inmates of this Institution.

These observations of a most able and practical man are of vast importance just at present; in Ireland they are doubly important, as many of our friends are of opinion that Irish Reformatories, when we shall have them, must be like Irish Work-houses, very costly, and by no means self-supporting. Mr. Driver does not think thus. He tells us that the average number of inmates in his Reformatory is twenty-five; and he adds —“It must be borne in mind, in reference to the expenses of this Institution, that there is here the framework for a large establishment, and that a great increase in the number of inmates, whilst it will make no addition to many of the expenses, will, on the other hand, tell most effectually upon the profits of the work when once the industrial department has become systematically remunerative.”

Mr. Driver's Factory naturally brings us to the *Fifth Annual Report of the Bristol Ragged School, in St. James's Back, as,*

through Mr. Driver's attention, his bag and box making have been introduced instead of shoe-making. The Schools are proceeding most satisfactorily; and for the Night and Industrial Schools we have the following testimonials from Mr. Bowstead, the Inspector:—

Night, Mixed.—When I visited the Evening School, the attendance was accidentally very small, consisting of only 21 males, and 14 females. The completeness of the Master's influence over these was very striking; some of them had received their whole education in these ragged schools, having begun in the Day School, gone on in the Night School after getting employment, and continued to frequent it even after rising to confidential situations. I believe these Evening Schools to form a very valuable part of the Institution.

The Industrial Classes in this School continue to be efficiently conducted. I saw several boys who had been prepared for apprenticeship in these classes, and who are now doing well as tradesmen's apprentices. The sewing and knitting of the girls, too, are carried out upon a good scale, and in a very systematic manner, under a teacher whose duties are exclusively Industrial.

In this school all kinds of domestic occupations are taught. The following very interesting passage from the Report will be received with pleasure by most readers:—

The teaching of scrubbing and cleaning, under Miss Oxburgh, must also be mentioned with continued praise. It is one of the most valuable parts of our industrial training.

In connexion with this, the Committee are glad to be permitted to quote the following passage from a very interesting letter of M. De Metz, the distinguished and noble-minded Superintendent of the Colony at Mettray, addressed to a member of the Committee,—

"I have read with too much pleasure the Report of the interesting Institution to which you have devoted yourself, not to write immediately to congratulate you on the results obtained. I do congratulate you, with all my heart, on your having included in your work domestic occupations. It would be good to extend them as far as possible. At Strasbourg, where there is a special School for young servants, they are even taught cooking."

The Northamptonshire Schools are proceeding well and safely, and for his kindness in sending us every information needed, we feel deeply grateful to the Rev. H. J. Barton, the Rector of Wicken, Stony Stratford. In this quarter's Record, we must, however, content ourselves with an account of the Field Gardens, in Mr. Barton's own parish. We copy from the local papers:—

"At a meeting of the Northamptonshire Education Society on the 10th February last, Lord Henley in the chair, supported by Reverend Lord Alwyne Compton, the Venerable the Dean of

Peterborough, J. Nethercoat, Esq.; H. O. Nethercote, Esq.; W. Grant, Esq.; W. B. Stopford, Esq.; H. M. Stockdale, Esq.; H. P. Markham, Esq. Reverends—H. J. Barton, T. James, R. Isham, W. Thornton, H. J. Bigge, H. de Saumarez, J. Walker, P. H. Lee, W. Barry, W. Butlin, H. M. Stopford, J. H. Brookes, W. Thomas, and Thomas Hutton, &c., &c.

Rev. H. J. Barton read the following paper :—

The following brief statement contains the result of three years' experience in field gardening as applicable to schools in country parishes :—

The time appears to have arrived when the success of these elementary schools is no longer measured by the number of scholars, nor by mere intellectual attainment, but by those moral qualities and industrial habits, based upon religion, which will prepare the future men and women for the duties of their station in life.

It was with this view that the industrial element was introduced into the school in question, and it is believed (though we must always be careful in drawing practical conclusions) that the plan may be adopted with ease and advantage in any country parish where the clergyman is possessed of, or where he can hire, a few acres of land at a moderate rent, and with a clay subsoil.

The idea, or at least the hope of carrying it out with success, was first suggested by what is well known in this county as the Lois Weedon system of farming. Without going into the merits of that system, it may be sufficient to refer those who wish to try the experiment here spoken of to Mr. Smith's "Treatise on the profitable Growth of Wheat on a small scale," and to his recent work on "Green Crops." The turning point of Mr. Smith's scheme, as will be seen in the following statement of accounts, rests upon the fact that wheat may be grown profitably year after year upon the same land, and that, if there be clay beneath, it requires no manure.

The parish here spoken of contains about 3000 acres with a population of about 500. In the boys' day school there are about thirty scholars, and of these about fourteen are employed, with the labour-master, on the land; the labour-master is indispensable. Some of the advantages obtained by this system are, a more constant supervision of the boys, not only in school but out of school, teaching them the great duty of doing a fair day's work for a fair day's wages, making them not skilled workmen, but at least handy lads, fit to go into farm service; and above all, gaining an influence at that critical period when the character is receiving its first bias for good or evil. This may seem to imply that by this plan the boys are kept longer at school than they otherwise would be, but it has not proved so. The farmer wants them, and he must have them. What we want is to make them good honest labourers, and this we may hope to accomplish, and something more, by establishing night schools for the winter months, and thus keeping our hold upon them till the time of confirmation. Many will continue to attend afterwards.

The boys vary in age from eight to twelve. The ordinary school hours are more or fewer according to the field work, upon which they are never employed longer than two hours at a time, except in

harvest. The wages are at the rate of a halfpenny an hour, which is added to a savings' purse for clothing, and with this the parents are satisfied. The work, of course, varies according to the weather and the season of the year, but the school teaching averages not less than from three and a-half to four hours a day, and it is found in this, as in all other cases where it has been tried, that by the introduction of field or garden employment the child's mind is relieved and enlivened, and that he applies with greater energy to his mental work when his bodily powers have been invigorated by labour.

It has been proposed to make arrangements for giving the boys their dinner, and, if possible, to employ some of the girls in cooking it. But as this is not yet done, it is merely thrown out as a hint to those who may be able to accomplish it. It would certainly keep the children still more under the influence of the managers of the school, and the orderly meal and the grace before meat would be helps in moral and religious training, which would amply repay the trouble. The expense ought to come out of the earnings.

One other thing, which has been tried with much success, may be mentioned before proceeding to the statements of accounts, viz.—the hand corn-mill. It is one of White's, 226, High Holborn, who obtained the prize at the Crystal Palace in 1851, and costs £5. It grinds coarse flour only. But for those who eat brown bread it answers perfectly, and gives employment to the labour-master on wet days, and sometimes to the boys, two of whom can turn it with ease, and earn their wages at 5d. per bushel. It is also useful in the parish to enable those who choose it, on making a small payment, to grind their leased corn as well as the barley from their allotments for the pig.

It has been stated that we do not pretend to make the boys skilled labourers. But there are many kinds of labour which must be learned early to be done well. An instance of this occurs in the method of turnip hoeing practised on the Duke of Bedford's estates at Woburn. Any farmer would be glad to have this done for him, and any labourer could get extra wages for it, but very few can do it. Might it not be worth while then to have the boys taught this, which is light work, and only depends upon a "knack," and then they might go out with the labour-master to the different farmers in the parish, and earn considerable wages.

Another suggestion, and a still more important one, arises out of the rapid advance which is making in all kinds of machinery as applied to agriculture. Complicated machines are now becoming "Common Things," and a boy who could turn his hand to rectifying or mending, or even using them skilfully, would be sure to get on; and this must ere long form part not only of our intellectual but of our industrial teaching.

In the following statement it will be seen that the school farm or garden consists of four acres, which have been cultivated by one man and twelve boys from eight to twelve years of age. But looking at the number of hours' work done as compared with the number left upon the year, it will be seen that the same staff could, with ease, have cultivated six acres. The difference is accounted for by the

fact that they were frequently employed at extra work on the rectory garden and premises, particularly during hay-time.

The allowance for tools does not include the first outlay. The charge for manure is omitted, as in most cases sufficient will be produced from the stable and pigsty to meet the demand.

The return for green crops is below the average. Rates and taxes are included in the rent. And the 1857 hours mentioned at the end of the statement are spread over all but the wheat land. It must be borne in mind that the accounts are not given with that sort of accuracy which would satisfy a farmer as to profit, but merely to show that a clergyman, under ordinary circumstances, may make the experiment without loss. They are, in fact, given as they were worked out from the day-book by the labour-master (a common labourer himself), who, when parts of this statement were read to him in order to test its accuracy so that nothing might be overrated, said, "I ax your pardon, sir, but there is one thing you han't said enough about, and that is how well the folks be satisfied."

No notice is here taken of the grants from the Committee of Council, which, for schools under Government inspection, are as follows—an annual payment not exceeding half the rent, a grant towards the purchase of tools the first year, and a gratuity to the master in each year in which the instruction in industry is successful. This would add not less than £15 to the credit side of the following statement.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

EXPENSES, INCLUDING RENT, ETC.

A.	R.	P.	Days.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	2	0		Wheat—						
			45	at 2s., digging, hoeing, scari-						
				fying and thrashing.....	4	10	0			
				12 boys, from 8 to 12 years						
				of age, 576 hours, at $\frac{1}{4}$ d.						
				per hour.....	1	4	0			
				Carting home.....	0	10	0			
				Harvest.....	1	0	0			
				3 pecks of seed at 10s. per						
				bushel.....	0	7	6			
				Rent.....	3	0	0			
								10	11	6
0	2	0		Winter Beans—						
			36	at 2s.....	3	12	0			
				Rent.. ..	1	0	0			
								4	12	0
				Carried forward				£15	3	6

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A.	N.	P.	Days.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
				Brought forward				15	3	6
0	2	0		Potatoes—						
			32	at 2s.....	3	4	0			
				15 bushels of seed, at 2s.....	1	10	0			
				Rent.....	1	0	0			
								5	14	0
0	2	0		Spring beans and peas—						
			31	at 2s.....	3	2	0			
				1½ bushel of seed, at 5s.....	0	7	6			
				Rent.....	1	0	0			
								4	9	6
1	0	0		Barley and oats—						
			36	at 2s.....	3	12	0			
				2 bushels of barley, at 4s.....	0	8	0			
				2 bushels of oats, at 4s.....	0	8	0			
				Carting home.....	0	10	0			
				Harvest.....	1	0	0			
				Rent.....	2	0	0			
								7	18	0
								£33	5	0
				Total hours, 2,433.						

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	Total.	Difference.				
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Wheat—									
13 bushels, at 10s., sold for seed	6	10	0						
24 bushels, at 8s. 6d.....	10	4	0						
2 tons of straw, at £2.....	4	0	0						
				20	14	0	10	2	6
Winter Beans—									
20 bushels, at 5s....	5	0	0						
100 ditto Swede turnips, at 6d.....	2	10	0						
				7	10	0	2	18	0
Potatoes—									
95 bushels, at 2s.....	9	10	0						
16 do. diseased, at 4d.....	0	5	4						
				9	15	4	4	1	4
Spring Beans and Peas—									
8 bushels of peas, at 5s.....	2	0	0						
9 do. beans, at 5s.....	2	5	0						
				4	5	0	0	4	6
Barley and Oats—									
34 bushel of oats, at 4s.....	6	16	0						
16 do. of barley, at 5s.....	4	0	0						
				10	16	0	2	18	0
				£53	0	4	20	4	4

		£	s.	d.
	Brought forward	20	4	4
12 boys, from 8 to 12 years of age, 1,857 hours, at 1½d. per hour, spread over all but the wheat.....	3 17 1			
Tools, not including first cost.....	0 15 0			
			4	12 1
			£15	12 3

No deduction for manure, nor for extra carting.

The facts are of very great interest, and fully bear out the opinions long since expressed by Mr. Baker, Mr. Bengough, Mr. Wheatley, and by M. Demetz. They are of the chiefest importance to all who are about to found Agricultural Schools, and we have astonished some of our Irish poor-law guardians by presenting Mr. Barton's figures.

The *Second Annual Report* of the Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Association has reached us, and we find that the school frigate "Akbar" has been, as the *Report* states, "fairly got under weigh," and from February to December 31st, 1847, seventy-seven boys were received on board. The Committee state—

The "Akbar" is at present moored in the middle of the Great Float at Birkenhead. In clearing, altering, rigging, and equipping the Ship a large sum, as may be seen from the accounts, has been expended. The staff of superintendence necessary to the efficient carrying on of such an institution is also large; and this, together with the unremunerative nature of the work on board, necessarily makes the cost per head of such a Reformatory considerable. The staff at present consists of a Superintendent, Schoolmaster, Boat-swain, Boatswain's Mate, Cook and Steward, Carpenter, and two Seamen,—all living on board; a staff sufficiently large for the care of 150 boys, yet equally necessary for the number at present on board. Thus making the cost per head for the past year much greater than they anticipate in future years.

The "Akbar" being the first ship Reformatory, the Committee have, as might have been expected, incurred many expenses which the experience they have now acquired would have enabled them to avoid.

The boys are in two divisions—port and starboard watches—and each of these is sub-divided into forecastle-men, foretopmen, maintopmen, mizentopmen, after guard; each sub-division having its first and second part.

Each sub-division has a first and second captain over it, selected for conduct and ability from among the leading names on the tablet

of trustworthy boys, and these, together with the assistant purser's stewards, and cook's mate, all rank as petty officers among the boys, and receive a small weekly pay, which they are allowed to spend, under the direction of the Superintendent.

The Tablet referred to is a large slate hung up in a conspicuous part of the Ship, and on which are written the names of such boys as, by their conduct on board, the Superintendent considers worthy of honour and confidence.

The subdivisions sleep, mess, and are instructed and employed on the duties of the Ship *together*, so as to form a separate little company or family in itself, of whom the Captain is the head; and he is responsible to a certain extent for the conduct and work of the boys under his charge, whose confidence and affection he is to endeavour to gain, and prevent them from breaking any of the regulations of the Ship; but under no circumstances is he allowed to strike or punish a boy.

In all the arrangements, the most perfect order and discipline is endeavoured to be carried out, as nearly as possible to that of a Man-of-War, modified to meet the exigencies of such a School Ship.

The Time Table is somewhat as follows, the industrial occupations varying according to circumstances and weather :

TIME TABLE.

A M.

7 0.—(Alterable, according to time of year, as early as 5 a. m.)—Boys turn out; lash up and stow hammocks; clean persons and prepare for breakfast.

7 30.—Breakfast.

8 0.—Clean mess gear, &c., upper or main deck when requisite.

9 0.—Divisions, prayers, then one watch to school, the other to nautical instruction.

Noon.—Clear up and sweep decks, and skylark.

12 30.—Dinner.

1 30.—Turn all hands up; one watch to school, the other to nautical instruction.

4 0.—All hands employed at some remunerative work until

5 45.—Supper.

6 15.—Skylarking, reading, singing, mending or making clothes, according to day of the week.

7 45.—(Alterable, according to time of year, as late as 8 30. p.m.)—Prayers and bed.

The clothes are washed every Tuesday and Friday afternoon in winter, before breakfast in summer.

Every Thursday evening, before supper, boys have a tepid bath.

In summer one deck washed every morning (except Sunday;) all decks on Saturday; in winter each deck cleaned once a week.

It will be seen that each of the boys has at least two hours and a half instruction in school each day, except Saturday; one half of the boys being at school while the other half are being instructed in their nautical exercises and otherwise engaged in the duties of the Ship—each watch alternating morning and afternoon in this respect.

The course of instruction consists of the ordinary routine of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, and includes a short Bible lesson every day; the boys are also instructed by the Schoolmaster in the lead line marks and the use of the compass. The nautical

instruction consists of learning to knot and splice—to hand, reef furl, bend and unbend topsails—to reeve and unreeve running gear—shift yards, topmasts, and rigging—to make sails—to heave the lead—to make sinnet and gaskets—to draw and knot yarns—and to row in the boats. They have also to wash and mend their own clothes, and some of them are always employed with the carpenter.

On Sundays they are frequently landed and taken to the Mariners' Church in the Great Float, where their behaviour has always been perfectly orderly and attentive.

The Committee are very much indebted to their late superintendent, Lieutenant Veitch, whose loss they most deeply regret, for the very efficient way in which he organised and disciplined the boys, and co-operated with the Committee in their most difficult work. At the commencement of their work, as in all similar institutions, the difficulty was felt of having a number of untrained boys, accustomed to no restraint but that of brute force, sharp, and ever ready to urge one another into every mischief;—to subdue those outbursts of temper, the great failing of many of the boys, and to prevent that constant irritation and jarring occasioned by having so many restless spirits confined within the small space contained in a ship, was an irksome task, requiring much patience and judgment; this difficulty was well surmounted by the judicious firmness, kindness, and sympathy of Lieutenant Veitch with the boys: and on the 20th of December last he gave up to his successor 63 boys, all in a state of strict subordination, and ready to obey the orders of those who are over them with cheerfulness and alacrity.

The unwillingness of the boys to allow Lieutenant Veitch to leave on the day he resigned his command, and the way in which they clustered around him, offering to give up a week's provisions if he would only remain with them, clearly showed that he had gained their affections.

Commander Fenwick, R.N., succeeded Lieutenant Veitch as superintendent of the "Akbar," on the 20th of December; and from his previous experience in training boys for her Majesty's Navy, in the brig "Rollo," the Committee have every confidence that he will carry on with energy and efficiency the work which has been so well begun. Although he has been but a short time on board, yet he reports that out of the 1,500 boys who have passed through his hands, he has never had so little trouble with any set of boys as those on board the "Akbar."

The Committee would offer their grateful acknowledgments to Mr. Roper, their Honorary Surgeon, for the valuable services he has so kindly bestowed in an unwearied attention to the sanitary condition of the ship, and the health of those on board.

We rejoice at the success of this excellent adjunct to the prisons of a great sea-port, and we find that the police authorities willingly bear testimony to its usefulness and success. We gave in a former Record the history of the foundation of the Liverpool Reformatory Association, and for a more detailed account of the "Akbar" frigate we refer the reader to *the*

Authorised Report of the First Provincial Meeting of the National Reformatory Union, page 110, where will be found a very interesting paper by Mr. Brougham, entitled "The Liverpool Akbar Hull Reformatory."

The Liverpool Reformatory Association have purchased a house and grounds in Mount Vernon Green, and are engaged in fitting it up as a Reformatory for girls, and make a very urgent appeal for funds to the public of Liverpool. The Committee hope soon to be able to complete their original intention of opening a land school for boys.

Who, reading the *Second Report* of the Red Lodge Girls' Reformatory School, Bristol, will not exclaim—God bless you, Mary Carpenter, and who will not wish that some portion of the blessing may reach the generous heart of Lady Noel Byron. From Miss Carpenter's *Report* we condense the following interesting particulars :—

Statistics of the School for the year 1856.

In the School Jan. 1, 1856, 21 ; received during the year (including 3 waiting in gaol for admission), 41 ; in the School Dec. 31, 1856, 52 ; Discharged, 10 ;

Those discharged are thus accounted for :—

Emigrated to America under suitable escort, 3 ; removed by parents, 4 ; become an Assistant in the School, 1 ; in service and doing very well, 1 ; sent to service, but returned to her home as unsatisfactory, 1—10.

This last was a volunteer, above the age of admission, and was received for a few months at the earnest request of the Chaplain of a gaol. Though the conduct of the girl was, for a time, satisfactory, the result showed that permanent good is not likely to be effected by admission in such cases, while evil is done to the whole School.

The Educational Condition of the 41 Girls admitted in 1856, may be thus stated :—

Tolerable facility in reading, and some power of writing	7
Able to read very easy books	14
No education...	20
	—
	41

This and similar statements can, however, give no idea of the *absolute ignorance* existing in most of the girls when they first come,—an intellectual and moral darkness, which prevents them from being able to derive instruction for some time from the general lessons given in the School ; and this depth of ignorance is particularly observable in all matters pertaining to the study of the Scriptures, or knowledge of them. The state of many of these girls cannot be conceived by persons familiar only with schools for the labouring classes. When, at the same time, we learn that there is scarcely any child who does not profess to have been at a school, and that many of the

most ignorant are said to have been some years in occasional attendance at one, it is evident that this fearful "lack of knowledge" of all pertaining to the temporal and eternal well-being of these children, is due, not to the want of *opportunity*, but of *will*. Such facts naturally suggest the question, whether society has not a right to insist that children shall not thus rise up to be an injury and a burden to it; whether, therefore, legal authority is not needed to prevent such children from growing up in utter ignorance and vice. This is more evident when we learn the parental condition of 41 girls admitted in 1856 :—

Having both parents living	...	...	...	...	23
Father only	...	...	...	...	11
Mother only	...	...	...	...	5
Both parents dead	...	...	...	...	2

 41

The two orphans had suitable homes had they been willing to remain under control, and in no one case does it appear that simple destitution prompted to crime; nor does any one of these girls indicate other bad propensities, than those necessarily arising from neglect and vicious associations. But when we learn that of the convicted girls at Red Lodge, 2 fathers and 8 mothers, either are, or have been, themselves in prison, being nearly one fifth of the whole; that very few of the parents bear a respectable character; and that in the case of most, the delinquency of the child is directly traceable to their misconduct;—it can hardly be doubted that much expense and trouble would have been saved to the country, had measures been adopted to compel such parents to bring up their children in the way they should go.

Since the School has been full, continued applications for the admission of girls have been received from Magistrates, as well as in volunteer cases, which it has been necessary to decline for want of room. During the year many others have been refused admittance, from being above the age prescribed by the rules of the School. It is hoped that such facts will hasten the establishment of other Reformatories for girls, so great a need of them existing. Besides these, continued applications have been made by parents for the admission of their children, who were uncontrollable by them, and had contracted thievish habits. Some of these cases appeared so urgent that it was difficult to refuse them admission. Yet a regard to the good of the School, and the difficulty of influencing the children themselves when received under such circumstances, required it; it was deemed best to advise the parents to warn the child that on occasion of the next theft she would be committed; that she would be taken before the Magistrates, sent to prison, and sentenced to a long detention in the School, the parents contributing according to their means. The advice was kindly received, *but in no one case has the girl been again a candidate*. The law for young offenders is not then *practically* felt by such parents to be a "premium on crime." Nor is it felt so by the very bad. A poor girl, nine years old, was last summer received into the School as a volunteer, after three months imprisonment, at the

earnest request of Mr. T. Wright. An older sister, versed in crime, was in a Refuge. After about a week, the mother, a woman of notorious character, came from a distance and removed her, disregarding the most earnest expostulations. In less than two months the child was apprehended and sentenced to a detention of five years in the Red Lodge, the mother still using every effort to regain possession of this child, and of a son at the same time sentenced to a Boys' Reformatory. The poor girl still retains the baneful effects of the scenes of vice she had been in, and has said with tears, "I wish I had never left the Red Lodge."

In the GENERAL DISCIPLINE of the School, it is attempted to combine strict and steady controul, attention to order and regularity, and firmness in maintaining obedience, with that true love for the children, and evident desire to promote their comfort and happiness by all reasonable means, which can alone call forth a return of love in them, and inspire at the same time both respect and confidence. They are taught that they are not placed in the School as a punishment, but to save them from those consequences which must inevitably follow a continuance of their former mode of life. As the Superintendent only is acquainted with their former delinquencies, they have now the opportunity of beginning with a new character, which their own future conduct must maintain. They are charged never to speak of their past misdeeds and associations; so much progress has now been made in this, that while in the early period of the School, girls gloried in their former shame, recounted with exaggerations their ancient transgressions, and frequently indulged in what may be designated "gaol gossip,"—it is now felt by the School to be a serious offence for any one to allude to the past history of any girl, and the gaol is only occasionally referred to with shame, in private interviews with a teacher, as "the place I came from." This kind of treatment of course entails more difficulty than a system of stern repression, but it is already attended with far better results. Though a principle of steady obedience has not gained that firm footing which it is hoped that it will have in another year, and though the order and regularity of the School is not what we may expect that it will ere long become,—the children *love* their teachers, and have an evident confidence that even punishment inflicted by them is intended solely for their benefit; the "public opinion" of the School is strongly in favour of the right and good; and though abundant opportunity of absconding has been presented by the country walks which they take two or three times every week, their attendance at public worship twice every Sunday, and the errands to a short distance from the School on which trusty girls are frequently sent out alone, no case of absconding has, occurred during the year.

The INDUSTRIAL WORK occupies a considerable portion of the older girls. Above a dozen are now between the ages of 14 and 16; these are especially occupied in washing, cooking and house-work, while even the youngest children, a large number of whom range from 8 to 12, take some part in the general care and cleaning of the house and furniture. As washing is taken in, a small contribution

towards the expenses of the School has already been made by the girls. Considerable progress has been attained in plain sewing and knitting, and many orders for articles made in the School have been satisfactorily executed. The girls take great pleasure in these occupations, and many who came utterly ignorant of them, now feel a pleasure in being able to do them well, spending all their leisure time in making small articles of skilled handiwork.

It will be observed in the accounts, that what may appear a considerable sum has been paid to the girls during the year, as a portion of the proceeds of their work. This plan has been adopted to teach them the value and the rights of property, and to let them experience the pleasure of obtaining money by honest labour. Though these earnings are deposited in the hands of the Matron, yet each girl is at liberty to dispose of her own in any way she pleases, subject of course to the Matron's discretion and advice. At first their earnings were chiefly spent in sweets or toys, but this was succeeded by purchasing materials for little articles of fancy work made in their play-time to send as presents to their friends, and latterly the girls have been particularly anxious to purchase books, or the school hymn books, to send to their relations. All breakages or injury of clothes or furniture, are paid for by the girls, and this is a great protection to the property of the School.

From what has been already said, no great **INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS** would as yet be expected. Not one-fourth of the girls can read with any ordinary fluency, and full one-half of them are quite unable to derive any pleasure from their own study of books. All their other acquirements are proportionally rudimentary. Yet many have in a few months made so much progress, and those who have been a year in the School show such satisfactory results of the teaching given, especially in their knowledge and application of Scripture, that good hopes may be entertained of the fruits of another year's training. The irreparable want of early education, and the unregulated mental as well as moral condition of these children, will always prevent the status of these Schools from even approaching that of good National and British Schools, nor indeed is this to be desired, as much of the information there given would be next to useless here. But a regular culture of the mind, the communication in the most scientific and therefore efficient way of good elementary knowledge, with such varied useful information as may enable the child to read with intelligent pleasure the many valuable books which are now placed within the reach of the labouring classes,—all these should be unsparingly and ungrudgingly given in these Schools, for they are important elements in the re-formation of misguided faculties, and, indeed, without them the child will not ever be able to read with an understanding heart the Book of Life. A regular school training is therefore given to the younger children, many of whom already show great intelligence and pleasure in instruction.

The **MORAL CONDITION** of the School is on the whole satisfactory, very much so, if we consider the previous lives of most of the inmates. Theft and dishonesty of all kinds, are, of course, closely guarded against, and the least indications of them seriously noticed.

Very few of the girls exhibit any natural tendency to stealing, and when any instance of it does occur, it is regarded with general indignation by the others. Of deceit and lying it is more difficult to correct them, and much progress in this respect cannot be anticipated until there has been time for the conscience to be completely awakened, and until the child *loves* to obey God as well as *fears* to offend Him.

To a friend much interested in the success of the Reformatory Movement in Ireland, we are deeply indebted for the following admirable account of an establishment known but to a few in Dublin—Saint Joseph's Industrial Institute:—

NOTES ON ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE.

The great object of the Reformatory movement is to prevent the increase of crime, by removing the young, and we may say innocent victims of vice, whom poverty or ignorance has betrayed, from the influence which an unrestricted communication with the more depraved classes of our population, usually the inmates of our prisons, naturally exercises. "Who can touch pitch and not be defiled?" says the Apostle. And judging from the consequences which have hitherto resulted from the old system of prison discipline, we may safely affirm that that which was intended to be a punishment of guilt became a most fertile source of crime. The young and susceptible, whose only offence was, perhaps, that he had, to use the language of the association, "prigged a wiper" for the purpose of procuring a meal, was heedlessly thrown amongst old and hardened villains, whose lives had been a succession of great crimes; daily seeing the carelessness with which these men looked upon the gravest violations of the law, daily hearing the most obscene phrases, the most blasphemous expressions uttered by some, and received with applause by others, the child just at the age when the mind is most open to impressions of good or evil, chiefly the latter, for human nature is prone to evil, and arrived at a period when the imitative faculties are most keenly alive to the influence of the example of seniors, readily received these impressions, imitated these examples, despised religion, scouted morality, and those who entered but partially corrupted, were, when the time of their confinement had expired, returned upon society wholly depraved, so that instead of that trite exhortation which is sometimes found written on the front of our bridewells, "Cease to do evil, learn to do well," there might, with more truth, be inscribed on their portals this terrible warning, "Who enters here leaves hope behind." At length this evil became so patent that government could no longer ignore its existence, and a system of solitary confinement was adopted, which to our minds has rather increased than diminished, though in another way, the evil it was intended to correct, for, however useful the original design, if carried out in its integrity, might have proved, still from the ignorance and brutality of those to whom its execution was in some cases committed, it has but served to produce hypocrites and maniacs. For the confirmed felon, finding that religious professions are most acceptable to the chaplain, and will

most conduce to his own ease, adopts readily a sanctimonious seeming, and fools the inexperienced though zealous clergyman to the top of his bent; witness, Uriah Heep, and Littimer. Another evil of this system is, that the prisoners are so well fed that many, after they have been released absolutely commit a crime for the purpose of being again incarcerated, rather than endure the hardships and privations to which the honest and laborious lives of our poorer fellow citizens are usually exposed.

Again, so much secrecy was maintained with regard to the internal management of these establishments, that cruelties of a most frightful character have been perpetrated, many of which have, it is now known, terminated in depriving the unhappy victim of reason, sometimes too of life.

Some more profound philosophers who had studied this branch of political science, not through the distorted medium of red tapeism and routine, but by the light of Nature, which never deceives those who seek her aid in sincerity and truth. Some such conceived the project of educating the juvenile portion of our criminals, and instead of fixing more firmly the roots of vice, to seek to eradicate them from a soil in which they could not naturally be strongly implanted, and in their place to sow seeds of virtue which would in good time produce a crop of inestimable happiness. And thus inspiring them with a love for goodness, and instilling into their minds a knowledge of the value of honesty and integrity, render them desirous of regaining that position in society which in an unguarded moment they sacrificed. In France this system was inaugurated by Mons. de Metz, and in England an association has been formed for carrying out this laudable purpose. But while thus anxious for the welfare of our juvenile criminals, we should not forget that there is another class of our juvenile population which has equal if not greater claims on our attention; we mean those poor children, who, being thrown upon the streets through the poverty of their parents, are often exposed to those temptations, the yielding to which has made others criminals. Every one must have seen in our streets hundreds of these poor Arabs, half clothed, and wholly ignorant, paddling about in filth, and dirty, each one of whom, if properly handled, might become, instead of a curse, a blessing to the country, and instead of being a candidate for the house of correction, might become a most reputable member of society, sharing in all the duties of a good citizen, lightening the burthens of the country, and shedding around him the blessings of successful labour and a happy home. Many a man owes the affluence he now enjoys to the meagre instruction of a charity school, and the impulses there given to honest industry. But if such advantages have been derived by the children of the male sex from these schools, how much greater would be the advantages to society at large which an institution for the promotion of female industry and female education would produce, and how much more necessary for them is a careful and judicious training? Thousands of young girls grow up to womanhood in a state of the most helpless and hopeless idleness, a burden upon their humble parents, and of little use to the community—indeed the contrary, considering that they are liable, from the combined influences of

idleness and poverty, to fall victims to the machinations of those who may seek their ruin. And when we consider that they are destined to fill, in the wonderful economy of the Creator, the honourable position of mothers, whose duty it will be to teach those children with whom God may bless them, and to transmit to their offspring the impressions they themselves have received; how necessary is it then that the female juveniles should be taught not only to read and write, but also that the education of their hands should not be neglected? An institution like this would be a great help to the reformatory movement; in fact in time it might be found partially, if not entirely, to supersede all necessity for cure by establishing that still more salutary and certain check on crime, prevention. In Rome there is an asylum which is divided into three departments, the preventive, the prison, and the reformatory. In the first department are included those who have not been convicted for any offence, comprising about thirty or forty young persons, whose ages range from four years to more than twenty years. Several of these are orphans, others the children of parents confined in prison for various offences, and some are children of wicked parents, from whom they have been rescued by being placed in this asylum. These children and girls are taught to read and write, to make up accounts, to be expert in plain and other work, and it is scarcely necessary to say, that their moral and religious training is the first care of their gentle and affectionate guardians. The second class includes the prisoners, and the third the penitents. The whole establishment is presided over by the Nuns of the Order of the Good Shepherd. The first is the branch to which we wish to draw attention. Such an institution would be entitled to, and we are sure would obtain, the generous support of the benevolent citizens of this most benevolent city. In Cork industrial schools have been established which have obtained a great success, so great that in five years nearly three thousand pounds have been paid to the children. But this is a trifling matter in comparison with the amount of good which its payment has effected, in the habits, feelings, and modes of thinking of those hundreds who received it in small wages ranging from a shilling to five shillings a week. The beneficial results which have arisen from this system have made themselves apparent in the growth of frugal and saving habits, in the manifestation of *individual independence*, and even in the enjoyment of actual prosperity; for many of its pupils have become teachers at competent salaries, others having saved £3, £4, £5, and upwards, have emigrated, and have been established prosperously in life by the exercise of this talent which was developed by the industrial institute. In Dublin an effort is now being made to carry out this highly praiseworthy object.

The kindness of a friend has furnished us with the following details relative to the origin and progress of an institution of this nature established in this city, under the title of "Saint Joseph's Industrial School":—

*To the Editor of "The Irish Quarterly Review".**February, 1857.*

DEAR SIR—Knowing the very great interest you take in the reformatory and industrial movement, I am induced to submit to you—in the hope that it will be found worthy of your attention—the result of a visit I recently had the pleasure of paying to the Saint Joseph's Industrial Institute. The courtesy of that generous and high-minded lady to whose exertions this institution is mainly indebted for its existence, whose skill and efficiency, aided by the zealous and indefatigable disinterestedness of her talented coadjutors, have achieved for it a fair prospect of success, has enabled me to glean the following particulars of its origin, its operation, and the objects for which it was established. The institution is divided into two distinct departments, a laundry, and a school. The former commenced work on the 8th September, 1855; the latter was opened on the 29th April, 1856.

At first these ladies entered upon this mission of charity in a small house on the Richmond Road, but subsequently (June 1855) removed to Clarence-street, off Summer-hill, where a house was erected affording facilities for drying, and large enough to furnish lodging to the girls engaged in the Laundry. The object for which this institution was founded was to provide a home for girls of the most destitute class, who should be supported by washing done in the establishment, and likewise with the view of collecting together very poor children, and enabling them to pay the rent, or support themselves at home, by teaching them a kind of work easily learned and much in demand.

The Laundry was commenced with 20*l.* advanced by an establishment which engaged to give washing to the Institution, and the School, with 20*l.* given for industrial purposes out of the surplus fund of the Catholic Cemeteries Committee. Further subscriptions have since been received, consisting of 20*l.* from an anonymous benefactor, and various small sums contributed at various times by the personal friends of the lady foundress to the amount of forty-three pounds, making in all but one hundred and three pounds—a trifling sum—for the sustaining of this most arduous and most laudable undertaking.

Independently of the washing already referred to, work was supplied to the school altogether by friends until lately, when some small orders were executed for houses of business in Dublin. Orders were received from a large house in Cork, and an establishment in the North; but as, from the smallness of the funds at their disposal, they were unable to retain the services of the mistress they had at first engaged, these orders remain unexecuted. This impediment, however, has been removed by the charity of a gentleman, who advanced a year's salary for the purpose of giving them a fair start.

There are eight girls in the Laundry, varying in age from 16 to 22 years. On entering they are at once put under wages. Some earn 4*s.*, others 6*s.*, a week. A matron (whose two children attend the school) is paid 5*s.* per week, and supports the three upon this sum, the trifling earnings of the children, and a trade in blacking, which she manufactures in 'after hours.' All these—in addition—are lodged in the house, and have use of coals and candles. In the school are twenty-six children—including the matron's two—the

greater number from 8 to 15 years of age. They have all been earning—even without the aid of a workmistress—from 6d. to 3s. 6d. per week. On my enquiry how long it was usual for girls to remain in this establishment, I was informed that the principle of the school and the laundry, being voluntary attendance, the length of time for their remaining could not be prescribed, but depended in a great measure, indeed wholly, upon the girls themselves. However, it was gratifying to learn that since the commencement five girls have been provided for, and as yet but one who left the Laundry has returned in search of employment, and she, as there was no vacancy in that department, took work in the School.

There are at present 10 interns attached to the Laundry, while 24 externs attend the school; six or eight individuals, whom former respectability and present poverty prevent appearing at the School, are permitted to have work at their own houses.

There are on an average about fourteen pupils every day. Of course those in the Laundry, having their homes in the Institute, are always on the spot.

On one day of the week on which religious instruction is given, all are obliged to attend. Some are allowed to be absent on certain days, when they are obliged to help at home, to assist in their domestic duties, or the particular branches of trade in which their families may be engaged, as washing, basket making, minding children, &c. Some are too delicate to sit long in a school-room, and many from want of shoes and proper clothing have to be exempted in very bad weather.

The management of the Institution is entirely directed by a lady, whose experience eminently qualifies her for the task, having formerly founded in Cork, industrial schools which are now completely self-supporting, and whose untiring zeal and unconquerable energy in the cause of the poor entitle her to the respect and reverence of those who desire to promote the social welfare of the humbler classes of the community, and the national prosperity of Ireland.

Assistance is given, as I have before observed, by a number of charitable ladies, who give their generous aid in the school, and superintend the details of various separate departments. One, for example, ordering, collecting, and paying for the work; another teaching sewed muslin, and undertaking sale of work when finished; others again, teaching reading, writing, &c., or giving religious instruction on stated days. Six ladies are engaged in this manner, and visit the school every day. A person, to whom a small stipend is paid, attends during school hours to hear the children's lessons, and to keep order when the visitors are absent.

The children receive no food as there is no fund for the purpose of supplying it; neither are they clothed, except on occasional instances when old clothes are contributed by friends.

The interns have their wages paid in full, and provide their own meals. This system they like best themselves, and it has been found they can supply themselves with greater economy, often depriving themselves of milk and other additions to their meals for the purpose of saving 1s or 1s 6d a-week, than it was possible for the management to do. Meat is never supplied except when provided by benefactors.

The girls endeavour to clothe themselves out of their wages, but it has been found necessary to give them help in this matter on their entrance, when, as a rule, they are in rags. It is proposed, however, that at the distribution of prizes, articles of dress should form a prominent feature in the rewards allocated to those whose good conduct and proficiency entitle them to premiums. The Matron is with them at all times, assembles them for morning and night prayers in her own room, and being a conscientious and intelligent person, it is anticipated she will continue to exercise a beneficial influence upon their characters and conduct.

There are four orphans in the Institution, three of whom are fatherless, the rest have both parents living. There are only two instances known of parents having married again; none are believed to be illegitimate. The parents in every instance are Catholics. One girl has been in the poor-house; none of the others have got such relief, nor, as far as is known, any of the parents. The girls and children, with scarcely an exception, have attended school. By far, the greater number have attended convent schools.

The grown girls know catechism very well, and even the youngest can repeat some chapters. As proof of religious knowledge it may be mentioned, that of the whole number, twenty-six assembled on the 29th of last December for general communion.

Nearly all read and have some knowledge of arithmetic; some write, but none well. A few who are quick at learning are taught grammar and geography as a reward for general good conduct and progress.

The chief aim is to gain the children, to teach them habits of regularity and industry, and in collecting them together to acquire over them a moral influence which must be felt in their homes, and sow the seeds of virtue and self-dependence for after years. At present there are no regular examinations, so that the progress of the children within a limited period cannot be accurately stated.

The Laundry in its present extent is completely self supporting. Money is wanted to push on the School. Great inconvenience was felt on account of the want of a Mistress. For a long time the children were trading upon the knowledge gained from a respectable girl, who was engaged in that capacity for a few weeks after the school opened, but whose services the want of funds obliged the management to dispense with. This inconvenience has since been—as I have before stated—removed, and there is every prospect that if the public will sustain those noble ladies in the efforts they are making for the public advantage, the school will become a self-supporting institution. The Cork Industrial School—which the lady who established the Saint Joseph's Industrial School originated—had many difficulties to encounter in the commencement. But the indomitable energy of the foundress triumphed over every obstacle, and placed it in a position of respectability and self dependence. The commencement of every undertaking is attended with great expense, but particularly an undertaking like the present, for capital is wanted to pay for the work as soon as it is finished. A crochet collar, for instance, is made up of various "little stars" and "bits"

done by several children, these are joined together by quite different hands, and the collar is then washed, bleached, and made up in saleable style. This process takes time, and the little child whose sixpence worth of "stars" is interwoven in this work of art, as well as the more advanced maker of bits who has contributed labour to the value of some shillings to the same article, cannot be made to wait until the article has passed through the final process by which it is rendered marketable. Prompt payment must be the order of the day with children who have to be encouraged to industry, and whose parents perhaps are anxiously expecting the produce of their toil, to add to the general fund for defraying the current household expenses. Sometimes several pounds worth of stars are collected before it is found convenient to have them put together. Money is also required to purchase premiums for occasional distribution amongst the children. For those who have had any connexion with the education of youth must know that something more than mere just payment is necessary to excite children to aim at improvement, and to induce them to give that regular attendance without which that moral control so very desirable can neither be acquired nor maintained. Children generally—unconscious of the great advantages of education—are too frequently desirous of avoiding under various pretences the difficulties with which the acquisition of knowledge is ever attended, and the younger they are the greater are the temptations which beset them. If this be the rule with those whose circumstances place them beyond the influence of present want, how much more numerous are the excuses which constantly present themselves to the poor little creatures whose poverty prompts them to seek the most expeditious means of satisfying the cravings of appetite—and hence many might be induced to become absentees under the plausible pretext of not losing time on the road, of getting on quickly with the work at home, want of proper clothing, and various other reasons, were they not allured by the prospect of little fêtes and other more substantial rewards for their good conduct, industry, and attention.

Therefore it is necessary that some fund should be provided, applicable to the supplying of these legitimate requisites so necessary for the due development of the principle upon which this Institution is founded.

Crochet is not the only work done in the School. There are some embroiderers who learned elsewhere. Among the children crochet is preferred in such circumstances as the present. The material is cheap—a needle and a spool of thread being the only stock in trade required, and for these articles the children themselves pay. About 2½d. worth of material will produce 3s. worth of work. The smallest child can learn crochet, and it can be done in any position. Children may be seen about Ballybough-bridge working at the cabin doors—or forming patterns for collars as they walk along the road. Any other kind of work would require more room and more money.

With regard to the disposal of the work—the trade in fact—there appears to be the difficulty. There is a market ready for all crochet work of a good class. The foundress of this institution has lately received letters of encouragement from the Mayor of Cork, Mr.

Fitzgibbon, who was a most active agent in forwarding the industrial movement in the south, for it was he who first organised the collection of all the work scattered through the different convents (Blackrock, Doneraile, Kinsale, Mallow, Tullow, &c., &c.), as well as the industrial schools established by private individuals thus making Cork the centre of all this activity. In one of his letters to this Lady he mentions that he has lately opened establishments at Hamburg, Paris, (Rue d'eu), besides houses in London. It is well known that another establishment in Cork, Messrs. Arnott and Co., pays an immense sum annually for work, to supply the American market. English travellers are continually coming to Cork to collect work from these establishments, as well as that of Mr. Dwyer, whose wife was one of the very first associated in the industrial work in the south. Crochet forms a very considerable if not the principal part of these exports.

Having now sir laid before you a short outline of the objects of this Institution, the means by which it is proposed to attain them, the party by which this project has been conceived, the auspices under which it is being carried out and the fair probability of success which seems to wait their exertions, I do hope that you sir will not think it unworthy of a share in that able and talented advocacy by which so much service has been done to the Reformatory and Industrial movement. In order to interest you the more in this scheme of instruction, and to shew the progress that has been made, that judging from the past we may have hope for the future, I append a few biographies of some of the inmates. But first I may premise that it is not the intention of the management to retain the School finally under their control. It is proposed that as soon as it has been put in a position to support itself it should be placed under the protection of nuns, as has been the case in Cork. But it was believed by the ladies that the up-hill work could be better accomplished by them as having more opportunities of going about and establishing a connexion for it, but as soon as it becomes known and established it is their intention to place it in the hands of some community of Religious.

To give a clearer idea of the "Institution"—its objects and its successes, a short *Biographical Sketch* of some of the girls is added:—

Bessy Keane the first that entered the School—a wild, unruly, very lame girl of fourteen, the picture of dirt and disorder. She had been twice turned out of School as a case of incorrigible idleness, but as in spite of all, there was a bright expression in her eye when she was spoken kindly to, it was determined at all hazards to attempt a capture. A sudden descent was made on Bessy's residence, she was talked into good humour, persuaded, as she had made a bad hand of embroidery, and utterly failed in shirt-making, to try what charm there might be in a crotchet-needle, and finally was seen one wet stormy day hobbling with her crutch along the Richmond Road to School. By dint of some coaxing and much persuasion she was brought to regular attendance, and the conquest was complete. She is now a model of Industry, and on the day of distribution of premiums was decorated with a *Blue Ribbon and Medal*—the reward of good conduct. Moreover, she may be met any fine Sunday in a full suit of her

own earnings—set off, rather than concealed by a generous display of white calico in the shape of a bib—the uniform of the “Industrial” Besides plying the crotchet-needle, she helps her father and brother in basket making—a trade, like many others, subject to fluctuations. When soda-water is in demand hamper making flourishes, and when the fishmongers are idle, the “Sally-house” is untenanted. Beasy, however, has now two strings to her bow, and as she has lately brought with her two others, bidding fair to become as respectable characters as herself, there is more hope for the family than of old.

Mary Jane Lynch some years younger, also one of the first conquests. If this child believed in anything, it was in the utter impossibility of sitting still, and if ever a prize should be given for much talking, it was quite certain that in justice it should be awarded to her. She was at first given little jobs in the laundry, and sent occasionally to transact out of door business, in order to make her change from a life of activity in the streets, to a vocation to a school room bench, as gentle as possible. By degrees the vivacious spirit was moderated, the child's energy directed as much as possible to the crotchet line, and as a sign of progress it is sufficient to note that she gained a premium of 2s. 6d. the other day for discovering (accurately copying) a new “star,” and that on Christmas Eve she carried home to her parents 6s. 2d. the produce of seven days work. It often happens that this girl is the only one earning of the family. The father, a good tradesman, could earn a pound a week, but his hands being crippled by Rheumatism, and his health thoroughly bad, he is generally unable to work. The child's connexion among the charitable visiting societies of the city being rather extensive, and the improvement in her ways and manners being evident to the commonest lookers on, the School has gained a good name through her means.

Eliza Boylan was sent out when the School first opened by a lady acquainted with her wretched condition; she arrived shoeless, and literally in rags, a dejected haggard looking girl of 16. She sat down patiently to work, conducted herself well, and after a few weeks began to lay by a few pence at a time for clothes. Her appearance brightened, and as she shewed signs of intelligence, she was entrusted with the execution of some work, not strictly of the school routine.

Being found one day in great affliction, she was induced to tell the cause, and it was found that her father, who, a drunkard by profession, had lately restrained himself, had “broken out” again, the furniture of the little room had gone to the pawn-office, the clothes of the family were going the same road, and, as has been well said, “no hope remained for the drunkard's family.” It was at once resolved to save the girl, she was taken into the Laundry, lodged and paid like the rest, and at the present day it is with difficulty the lean, stupified, ragged girl can be recognised in the stout, intelligent, neatly-dressed member of the Institute. This girl has been recently provided with a place as servant in a family, and promises soon to become by her docility and perseverance as successful in her new, as she was in her former, position.

Biddy Lambert lived under a tree in Richmond Avenue during last autumn. There she sat night and day, a supposed idiot, accepting

what food was given her by the neighbours, but if asked to move on calmly declining to do so. The only account she could give of herself was that she had been in the poerhouse and had "got enough of it," and that her mother was "somewhere in the North." The cold weather coming on it was proposed to her to take shelter in the Institution, she consented, and was put to work at once. Much cannot be said of her talents and acquirements, but she can wash stockings, light fires, and sweep down the house like any rational being, and has been made to wear a clean, orderly appearance.

In fact, if a photographic sketch of these girls on their first appearance in the Institution, could be hung beside a full-length of their present position, the collection would form a very interesting gallery of pictures.

There are many more striking cases in the school, especially among the very young children, but enough has been said to prove that the spirit of industry is not wanting. Many come cold and hungry to learn this work, and if even one meal in the day could be given, the attendance would be immense.

SOUP AND SANCTIFICATION.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE LORD LIEUTENANT.

"If it be desired to know the immediate cause of all this free writing and free speaking there cannot be assigned a truer than your own mild, and free, and humane government."—*ARROFAGTICA*.

*Office of the Irish Quarterly Review,
8, Grafton-street, Dublin.*

June 1st, 1857.

YOUR EXCELLENCY is doubtless aware, from official and other sources, that during very many months a most virulent and rancorous onslaught has been carried out against the religious feelings, and against the most deeply cherished and most firmly believed dogmas of the Catholics of this country, or, in other words, against the faith of the Irish nation.

If your Excellency were like the ordinary "ruck" of English viceroys, who appear to have been sent here for the purpose of nursing their own incomes, whilst they squander our revenues and mismanage our affairs, I could not think of intruding upon "the mild-eyed melancholy" of that Park, the tutelary bird of which is so true an emblem of Irish prosperity—a fable in ashes, never revivifying, and where one can fancy that

"Round and round the spicy downs the yellow Lotos-dust is blown."

Fortunately, however, your Excellency is not such as these. You filled the office of Chief Secretary at a time when Ireland was "a great difficulty," and when O'Connell, regnant, was a power in the state, and could thunder to his people as Cicero to his, and in Cicero's words—"Togati me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis." The office you then held was an admirable training school for a future viceroy; it afforded you opportunities of knowing each phase of rascality; opportunities equalling those possessed by a Catholic priest, an old Bailey attorney, or the resident physician of a Lock hospital. Because you have had these opportunities, because you know the country and its people, and are I believe desirous to serve it and them, I now address you upon a subject of great importance to the peace of this

island, and of the chiefest interest to all who are desirous to find good feeling existing between Irishmen of different religious creeds.

From the period when Bale, the rampant Bishop of Ossory, first used his crozier as an "alpine" to knock popery out of the hearts of the Catholics, to this hour, when another Bishop of Ossory is desirous of driving out that same popery by cramming them with the Bible, the error of all governments has been, that they would never look upon Catholicity as a conviction, a sentiment in the hearts of the people; they would never permit themselves to understand that the faith of Rome should be the faith of Ireland. This was not a sentiment springing up on the introduction of the new religion, it was old as the Christianity of Ireland. Richard Credon, who was squire to King Richard of England, was taken prisoner in battle by the Irish, and lived long amongst them as a slave. He said to Froissart, "I once made inquiry concerning their faith, but they seemed so much displeased, I was forced to silence; they said they believed in God and the Trinity, without any difference to our creed. I asked which Pope (Rome or Avignon), they were inclined to: they replied, without hesitation, to that at Rome."* How like the Irish of to-day! angry at an inquiry concerning their faith—declaring without hesitation for Rome—still the same, still unchanged.

The secret of the failure of all England's blundering attempts at inducing, or driving the Irish into an abandonment of Rome is found, as I have stated, in the fact, that they would not understand the mixture of faith and sentiment, characteristic of our race. Oppression and misrule could not shake our loyalty to the throne, because, as Swift so truly said, "Loyalty is the foible of the Irish;" but our people were loyal also to their faith, and that adherence to Rome, which had been a religious sentiment, England, by cruel misgovernment, strengthened by rendering it a watchword in politics, and the test of nationality. When by means of, as Burnet calls it, their "good swearers," Primate Plunkett was executed at Tyburn, one phase of England's mode of converting Ireland was developed; when William permitted his Dutch free-lances to mark the progress of their colonization, as they trace the march of an eastern tyrant, by

* See Froissart, vol. iv., p. 431, Ed. 1805.

blood, and fire, and desolation, another phase was exhibited : through all the reigns of the House of Brunswick we have the extension of an equally crushing, but not so barbarically bloody impolicy ; and even when “ the dragon’s teeth ” had sprung up into armed men—the Volunteers would still keep the feet of England upon the necks of the Catholics. But times were changing ; the relaxations in 1772, and the concessions of 1793, gave the Catholics the first taste of liberty ; true, the chain was upon them still, but frightened by these fetters, clanked upon strong limbs, in 1828 England made that greatest of all blunders—Emancipation : she should have granted all, or should have withheld everything.

And now, in this later age, one can look upon the wonderful follies of governments and smile, were it not that the modes of conversion of the age of blood and oppression are replaced to-day by the sectarian agency of soup and stir-about, and calumny and insult ; and it is to this combination in this new phase of proselytism I desire to draw your Excellency’s special attention.

It was stated of Bushe that his success with the juries arose from his method of first buttering them up, and then “ slewthering ” them down, or, in other words, from his knowledge of the effects of soft sawder on human nature. Precisely the opposite system is that adopted by the proselytizers in Ireland. They first abuse our religion and misrepresent it, and then they endeavour to “ slewther ” our poor people down with doses of the Bible, macerated in soup, or silvered with weekly shillings.

Your Excellency may not be aware of the system adopted to promote the growth of Protestantism by those who belong to the Protestantism-at-any-rate class. From the “ Address issued by the Committee of Management of the St. Bridget’s Orphanage for five hundred children, founded by the Ladies’ Association of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul,” I am enabled briefly to place before you a sketch of the system now and long employed, and to acquaint you with the reasons which have impelled those ladies to found the orphanage :—

Many friends of our projected work think that it will not be necessary to waste our funds upon the erection or purchase of a large establishment ; they say that it will be better to place the orphans with honest, simple nurses in the country, and keep, in a small

establishment here, only those who, from sickness or other causes, may be unfit for country nursing.

The Catholic public have a right to ask why we should attempt this work. They shall hear our plea; let them then pronounce a fair judgment.

A poor woman came to the Ladies' Association of Ocharity, in 1856, to beg that they would do something for her three children, whom she had handed over to a Protestant Orphan Society. She was sent by a Priest, who refused to admit her to Sacraments until the children should be recovered. The Association tried, and succeeded in rescuing them. Another came, and then another, with the same sad story. They rescued some of these children, but the Society in question soon took such precautions as prevented the Association from proceeding further in that direction. They then sent some friends to the County Wicklow, where the rescued children had been at nurse, to try and probe the evil; they also set on foot inquiries in other directions, and we beg to draw the attention of Christian people to the result.

We found one hundred and twenty of these children in two small townlands, called Windgate and Greystones, and their immediate neighbourhood. These children were sent to church twice every Sunday—to Bray in the morning, and to Delgany at mid-day. The nurses were remarkable for their hostility to the Catholic Church. We found only one child with a Catholic nurse, and that was an infant. The nurse told us that it would be left with her only two years, lest, as she said, "it might learn any Catholic prayers." Yet this nurse was married to a Protestant, and was at that time sending three of her children occasionally to the Protestant church.

From further inquiries we discovered that these children were located in many other places, and in some of them in large numbers—in Delgany, Newcastle, Newtownmountkennedy, Powerscourt, Dungunstown, Rathdrum, Killesky, Donoghmore, Kiltegan, Shillelagh, Baltinglass, Inch, Carnew, Dunlewin, Tinahely, Ballynash, &c.

We were not able to find how many of them had been Catholic children; the few, however, that we succeeded in tracing belonged to parents, one or both being Catholics.

These children are sent out by the different Protestant parishes of Dublin, and by the Protestant Orphan Society and the Protestant Orphan Union, of which a word presently.

The old people told us that this system has been going on these forty years, and indeed we found two pretty old heads of families who, having been Catholic orphans in their childhood, were taken up by these traders in souls of men, and are now earning their bread chiefly by the same trade.

The late Mrs. —, of B—, County Wicklow, kept a nursery for these children in her own demesne, during forty years, the average number about thirty-four. These children (we believe) had been all Catholics; at all events she opened the establishment avowedly for the perversion of Catholic children; they were exclusively females. The country people recount the prices she used to pay for these poor things: for some three pounds, and from that to

seven pounds ten shillings. They had school, a large dairy, and excellent training; At a certain age they were placed in situations, or else married; in the latter case Mrs. — usually gave ten pounds and a cow as a marriage portion, provided they took a stout Protestant yeoman, according to her heart; and thus that country has got a large sprinkling of a Protestant population. We collected several striking facts regarding this nursery; they may be of use on some future occasion; we mention one or two of them now. At one time Mrs. — had a footman named G——, a Catholic; he had one little girl. His wife, when dying, besought him in her last words not to give up the child to Mrs. —. The unfortunate man did give her up, and that child is now a Mrs. R——, a Protestant, and rearing a large Protestant family. Some years ago, this man was returning to B——, in the night, and while yet in the demesne a sudden snow-storm came on; he sought shelter under a bush, and was found dead there the next morning.

A poor old servant, living at present somewhere about Kingstown, tells how she was taken into B——, when a very little child. Strange as it may seem, she remembers that her name was changed to Newbanks, and forgets what her own name was. She just could bless herself, and say two or three little Catholic prayers. During her stay with Mrs. —, she continued repeatedly to say these prayers, and was every day sighing for her liberty. At last, after thirteen or fourteen years, she was placed in situation with a Protestant minister. The very first Sunday, when she was sent to church, she went to Mass, and the minister's wife having some suspicion, asked her if she had been to church. She said, yes. What church? The Catholic church. So the poor woman was dismissed, and has ever since earned her bread with much toiling, and preserved her faith.

There are many Societies and Institutions in and about Dublin, where the Catholic orphan finds an asylum at the cost of his faith and his soul. We name the principal:—the King's Hospital, or Free School of Charles II., commonly called the Blue Coat Hospital; Hibernian Marine School; Hibernian (Soldiers') School; Orphan House, North Circular-road; Charter School, Celbridge; Protestant Orphan Society; Protestant Orphan Union, &c.

The Blue Coat Hospital.—The Blue Coat Hospital, Blackhall-street, was founded by the Corporation of Dublin, in 1670, and established by Royal Charter. One hundred boys are educated here, and apprenticed; they are generally the children of Protestants, but from time to time some Catholic orphans have been lost here. In this establishment nothing is tolerated but Protestantism.

The Hibernian Marine School.—The Hibernian Marine School, Sir John Rogerson's-quay, was founded by Royal Charter in 1777, for the orphans of widows, and children of decayed seamen, who amount usually to 180. Catholics and Protestants alike are admissible, but there is no form of worship tolerated but Protestantism. As soon as a Catholic child enters, his prayer-book is taken from him, and he is obliged to go to the Protestant church. Yet this School is maintained, in great part, by Parliamentary grants. We believe that many Catholic children have lost their faith here; per-

haps in the course of our work we may be able to come at something near the number.

The Hibernian Soldiers' School.—The Hibernian Soldiers' School, Phoenix Park, was established in 1769, for soldiers' orphans. There are at present in this establishment 460 boys. The hardship of this institution is, that if one of the parents happened to profess Protestantism, the orphan is at once registered a Protestant. This is bad enough, but it is even worse than it appears at first sight. Those who know the army say that several poor Irishmen, especially in the cavalry regiments, make outward profession of Protestantism, for the sake of promotion, &c. After their death, no matter what the mother says, the children are driven to the Protestant service in this institution. In many cases the soldier, though professing Protestantism, cares nothing about it, and gives his entire approbation to the mother to bring his children up Catholics; yet this goes for nought. His orphan enters the Hibernian School, and according to this rule is registered a Protestant. In several instances children have practised the Catholic religion for years, and received the Sacraments, and have been driven to apostacy by this iniquitous rule. Besides, the orphans who are registered Catholics suffer various little vexations in this institution, and, from various circumstances, think that they could get on much better as Protestants.

The Orphan House, North Circular-Road.—The Orphan House, North Circular-road, was begun by Mrs. Tighe and Mrs. Este, in the year 1790. They at first took a small place in Prussia-street, where they began with five orphans. Public sympathy increasing, they commenced the building of the present establishment in 1792. They meant to accommodate 150; it was afterwards enlarged to receive 160 orphans, which we believe is their present number. After building the house they were in want of a church, and Parliament granted £2,500 for that purpose. The age for admission is from five to ten years. This institution was founded, to a certain extent, expressly for the purpose of perverting Catholic orphans, because it is open to children of every religious persuasion, and Protestantism alone is tolerated.

Supposing that each child remains ten years, something about 900 must have already passed through it. We have good reasons to know that many of these poor orphans have been the children of Catholic parents. This institution is supported in part by grants of public money. Whitelaw gives the annual Parliamentary grant (average up to his time) £1,633. Thus Catholics have been paying their part of nearly £2,000 a-year this half-century, to have the orphans of Catholics perverted!

Charter School, Celbridge.—This, as we are informed, is a child of that old hideous Society called the Charter School Society. It was called Charter, because incorporated by Royal Charter. This Society began nearly a century and a-half ago; it was instituted for the purpose of instructing "Irish children in the English language and the Protestant religion." It partook largely of public favour, in the shape of immense grants of public money, and of private sympathy, in donations of money and land. At one time they had forty schools. One of their modes of action

was, to draft the children to a great distance from home. Thus the children of Antrim or Donegal were conveyed in covered carts to Kerry or Wicklow, that the process of perversion might be carried on at a distance from their parents, and with no possibility of escape to themselves. The Celbridge School has outlived its parent, but inherits her principles. The number of children is about 60, all females; some of them are orphans that have been picked up in different parts of Ireland by ladies of the proselytizing species; others are children surrendered by their parents (mothers in ignorance) to the lady of the nearest "big house," who promised to have the child well educated, and provided with a good place. The funds of this institution are supplied at present by private benefactions.

Protestant Orphan Society.—The Protestant Orphan Society, Upper Sackville-street, and Percy-place, Dublin, was founded in the year 1828, for the education of Protestant Orphans. One of their rules is, that no child is eligible, unless the orphan of parents, both of whom had been Protestants. So far we have no complaint to make, but we may learn a lesson. This Society maintains 465 orphans, and its receipts, from collections, subscriptions, &c., amounted, in 1855, to £3,676. Some of the persons who patronize and support this institution are, at the same time, active heads of proselytizing establishments; and hence Catholics may entertain very just suspicions of the working and designs of this Society, especially when we see therein orphans bearing such name as O'Neill, O'Flaherty, Kelly, Magennis, Kennedy, &c. In the printed list of their Report for 1855 several such names are found.

Protestant Orphan Union, 9, Upper Sackville-street.—In the words of their second Rule, "The object of this Society is to provide diet, lodging, clothing, and Scriptural education for destitute orphans, who have had but one Protestant parent, and to apprentice them to Protestant masters and mistresses of approved religious principles and conduct." This Society maintains at present 109 of those poor creatures. Some of them have been, to our knowledge, the children of Catholic parents; however, the reflection is more distressing, that they are the children of one Catholic parent. This work has been unremittingly carried on since 1830. Their income for the year 1855 was £700, which was collected, generally in very small sums, all through the country; the agents and collectors being, in several cases, the Protestant shopkeepers of country towns.

Some of us visited a small orphanage at Portobello; the Matron told us that she believed several of the orphans had been Catholics; that for each a sum of ten pounds yearly was paid. We inferred from this, that some fanatics, anxious to have an orphan of their own, have laid hold of these Catholic children, and are paying ten pounds a-year to have them Protestantized. If this conclusion be correct, let him who reads think.

Besides all these, nearly every Protestant parish in Dublin maintains a small Orphanage or Boarding-house; but whether any of the over-zealous make use of them for the perversion of Catholic orphans, we have not as yet sufficient means of knowing.

Foundling Hospital.—We all remember to have heard of the

huge Foundling Hospital, James's-street. This was founded in 1704, for the reception of foundlings from all Ireland. It was maintained at a cost, yearly, of some £30,000 of public money. Seven thousand children, or nearly, was their standing number—about five thousand at nurse in the country, and two thousand in the establishment. At a certain age they were taken from the nurses, into the institution; they were all strictly brought up Protestants. For a long time Protestant nurses could not be found for all, but the few children that imbibed Catholicity from their nurses were perverted in the establishment. This Hospital was closed in 1835. The children brought into Protestantism by this one institution, during the 131 years of its working, must have been somewhere about 56,000. This wholesale system of infant destruction has been re-enacted in the shape of a rule, by which all children, the religion of whose parents is unknown, are registered Protestants upon entering the Workhouse. Hapless infant! thy mother has abandoned thee; the State becomes thy stepmother, to nurse thee in heresy. This rule has already begun to do its work in many of the Poorhouses. At present it is not easy to come at all the particulars of the foundlings of Dublin; we believe that the number of these innocent creatures exposed in Dublin amounts every year to about 100. A large proportion goes into Protestant hands.

In Dublin, from time to time, you meet a young widow, the relict of a tradesman; she has one or two little infants, and she is not able to support them. She has been a respectable servant before her marriage; she has an utter aversion to the Poorhouse. The Catholic Orphanage cannot take her children gratis; she leaves them in the Protestant Orphan Union, or some such place, and goes to her situation. Again, a poor young woman from some part of the country finds herself in the city, in raggedness and want; she has one child; she goes to one of these Sunday Schools; a bland lady offers to take charge of the child. After a little time, and some struggles of human nature, the child is given up, and the mother goes to England to find work.

Thus your Excellency will perceive that all methods, fair and unfair, have been adopted to carry out a shameless system of proselytism; but these are the inoffensive features of the scheme, and cannot be considered as likely to disturb the peace of the community. But there is another species of proselytism inaugurated by, and carried on under the inspection of, the Society for Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics, a society which is a disgrace to Protestantism, and a pestilent sore in the commonwealth. This society, with others of a like class, holds its annual meeting in Dublin, in the month of April. The last meeting was held in the Rotundo, on the 20th of April, the Earl of Clancarty presiding, whose name will doubtless suggest to your Excel-

lency Moore's Lord Belzebub's letter to the Brunswick Club, and its

"Who the devil, he humbly begs to know,
Are Lord Gl—nd—ne, and Lord Dunlo?"

whom Lord Belzebub classed among the not "decent lords" and "rubbishy baronets" of the club. His lordship (not Belzebub, but Clancarty), with that blundering which distinguishes bucolic Irish peers, thus delivered himself, and I beg you to note the admission that advantage was taken of the terrible famine to gain followers to Protestantism. Lord Clancarty said (I quote from the *Warder* of April 25th):—

It was not the needs of the metropolis of Dublin that first called the attention of Englishmen to the spiritual wants of Ireland; it was, as I understand, in viewing the wants of the far west that my rev. friend Mr. Dallas, and another rev. friend, became acquainted with those wants—they saw what darkness overspread the far west of Ireland, and they determined to endeavour to spread the light of the gospel in those parts (hear, hear). The society was not an immediate consequence of their visit; nor was it an immediate consequence of the great visitation that subsequently took place—I mean the famine; but it first called their attention to the spiritual wants of the people; and when the English people opened their resources to relieve the wants of the starving Irish people, those who administered to the wants of the body became further acquainted with the still greater wants of the soul (hear, hear). They saw that if bread were wanting for the body, the bread of life was wanting for the soul (applause); and it is some comfort to think that if the great calamity brought many to an untimely grave, many have received the light of life (hear, hear, and applause.)

Your Excellency has now the whole secret. Food *and* the Bible; soup *and* sanctification; stirabout and the bread of life! I have no doubt that numbers of well-meaning Englishmen subscribe to this sanctimonious swindle, and believe they are actually helping to make honest Protestants. I know that men who were once Catholics, and some who were Catholic priests, belong to this society, and we have them on the platform, spouting against Rome with all that rancour of hatred which Byron expressed when he writes of *Alp*, the renegade—

"He stood a foe, with all the zeal

Which young and fiery converts feel."

I know the things told at these meetings all pass for truth. The speakers spare no protestations of success, and there is no man like the proprietor of shares in soup and sanctification for, in Stock Exchange parlance, "rigging the market." From the young Scripture-reader, who is

learning his "daddy mammy" upon the "drum ecclesiastick," to the first fiddle of the great choir of cherubim in white chokers, who love God, and don't love their neighbours, all are ready to pledge themselves to the success of the society, and take every opportunity, in season and out of season, to render themselves a nuisance to the people of Ireland. Take, for example, the following passage from the speech of the Rev. Mr. MacCarthy, delivered at the meeting at which Lord Clancarty presided :—

Contemporaneously two pastorals appeared from Dr. Cullen ; one stated that their controversial classes were conducted in a very extraordinary way—that in fact the pretended Roman Catholics who came forward were persons engaged by them for the purpose of misrepresenting the Church of Rome, that their agents and themselves should have an easy victory over the arguments put forward by these sham Roman Catholics. Well, he (Mr. MacCarthy) thought that was coming to very close quarters, and accordingly sent a letter to Dr. Cullen, in which he made three propositions on behalf of the society, the last being that he should join in half the expense of procuring a room in the Rotundo where they could have convenient ground to discuss the points at issue ; that he could have his priests on one side, and they would be on the other, and there they would have a free stage and no favour, for a full discussion of the whole controversy (hear, hear). And he just put it to him that if he did not adopt any of the plans proposed he would be practically giving up the defensibility of his system. He sent him that letter on Friday evening, and the next morning he thought it would not be a bad step to pay him a visit in person (laughter), and so Mr. Rogers, Mr. Vickers, and himself, resolved to go and wait upon his grace (hear, hear). They had no anticipation of having a personal interview with him. They could not expect such an honour. They were satisfied that on being announced he should have asked their names and their business, and that of course should be a bar to their entrance to his presence, and if he were out they resolved to leave their names, and promise to call again. But, in order to meet any difficulty that might occur, they thought it well that some of the Scripture-readers should accompany them, not to defend them, but in order to make their business public, and that the whole street might be cognisant of it (hear, hear). However, just as the got into the hall of Dr. Cullen's residence, and were writing their names on their cards who should come in upon them but Dr. Cullen himself (laughter). He stood confronting the three of them. He (Mr. MacCarthy) said they had come to have some conversation with him on a matter of business. Dr. Cullen took off his hat very politely, and said he did not know their names. He told him their names, and added that their business had reference to a statement he had put forward, that they had distorted and misrepresented the doctrines of the Church of Rome. So, he replied, "Whatever you have to say write, and let the public judge." He complained particularly of their handbills misrepresenting the Roman Catholic religion, and containing insults offered to the blessed Virgin. He (Mr. MacCarthy) remarked that a little explanation would settle the whole matter, for they were careful to take their statements of the Roman Catholic doctrines from Roman Catholic books. The general principle of their controversy was to beat Roman Catholics on their own ground (hear, hear). Dr.

Cullen said their placards ignored the ninth commandment. Well, he was beginning to be puzzled about the number of the commandments. He knew that the Church of Rome divided some of them and clipped others. However Dr. Cullen saved him further trouble by saying, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." He adopted the Protestant division, he supposed, as a concession to their prejudices (laughter). Mr. Rogers and Mr. Vickers said several things to him also, and the latter asked him if he would undertake to answer the statements put forward? "No," said he after some hesitation, "I will not do any such thing." He (Mr. MacCarthy) then said that that was the very point they themselves came to complain of, that he violated the ninth commandment by charging them with distortion and misrepresentation, and offering insults to the blessed Virgin. So then he bid them good morning, and said he was not in the habit of retailing lies. He put on his hat, walked to the stairs, and turning round said something which did not reach them. They made their bow, *exeat omnes*, saying they would write according to his suggestion. Now, the *Freeman's Journal*, in giving an account of the interview, said Dr. Cullen ordered his servant to turn them out; but he did no such thing. He was quite polite until he became a little excited, but he really said nothing offensive. He (Mr. MacCarthy) sent him another letter, which was returned to him unopened. Thinking that that was done by his servant he wrote again, asking whether he had authorised such an act, or whether it had been done dishonestly by his servant. To that he had got no reply (hear).

Can your Excellency imagine anything more absurd? Fancy any Catholic priest in London forcing himself into Lambeth Palace, and "tackling" the archbishop in his own hall. Your Excellency is a polite man; the Archbishop of Canterbury may be a mild man; but certainly if such a piece of insolence had been done to the Hotspur of Exeter, the person perpetrating it would find himself ejected without delay, and our verdict would be, serve him right.

But it is not in visits to Dr. Cullen that these people employ themselves. They force themselves into the houses of the poor, and begin by insulting the religious feelings of those amongst whom they thrust themselves. Canon Mac Cabe, the parish priest of Francis-street, tells the public, through the *Freeman's Journal*, that a Scripture-reader said to a poor woman, "Did you ever see the Pope of Rome?" "No," was the answer. "Well," pointing to a large dog, "there he is." Consider the effect of this upon an excitable people. A lady complained to a poor woman that some plain work which she had given her was brought home very much soiled about the stitches. "Why, then," said she, "shure while I was sewin' it, two swaddler ladies came into the room, and began abusin' the Blessed Virgin, and sayin' she had other childhren besides the Redeemer; and shure my hand

got so hot, and I was so fidgety, I made all the end of the work dirty." "Why," said the lady, "did you not tell them to go away?" "Oh, shure I did, an' they wouldn't." "Well, why did you not call a policeman?" "Oh, fair I couldn't, but shure while they wor talkin', I was sayin', 'Mary, conceived without sin, pray for me.'" The neighbours all know these things; they canvass them; they see the Scripture-reader entering the house; they see placards "affectionately inviting" the Catholics to attend the mission, to hear their religion maligned, and containing such propositions as these following;—

Popery teaches that oaths to Heretics can be dispensed by the Pope.

Popery teaches that allegiance to an Heretical Monarch is not binding in conscience.

Popery teaches that mental reservation towards Heretics is not only not sinful but even meritorious when the good of the Church requires it.

The Church of Rome not only grants pardon for all past crimes, but even grants a license for all future sins by paying to the Priest a given sum of money.

At different periods during the Middle Ages the Popish Church freely granted pardon to public murderers by their endowing Monasteries, and by paying certain sums of money to the Pope.

In several countries on the Continent of Europe, the Nunneries are the seats of the grossest immorality.

The Popish Mass is an invention of the Priests for personal homage; and a diabolical doctrine of grovelling idolatry.

But these are nothing in atrocity to the following, which might be read last May on every posting place from the College to Merriou:—

Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics.

Mr. George M'Guigan will preside at the Discussion Meeting, in Irishtown Schoolhouse, near Irishtown Church, on this (Wednesday evening,) May 20, 1857, at half-past seven o'clock.

Subject—"Is there a Purgatory?"

If the Priests of the Church of Rome have the power to take a soul out of Purgatory, why have they left the soul of the late Dr. Murray so long in torment?

Your Excellency knew the late Archbishop; Fenelon, or Francis de Sales was not more prudent, mild, and inoffensive; and we may say of him, as Fuller said of his *Good Bishop*—"His life was so spotless that malice is angry with him, because she cannot be angry with him." The ruffianism employed in private may be judged from the ruffianism thus daringly ex-

hibited in public. Could your Excellency wonder if Mr. George M'Guigan's poster had produced results, strikingly displayed upon himself, on his audience, or on the Irishtown school-house?

But these people do not confine themselves to their churches and schoolhouses. When the high tide of Sunday fashion sets in on Kingstown pier; when our tremendous young Crimean heroes, all hair, teeth, and pluck, like so many Skye terriers, are parading the esplanade, then amidst the swell of crinoline, the fall of lace, the mingled odour of sea-weed and Frangipinni, of pitch and eau-de-Cologne, there arises a *Dr. Cantwell*-looking personage in a white-cravat, but above the vanity of a bow-knot or of a shirt-collar, and supported by a few men and a few elderly maidens, who hold his cloak or umbrella; he turns up his eyes, clears his voice, and reads the gospel of the day. Scoffing, sneering, hustling, are going on all around, and, eventually, the speaker is obliged to decamp, after having insulted the feelings of the vast majority of those who wish to enjoy the air and sunshine, which God sends them, undisturbed by the mouthing of the rogue or of the fanatic. To one who can look on without being offended, the scene is suggestive of the inimitable letter in *Humphry Clinker* in which *Matt. Bramble* describes to *Dr. Lewis*, *Humphry's* preaching to *Tabitha* and *Winifred Jenkins*, and will amply repay your Excellency, if you can for once, à la Haroun Alraschid, become an auditor and spectator. But there are those who cannot listen and smile; and breaches of the peace have more than once occurred.

But if your Excellency could forget, or excuse, all the incentives to breaches of the peace, of which these absurd people are the sources, a recent outrage has served to place them and their teaching in a light which cannot be overlooked. The following passage from the *Freeman's Journal* will explain the matter to which I refer:—

The cause of the great excitement which has been disturbing the peace of the city for the last three weeks, has arisen out of the following wanton and sacrilegious outrage:—On the 25th of March last—the Feast of the Annunciation—a disciple of the Coombe proselytisers went into the Church of St Nicholas, Francis-street, and approached the altar rails for the apparent purpose of receiving the Holy communion. Immediately after receiving it from the clergyman, he left the church, and, taking the sacred elements out of his mouth, placed them in his handkerchief, but finding that they had become too moist and had adhered to the handkerchief, he went off at once to the

Catholic Church of St. Andeon, High-street, and received the sacramental elements a second time. On this occasion he contrived to succeed in his diabolical purpose, and for eight or ten days he went about amongst his pious brethren showing the consecrated elements and boasting of his cleverness. He also exhibited them at a bible meeting which was held at the Wesleyan Chapel, Stephen's Green. After a great deal of trouble and anxiety, the Rev. Mr. M'Cabe succeeded in getting them back, and they are at present deposited in the Church of St. Nicholas. It was the remembrance of this terrible sacrilege that influenced the people on Tuesday night last, when they attacked the lunatic Rooney, as they saw him rush to the altar, believing at the time he was a Souper. Such is the state of feverish excitement under which the people are labouring, that it is feared the devotions ordained by the church must be suspended, as it requires nearly all the time, influence, and persuasion of the clergy of the parish to prevent the people taking the law and vengeance into their own hands, for the sacrilegious outrages and insults offered to their holy religion.

This, your Excellency will admit, is an outrage of no ordinary character; it has caused excitement, such as I have rarely witnessed, and has given no little trouble to the police; it is one of those outrages which our people never forget—pardon me if I say it—one of those which they should not forget; and were it not that they are somewhat better acquainted with God's law than their enemies give them credit for, it would be one of those deadly offences for which—"Vendetta di cent' anni ha ancor i lattaiuoli."

Thus, your Excellency will perceive, that those proselytizers are permitted to disturb the public peace, and to flaunt what they call *their* religion in the faces of the Irish people; yet, these same people are denied in workhouses, in gaols, and in hospitals, the aids which *their* religion affords to them. Make the people anything, anything but take their Catholicity. Let in the Scripture-reader, keep out the Sister of Mercy; let in the female tract distributor, keep out the Sister of Charity. "Why," said an English Protestant friend to me a few days ago, "do they not have the nuns in the gaols and workhouses?" "Oh!" said I, "that would encourage Popery." He was a profane man, and he said—"What the devil matter is it what it would encourage, if it made these people better, and if they believed in it." Poor, innocent, well-meaning, honest representative of the genuine Bull—he little knew what nonsense he talked; he was quite ignorant enough of Ireland to be an English-born Chief Secretary; he was well meaning enough to be a Lord Lieutenant, equal to your Excellency. Fancy, though,

how the Constitution would tremble if a sick man in gaol should be comforted with words of joy beyond the grave by a Sister of Charity ; think how the Habeas Corpus Act would be endangered if a Sister of Mercy should be permitted to teach the knowledge of the great free world of heaven to the pining repentant prisoner ; contemplate the destructive effect upon morality, if a nun were allowed to pour her gentle, holy words into the ears of the inmate of the workhouse, ears polluted by the horrors it is forced to hear in these pandemoniums, where vice in rags is side by side with virtue in tatters ; and where the sin-scarred woman is the companion of the virtuously reared, though poor young girl. They tell us that ninety per cent of the girls reared in the two Dublin Union Workhouses become prostitutes ; would it injure the cause of morality ; would it increase the cost of hospital support ; would it add to the estimated expenses of gaol maintenance, and of the item of the estimates headed "Justice," if the Sisters of Mercy or Charity were permitted to tell these poor creatures of a world beyond the poorhouse, and better than the streets, and to show them that Christianity has other ministers besides guardians, matrons, masters, and ignorant or ruffian officials ?

These things will not be done ; but, in the face of day, at all times, in all ways, and in all quarters, the faith of the people is maligned, their religious feelings are insulted, and, whilst the religion of millions at home is decried, contemned, and despised, that of their idolatrous fellow-subject abroad is protected, his superstitions are respected, and his idols are guarded. Consider the following passage from a letter dated Calcutta, April 9th, 1857, and which has appeared in the *Times* and all the other papers :—

To show you the extreme anxiety of Government to avoid offending the religious prejudices of the men, I will relate one incident which occurred on the day of the disbanding. Her Majesty's 84th were landed from the steamer at the Barrackpore Ghaut. Close by the Ghaut is a little temple, outside which the Sepoys put their household deities, ugly little images of wood, stone, earthen or brass. Now the instinct of a European soldier when he sees an idol is to knock its head off, not from hatred of idols, but love of mischief. General Hearsey knew that any insult of the kind would exasperate the Sepoys to madness. He, therefore, received the men himself, and the first two soldiers who landed were ordered to stand sentry over the deities. So on the parade-ground there were Europeans prepared to put down a mutiny caused by the Sepoys' dread of conversion, and outside the parade ground there were Europeans keeping guard over the Sepoys' gods.

Just so. European soldiers—Irish Catholic soldiers, perhaps—guarding the idols of the Sepoy in India, whilst that which the Catholic believes to be really and truly the body and blood of his Saviour is desecrated in Ireland, and the scoundrel who perpetrates the sacrilege is permitted to escape with impunity.

Does your Excellency believe that the people of this country love England too well? Do they believe the Church Establishment to be a benign institution, advantageous to Ireland, and tending to reduce taxation, and to develop the resources of the nation? Your Excellency knows that the people of Ireland—the Catholics, the bone and sinew of the population—hate the Church Establishment; but they bear it as they bear any other legal atrocity or national absurdity. But will they bear patiently the continuation of the insults and sacrileges I have placed before you? I do ask you to interpose to prevent the recurrence of these scenes and acts.

What! it may be said, deprive a free people of liberty of speech and of freedom to teach? I do not seek to deprive any section of our fellow-subjects of liberty of speech and of freedom to teach. I give the right to each as their own; but it is a wise maxim, that "*Utere tuo ut alienum non lædas.*" I want no *Index*, expurgatory or prohibitory. I want to set no "twenty engrossers" over our "flowery crop of knowledge." I want liberty of speaking and teaching for all; and I esteem the *Areopagitica* the noblest piece of eloquence and of reasoning in the English language, whilst I remember that it was written to convince a party setting what they called religion above every law, right, and feeling, save the law, and right, and feeling which exactly suited their own views of law, and right, and feeling.

I do not ask your Excellency to "set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers" over the liberty of speaking, or writing, or teaching. I do not ask you to bring "a famine on our minds," or to measure to us, through the bushel of any religion. But is liberty of speaking and thinking the license of abuse, and slander, and misrepresentation, all tending to create breaches of the peace, and certainly creating animosity and religious rancour? When men talk of liberty of teaching and of speaking they think of Erasmus, of Melancthon, of Locke, of Milton, of Taylor, of Bacon,

of Cudworth, of Massillon, of Bossuet, of Paley, of Pascal, of Swift, of Doyle, of Wiseman, and of Whately. They do not think of consecrated cobblers, of tailors with a call, of doctors who abuse their position as hospital attendants, of women who become sanctified crimps, stealing into the wretched homes of the poor, asking them to barter faith for bread, and, in their mad fanaticism against Catholicity, forgetting that the good Samaritan was not a proselytizer.

I have not written this to your Excellency for the purpose of urging oppressive acts or magisterial non-obstantes; but you will have perceived that, if the law has not been broken, the people, to whom thanks are due, are the very people least likely to obtain them. To the Catholic Priests and the Catholic police force of Dublin debts of gratitude are owing which your Excellency may never know. But how long this patience may last it is difficult to determine; and the sooner all persons endeavouring to secure a change of religion in Catholics are confined to their legitimate spheres—their places of worship, or the private houses or lodgings to which they are invited, the better for the peace of Dublin. If the proselytizers want truth to triumph, surely truth will triumph only by truthful means. "Our trumpet," writes Bacon, "doth not summon, and courage men to tear and rend one another with contradictions; and, in a civil rage, to bear arms and wage war against themselves; but rather that, a peace concluded between them, they may, with joint forces, direct their strength against nature herself, and take her high towers, and dismantle her fortified holds, and thus enlarge the borders of man's dominion, so far as Almighty God of His goodness shall permit."

These, your Excellency, were wise thoughts, and should be the guiding rules of a viceroy who, like your Excellency, knows this country and its people. Because I think they are your opinions I have brought the facts, contained in this letter, before you. I am a Catholic, but I trust, from anything I have to this point written, I might be a Muggletonian or a Darbyite, with a regard for the peace of the country, and the feelings of my fellow-Irishmen, of all conditions and of all creeds. If the Catholics of Ireland (the people of Ireland), were to insult the few hundreds of thousands, in this country, who differ with them in religion, I would protest as strongly, and as emphatically, against the acts of

the Catholics, as I do now against the shameful conduct of those who, under the pretext of religion, spread hatred and ill-feeling, and revive every recollection of past wrongs, and of the time when priest-hunting, and papist-hanging were the tests of loyalty, and the amusements of orangeism. Our poor people see that they are, on every side, worried by a set of ecclesiastical hirelings; they know that in very many cases the Protestant parochial clergy do not countenance these black-coated nuisances; but this does not save the church from the hatred excited by deeds perpetrated in its name. The people know that amongst their most harassing persecutors are men who were once Catholics; men who sold their souls for the velvet cap of the scholar; or men who were once shop-boys, with a knowledge of Irish, and a certain quickness in dispute, and a confirmed taste for lying, and who, having obtained the notice of a Protestant bishop, were hurried, with holy velocity, through college; or, wretched drunken Catholic priests, breaking every vow in turn, and as uncertain in creed or in repentance, as Cranmer, or Latimer, or Ridley; and who, rushing from the public-house or the brothel, slander the religion and the order which they had disgraced (their only acts of reparation being the abandonment of their religion and the priesthood); and who are cherished and hailed as brothers by the Priests' Protection Society. The people feel all this, and see, too, that a vile herd of men, young and old, and well known to the constabulary and the police, are employed as the light skirmishers to this main body of ecclesiastics, who make their religion what Holloway makes the science of medicine, a nuisance to all but bill-stickers and advertising agents.

I would not, your Excellency—who could?—object to the fullest and most free efforts to make converts to Protestantism if legitimate means only were employed to bring about the results. Catholicity, with its Divine Founder, its origin in far off ages, and its vitality to-day, as vigorous and heaven-guarded as ever, has nothing to fear; and when sects who wrangle amongst themselves on points of doctrine, unite in a wonderful unanimity to abuse and slander Catholicity, the abuse and slander do not injure, for as we measure towers by their shadows, so we can estimate great institutions by their calumniators; and when, amidst the wild jarring jangle of conflicting

theologies the eternal Church is threatened with destruction; and when the raff of the May Meetings' orators tell me that a faith which has gained from Oxford its glories, and from the Church of England its lights; when it shows me as a set off, some drunken priests and half-starved peasants or tradespeople, limed to the Mission-House by food, and warmth, and clothing, I may be pardoned if I estimate the reverend gentlemen who do the ground and lofty tumbling before Lord Castlemaigne, as not only *MAITUS KAKAI* but likewise *MAITUS KAKAI*—not alone prophets of evil, but likewise evil prophets.

If your Excellency will keep these people in their churches; if you will prevent the display of offensive placards; if you will, for the protection of the public peace, check the disgraceful and unnecessary exhibition called Open Air Sunday Preaching, and that most dangerous practice, the visitation of Catholics by Scripture Readers, you will do much to prove that you are as wise a Viceroy in these particulars as in very many others; whilst by these acts, you will have proved the best friend of social order, of true religion, and (but this latter I very much regret) of the Irish Church Establishment.

But, it may be said, if I have so strong a belief in the truth of Catholicity, why do I oppose the disturbers of the country—would not silence in a right cause be best? The objection would be well founded if every man, woman, and child in the Liberty, and in Townsend-street, and all such neighbourhoods, were calm, calculating, reflecting people, and were fully impressed with the wise Italian motto, "*Il tacer non fù mai scritto.*" But unfortunately these poor people are not so philosophical. They believe that the scripture readers and their employers exist only to defame and abuse the most cherished doctrines and ceremonies of the Catholic Religion. Receiving the Eucharist, and desecrating it; befouling the name of God's Mother; insulting the head of the Catholic Church; ribald sneers at Confession, and Absolution, and Penance, and Indulgences; scoundrel falsehoods upon Nuns and Convents; branding the people as ignorant slaves to the Priests, those Priests towards whom every one of the Catholics to whom the words are addressed, or for whom the placards are posted, feels as the peasant who sings, in poor John Banim's lines—

" Who, as friend only met,
Soggarth Aroon.
Never did flout me yet,
Soggarth Aroon.

And when my heart was dim
 Gave, whilst his eye did brim,
 What I should give to him,
 Soggarth Aroon !”

succers at the doctrine of Purgatory, one so dear to the warm hearts of the Irish, and by which they are, as they believe, enabled to extend the love of kindred and friends beyond the grave : these, your Excellency, are the insults and injuries which a small body of men are permitted to offer to the millions of Irish Catholics ; and though sufferance has very long “ been the badge of all his tribe,” yet he may remember, when wronged, insulted, despised, unprotected by the law, that he has not alone eyes, senses, affections, passions, but also—hands. He finds that the Gods of the Hindoo are guarded from insult ; he discovers that the idol of the Indian is respected, and he learns to believe that had he been born a Fire-Worshipper his superstition would have been considered a national orthodoxy ; but, being only a Catholic and an Irishman, his creed is maligned and contemned, and his clergy are misrepresented as teachers of idolatry, of perjury, and of immorality. There is respect for every faith save his, there is a just regard for every feeling, or prejudice, or, if you will, superstition, save his, and even the Mormon, in his rites of blasphemy, and in the development of his Mahometanism of the West, is unmolested, yet the Irishman’s Catholic faith—the faith of Saints, of Kings, of Philosophers and of Sages—living through all time, and eternal as truth, is slandered, blasphemed, and insulted by the rabble of the sectarian world, and by the fanatics who are duped by sanctimonious charlatans, and balked by ecclesiastical Dulcamaras in white cravats and clerical broadcloth. It is not thus that converts are made to religion ; it is not thus that people are made loyal to a State ; it is not thus Christianity is spread—but it is thus that our poor people are taught to look to American sympathy for succour, and to French oneness of faith with an eye half longing. Men may say that these things mean nothing—who can tell what they mean ? who can calculate the patience of a Nation ? what statesman would willingly permit a sore in the right arm of the Kingdoms to be rankled into a cancer ? Look to your army and navy—count the Irish Catholics in these services ; read the blazoned names, shining in golden glory, upon the roll of the Order of Valor ; remember how Irish Catholics are leading in Colonial Governments, and then consider if it is wise, or

safe, or just, or Christian, to permit the religion of a Nation, such as Ireland, to be insulted, or maligned.

I have written, your Excellency, this letter, a most ungrateful task, because, a watcher of events, and one who sees and hears for himself, I know that the present system by which Catholics and their faith are insulted in Ireland, with impunity, cannot be permitted, with safety, to continue. If ever there was a time when the friends of the Church Establishment in Ireland should be careful not to irritate the people, that time is now. With a great voluntary party in England opposed to it; with the entire body of the people ready to aid in its destruction; with a powerful and opulent Free Church party in Scotland—was the Irish Church ever so surrounded, and yet, as if to hasten its overthrow, these fanatics of the Coombe and Townsend-street, are becoming daily more offensive, more rampant, and more audacious. The Catholic Clergy and the Catholic Police have to this period been able to preserve the peace; how much longer the former may be able, or the latter may be willing to preserve it is a problem depending on many circumstances, any one of which may teach us over again, that “He who takes up arms for coat and conduct, and his four nobles Danegelt,” may consider that the coat and arms are a disgrace, and that the four nobles are a bribe to support a system opposed to religion, to reason, to justice, and to country. That such things as these may never be, I most sincerely hope; it rests with your Excellency to remove the causes, and thus obviate all chance of the possible evils.

For my own part I do not regret the attention which these fanatics have drawn upon themselves, because I believe that their efforts to falsify Catholic doctrines have made many Catholics the more careful to zealously perform every duty inculcated, or commanded by these same doctrines; and whilst “The Controversial Class,” and the “Prayer Meetings” of the Mission House are proclaiming that Catholics are deprived of the Bible, and of the free use of the Sacred Volume, I find the following advertisement posted on every wall in Dublin, and advertised in every Catholic Newspaper in Ireland:

James Duffy, has the honour to announce that, with permission of the illustrious Prelates of Ireland, he will have ready for delivery on the 15th inst., in one handsome volume, Price Three Shillings,

THE HOLY BIBLE,

Translated from the latin vulgate, diligently compared with the

Hebrew, Greek, and other editions, in divers languages, the Old Testament, first published by the English College at Douay, A.D., 1609; and the New Testament, first published by the English College at Rheims, A.D., 1582; with annotations, references, historical and chronological index, &c., &c., the whole revised and diligently compared with the latin vulgate.

APPROBATION.

This New Edition of the English Version of the BIBLE, printed with our permission, by James Duffy, 7, Wellington-quay, Dublin, carefully collated, by our direction, with the clementine vulgate, likewise with the Douay Version of the Old Testament of 1609, and with the Rhemish Version of the New Testament of 1582, and with other approved English Versions,—We, by our authority, approve. And we also declare, that the same may be used by the faithful with great spiritual profit, provided it be read with due reverence, and with the proper dispositions.

Given at Dublin, this 4th day of May, 1857.

† PAUL CULLEN, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland, Delegate Apostolic, &c., &c."

† JOSEPH DIXON, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, &c., &c.

† JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.

† PATRICK M'GETTIGAN, Bishop of Raphoe.

† JOHN RYAN, Bishop of Limerick.

† JAMES BROWN, Bishop of Kilmore.

† JOHN CANTWELL, Bishop of Meath.

† THOMAS FEENY, Bishop of Killala.

† CHARLES MACNALLY, Bishop of Clogher.

† EDWARD WALSH, Bishop of Ossory.

† WILLIAM DELANEY, Bishop of Cork.

† JOHN DERRY, Bishop of Clonfert.

† FRANCIS KELLY, Coadjutor Bishop of Derry.

† DANIEL VAUGHEN, Bishop of Killaloe.

† WILLIAM KEANE, Bishop of Cloyne and Ross.

† PATRICK DURCAN, Bishop of Achonry.

† PATRICK FALLON, Bishop of Kilfenora and Kilmacduagh.

† JOHN KILDUFF, Bishop of Ardagh.

† DAVID MORIARTY, Bishop of Kerry.

† JOHN P. LEAHY, Coadjutor Bishop of Dromore.

† D. O'BRIEN, Bishop of Waterford.

† JAMES WALSH, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.

† DANIEL M'GETTIGAN, Coadjutor Bishop of Raphoe.

† L. GILLOOLY, Coadjutor Bishop of Elphin.

† JOHN MACEVILLY, Bishop of Galway.

† THOMAS FURLONG, Bishop of Ferns.

Your Excellency knows that these are no new and special recommendations given by the Catholic Hierarchy of Ireland to meet a particular charge. Thirty-seven years ago Pius the Seventh thus wrote to the Vicars Apostolic of Great Britain:—

Direct all your zeal and attention to this, that all the faithful whom we have committed to your pastoral care, love one another in Charity, Sincerity, and Truth, that in the present general agitation they shew themselves an example of good works: that they obey the King, and be so dutiful and faithful to him, that our adversaries may fear (not having it in their power) to speak ill of us; that they abstain from reading vicious books, by which, in those most calamitous times, our holy religion is in all directions assailed; that by reading pious books, *and above all the Holy Scriptures, in the editions approved by the Church*, they conform in faith and good works to you, as their pattern in precept and practice.

And when Pius wrote thus, he but repeated, what forty-two years before, had been written by Pope Pius the Sixth.

Whilst I write a great festival of the Catholic Church is being celebrated, one in honor of that mystery which the ruffian "Souper" profaned, the festival of CORPUS CHRISTI. His Grace, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, has addressed a Pastoral Letter to his flock, and from it I take the following passage to which I beg your attention:—

Unhappily, there are now a days many of those wicked men described by the apostle as "having gone in the way of Cain, and after the error of Balaam, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own confusion, to whom the storm of darkness is reserved for ever" (St. Jude); wicked men, who do not hesitate to insult the Holy of Holies, and to Scoff at all that is most sacred in our religion. In their placards and their handbills, in their conversation when passing through the streets, that most holy institution, in which Christ gave us His body and His blood, is made the subject of profane ridicule and impious blasphemies. Their words, which creep like a canker, have driven some of their deluded followers to commit the most awful sacrileges, and to approach for the most wicked purposes that table where he who receives unworthily, "is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh judgment to himself." (1 Cor. xi.) The perpetration of such awful sacrileges should be a solemn warning to you all to avoid the company and the teaching of those apostles of Satan, who would bring the guilt of Judas on your souls. From their fruits of sacrilege and impiety, you will know of what spirit they are. Dearly beloved brethren, preserve yourselves and the lambs of the fold from the fangs of those voracious wolves. When we hear that blasphemy and sacrilege have shown themselves among us, horror and indignation necessarily fill our breasts. But let us not be carried to any excess by those feelings; let us rather humble ourselves before God, let us beg of Him to avert the scourges which the iniquity of man would bring upon the earth, and let us humbly implore of Him to look with compassion on, and to move to penance, the unhappy men who have outraged his Divine Majesty.

Who can make us certain that "horror and indignation" at "blasphemy and sacrilege" may not develop themselves in

breaches of the peace if the blasphemy and sacrilege are permitted to continue unopposed by the authorities. If, indeed, the Coombe were the Stafford-Club, and if Townsend-street could send deputations from its aqualid courts to remonstrate with your Excellency, one might feel satisfied that nothing stronger than resolutions could take place; but "the gentlemen of no property," who work, and starve, and pray, in The Liberty are not so logical as Members of Parliament, and the coal porters of George's-quay and its alleys are not so patient of insult to Catholicity as in the days of Beresford and of Sirr.

The Catholic Clergy and the Catholic Police, have to this period, I repeat, been able to preserve the peace; how much longer the former may be able, or the latter may be willing to preserve it is a problem depending on many circumstances. That setting police or soldiers to protect the aggressors of those whom the police and soldiers think right is a dangerous experiment, and may be carried too far; States have fallen by it; Governments have been shaken by it—you will recollect how Mirabeau thundered the loudest and shook the long locks most vigorously when he saw the King, in his folly, concentrating the French Army around, and to overcome, the National Assembly. From great events we may learn much to guide us in little things—that which made a revolution may, in another phase, make many and serious riots.

Your Excellency is the guardian of the public peace, and it is as this guardian I have ventured to address you: I know that oratorical Orange Societies will declare you are only fit for the Governorship of a Russian Province if you use your authority to preserve us from these threatened disturbances; but the people of Ireland will look upon your acts as the best proofs that the Viceroyalty is a genuine, useful institution, serviceable to the country, when unfettered by red tape, that is, when filled by one who dares to think for himself and to act not for party or for sect, but for the peace and harmony of Ireland and of its inhabitants of every creed.

I have the honor to be,

With the most profound respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THE EDITOR.

QUARTERLY RECORD
OF THE
PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY SCHOOLS AND
OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

The *Third Annual Report* of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland has just been published, and from it we learn that the accommodation for Convicts in the Government Prisons on the 1st January, 1857, may be estimated as amounting to 3,486.

GOVERNMENT PRISONS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on the 1st January, 1857,	1,971	643	2,614
Accommodation on 1st January, 1857,	2,750	736	3,486

COUNTY AND CITY GAOLS.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Number in custody on 1st January, 1857,	25	137	162

Gross Total of Convicts in Ireland, 2,776.

NUMBER OF CONVICTS SENTENCED DURING THE YEAR.

TRANSPORTATION.		PENAL SERVITUDE.	
10 years (passed in error),	2	4 years,	271
14 and 15 years,	32	6 years and above 4,	48
Life,	16	10 years and above 6,	18
		Life,	2
Total,	50	Total,	339

Gross Total of Convicts sentenced in Ireland in 1856, 389

DISPOSAL OF CONVICTS.

Removed to Bermuda, per ship, "Norman Morrison,"	100
Discharged unconditionally,	744
Ditto on petition, sentences having been commuted,	14
Released on "Orders of Licence,"	353
Total,	1,211

EMPLOYMENT.

The male convicts have been employed as follows, viz :—

At Spike Island on works under the Royal Engineer Department connected with the fortifications at that station (masonry, earthwork, quarrying, &c., &c.) and under the same department at Forts Camden and Carlisle, at the entrance to the Harbour, and at Queenstown; also at Haulbowline, under the Naval Department, and in various works requisite for the repairs, &c., of the prison buildings at Spike Island.

At Philipstown a portion of the convicts confined there have been employed in new buildings and alterations necessary towards the completion of that invalid establishment.

The health of the prisoners, as shown from the following table, is wonderfully improved under the management of the present Board :—

RETURN showing the PROPORTION of SICK and DEATHS to the No. of Prisoners in the Irish Convict Prisons for the years 1854, 1855, and 1856.

	Spike Island and Phillips-town.	Cork and Grange-gorman.	Newgate and Smithfield.	Mountjoy.	TOTALS
1854.					
No. of Prisoners,	2,290	339	556	443	3,628
Average daily No. of Sick, . .	276	25	46	21	368
No of Deaths,	241	6	33	9	289
Per centage on prison population,	10·5	1·8	5·9	2·	6·
1855.					
No. of Prisoners,	1,777	488	430	452	3,147
Average daily No. of Sick, . .	303	36	65	17	321
No. of Deaths,	101	8	31	9	149
Per centage on prison population,	5·7	1·6	7·2	2·	4·7
1856.					
No. of Prisoners,	1,619	613	199	421	2,852
Average daily No. of Sick, . .	101	42	35	16	194
No. of Deaths,	35	11	5	3	54
Per centage on prison population,	2·1	1·8	2·5	·7	1·9

The Directors state :—

We feel it our duty to report that there are prisoners in the depots, especially at Philipstown, whose state of mind frequently verges on insanity ; and although no Medical Officer will sign the requisite certificate for their removal to a criminal lunatic asylum, they can scarcely be considered sane, or responsible for their acts, and are certainly not fit subjects for the strict discipline which is established in the Convict Prisons. Such men are liable to be irritated by indispensable prison restraint, until their perverted state of mind leads them to acts of violence against their fellow-prisoners and officers placed over them ; and even, by want of appropriate treatment in an early stage of the disease, ultimately, in some cases, to become confirmed lunatics.

In a note on this passage we find the following very interesting paragraph :—

One of our Board, conversant with medical subjects, is of opinion, that these cases are referable to a disordered state of the body acting on an ill-regulated mind, untrained to moral restraint over thoughts and actions, and incapable of self-government, hence yielding to impulses and impressions generated by the morbid condition of the brain, and gradually acquiring an ascendancy which the mind will not controul. They are generally attributable, when not consequent on derangement of the abdominal viscero, or the circulation, to a peculiar type of scrofula, the prevailing disease of convicts, and great cause of mortality amongst them, which appears to develop itself not alone in the form of pthisis and diseases of the glands and joints, but also, it would seem, in many instances by a peculiar tendency to attack the cerebral organs, and influence their functions, leading to a perversion of the moral sentiments, the constant obtruding of false ideas and perceptions on the mind, and exciting to irregular and criminal impulses and the commission of crime, often without apparent cause, and against the interest of the individual.

The Smithfield Institution, of which our readers have heard so much, has more than fulfilled the hopes of those who have watched its progress, and from the *Report* of Mr. J. P. Organ, the lecturer, a gentleman to whom the public service is deeply indebted for his zeal, and energy, and discrimination, we learn the following interesting particulars :—

Smithfield Institution for Exemplary Prisoners,
January 1, 1857.

GENTLEMEN—In compliance with your directions, I beg to present my first Annual Report as Lecturer in the Smithfield Institution for Exemplary Prisoners.

When you honoured me with my present appointment in the insti-

tution, I understood my duties to be of a combined nature ; I was not to consider myself merely a literary teacher, nor yet solely a moral trainer. I believed that I was to make myself acquainted not alone with the knowledge or ignorance, in an educational point, of the inmates committed to my charge, but I was likewise to obtain an insight, as much as possible, into the natural character, the disposition, the hopes, the fears, the wishes, and the intentions of each individual. I knew also that I was, if possible, to keep myself acquainted with the employment and conduct of the men upon quitting the institution. These things I have endeavoured to accomplish, and I have been aided willingly and earnestly by every officer of this institution.

Upon my appointment I found fifty inmates committed to my charge, and upon an examination I was enabled to classify them educationally, though not with perfect accuracy, as exhibited in the following table :—

Number able to read and write,	.	.	.	21
„ able to read only,	.	.	.	13
„ unable to read or write,	.	.	.	16
				—
Total,	.	.	.	50

With an education so very limited as these figures disclose to have been possessed by the men, you will, Gentlemen, easily perceive that, during the short period I could expect to have them under my charge, it would be rather a waste of time on my part if I were to endeavour to carry out any regular system of school teaching. I thought it better, under your approbation, to direct my chief attention to the development of their minds, and to give them matter for thought, through the medium of useful and interesting lectures suited to their capacities, whilst supplying them with instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the plain rules of grammar. I was assisted in this latter department by Mr. William Bradfield, whose aid has been most valuable, and his unflagging zeal was marked by a tact most worthy of commendation. Latterly, in addition to Mr. William Bradfield, I have had most useful assistance from Mr. Armstrong.

These lectures commenced on the 3rd of February, 1856, and have been continued on every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. The subjects for each week have been sent on the Mondays, by your direction, to the Convict Prisons' Office ; and I here beg leave to present the detailed list of subjects :—

LECTURES DELIVERED IN THE SMITHFIELD INSTITUTION.

March 10-14, 1856.—Form and Diurnal Motion of the Earth. The Atmosphere. Australia. English Grammar. Difference between Education and Instruction.

March 17-21, 1856.—Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties. Remarkable Inventions. Mr. Kavanagh's paper read on this evening. Man ; his duty to God—his relation to his fellows. The Atmosphere and its uses.

March 24-28, 1856.—List of subjects mislaid.

April 1-5, 1856.—Physical Geography and its Curiosities. The Electric Telegraph and its uses. On Self-denial and Decision of Character. Some Remarkable Inventions. Canada and its Resources.

April 7-11, 1856.—The Seasons, the Calendar, and the Tides. Works of God. Wonders of Science. Temperance and the Cost of Drunkenness. What Machinery has done for the World.

April 14-18, 1856.—Mysteries of the Deep. Frugality. The Post Office and its History, Emigration. Prisons, Past and Present.

April 21-25, 1856.—Sleep and Dreaming. Morning of the World. The Crown of Labour. Wine and the Wine Lands. Natal and its Resources.

April 27 to May 1.—Moderation in Anger. Who should Emigrate. The Beer-shop Evil. The Water we Drink. The Labourer in his Moral and Physical Conditions.

May 5-9, 1856.—The Laws of England. The National Debt; The Funds and Banks. Lives of Great Men—No. 1, Napoleon III. The Employer and the Employed. Great Battles—Waterloo and Trafalgar.

May 12-16, 1856.—Conscientiousness. Lives of Great Men—No. 2, Lord Palmerston. What to Eat, Drink, and Avoid. Natural Magic. Great Battles—Trafalgar.

May 19-23, 1856.—Conscientiousness in the discharge of our duties. The Soil we Cultivate. Capital and Labour. The Water we Drink. The Rights of others.

May 26-30, 1856.—Moderation in Anger. Who should Emigrate. The Beer-shop Evil. The Water we Drink. The Labourer in his Moral, Intellectual, and Physical Conditions.

June 2-6, 1856.—Courtesy and Politeness. Labour, the Duty of all Men. Chemistry of Common Life.

June 9-13, 1856.—Magnanimity and Heroism. Agriculture—No. 1, Rotation of Crops. Emigration—No. 1, Australia. Industry and Frugality. Form of the Earth.

June 16-20, 1856.—English Grammar; Motions of the Earth; the Night-mare and the Day-mare; Emigration—No. 2, N. S. Wales; Agriculture—No. 2, Elements of Organic Bodies

June 23-27, 1856.—Money; how to use and prize it; the Rewards of Knowledge; Domestic Animals—No. 1, the Dog; Remarkable Men—Louis Philip; Emigration—No. 3, Port Philip and Melbourne

June 30 to July 4, 1856.—Truth and Trust; Geological Condition of the Earth; the Air we Breathe; the Human Frame; Western Australia.

July 7-11, 1856.—The Form and Magnitude of the Earth; the Bank and the Fire-side; the Water we Drink; the Ruins of Creation; the Gold Fields of Australia.

July 14-18, 1856.—Conscientiousness respecting Reputation and Property of others; Coal and the Coal Mines; Opening Address in Newgate; Mysteries of the Deep; Canada and her Resources.

July 21-25, 1856.—Forbearance and Forgiveness; the Race of Man; Life of Alexander Selkirk; the Plant we Cultivate.

July 28 to August 1, 1856—Slander ; Rivers and Lakes of the World ; Endowments of God to Man ; the Bread we Eat ; English Grammar.

August 4-8, 1856—Electric Telegraph, Anecdotes of ; Mines and Minerals ; Self-denial and Decision of Character ; Lives of Great Men—Columbus ; Physical Geography—Lecture No. 1.

August 11-15, 1856—Emigration ; Life and Death of the Drunkard ; Commerce ; Precious Metals and Precious Stones ; the World of Plants.

August 18-22, 1856—Conscientiousness in adhering to a Promise ; Vegetable Kingdom ; Thunder and Lightning ; Victoria and Port Philip ; Physical Geography—Lecture No. 2.

August 25-29, 1856—Contentment and Religious Repose of Mind ; Clouds and Storms ; Structure of the Earth ; Howard the Philanthropist ; Canada and her Resources.

September 1-5, 1856—Conscientiousness respecting Rights of others ; the Drainage and Natural Features of Europe ; Temperance and Intemperance ; the Human Heart ; the Mechanical Powers.

September 8-12, 1856—Conduct towards Inferiors and Superiors ; the Bank and the Fire-side ; Circulation of the Blood ; New South Wales ; English Grammar and Dictation.

September 15-19, 1856—Anger ; Trade Winds ; Who should Emigrate ; Decision of Character ; Marks of Design in the Human Body.

September 22-26, 1856—Benefits of Labour ; the Gulf Stream ; Southern Australia ; General View of the Globe ; the Deluge.

September 29 to October 3, 1856—The Government of our Passions ; the Gold Diggings of Australia ; the Ocean and its Mysteries ; the Functions of Leaves ; Sleep.

October 6-10, 1856—Frugality ; Capital and Labour ; the Air we Breathe ; Canada ; Rivers and their uses.

October 13-17, 1856—Gratitude and Ingratitude ; How to get to the Colonies ; Life and Labour of Bees ; Nature of Plants ; English Grammar.

October 20-24, 1856—Self-labour and Self-dependence ; Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties ; the Precious Metals ; the Distribution of Man ; History and Chronology.

October 27-31, 1856—Calumny, Baseness of ; New South Wales ; Respiration ; the Seasons.

November 3-7, 1856—The Blessings of Temperance ; Presence of Mind ; Digestion ; Diffusion of Metals ; Plains and Deserts ; the Wants of Men.

November 10-14, 1856—Hypocrisy ; Conscientiousness in adhering to a Promise ; the uses of Vegetables ; the Sahara ; Who should Emigrate.

November 17-21, 1856—The Advantages of Savings' Banks ; Truth and Trust ; the Gold Diggings of Australia ; Rivers and their uses ; General View of the Globe.

November 24-28, 1856—Frugality ; the Ocean ; the Wants of Men ; Modern History—1st Century ; the Duty of the Smithfield Men.

December 1-5, 1856—Advantages of Emigration; Guidance of our Passions; Evils of Intemperance; the Air we Breathe; the Reward of Labour.

December 8-12, 1856—Nature of Tickets of Licence; Contentment and Religious Repose of Mind; Plains and Deserts; Self Control; Geography of Europe—No. 1, Norway and Sweden.

December 22-27, 1856—Conscientiousness respecting Property and Rights of others; The Water we Drink; Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties; The Tides and their Causes; Geography of Europe—No. 2, Russia.

December 29, 1856, to January 2, 1857—The Advantages of Emigration; The Evils of Intemperance; Frugality and the Savings' Banks; Conscientiousness respecting Debt; Geography of Europe—No. 3, Austria.

I found from the outset that lectures were admirably suited to attract the attention of the men; but being desirous to test that attention, and to discover if the memory and reason were effected equally with the curiosity, I appointed each Saturday night for a species of competitive examination upon the subjects on which I had addressed them during the preceding five days. The results of this plan were quickly evident; the men were anxious to show their attention and memory, whilst their reasoning and understanding were fully evidenced in the nature of the queries addressed to each other. Those who are able to write make notes in their books; and it is most interesting to remark the quickness with which they detect errors in the answering, referring to their notes in case of any dispute as to accuracy.

Another interesting point I would, Gentlemen, bring under your notice, and it is this, that the less informed portion of the men appear to consider the lectures upon moral subjects as peculiarly interesting, being able to reason upon temperance, frugality, industry, and topics of this nature, but not being sufficiently advanced to start questions upon geography or arithmetic with the better taught section. When speaking to the men on moral subjects I have invariably made it a rule ~~never~~, directly or indirectly, to infringe upon the duties of their respective chaplains, and I believe that these gentlemen are fully aware of the correctness of this statement.

The men are not sufficiently long under my care to enable me to furnish any evidence of progress in school teaching at all comparative with that which you would expect from an ordinary school; in fact, the progress at Smithfield is a psychological one—one of mind and character rather than of intellect and mere literary knowledge. I have, however, endeavoured to make the following table of progress in school knowledge as accurate as possible:—

Number able to read and write on entering, and also having a fair knowledge of the simple and compound rules of arithmetic, - - -	65
Number unable to read or write on entering, -	85
Number who entered and left the institution unable to read and write, - - -	17
Total, - - -	167

Of the eighty-five who were unable to read or write on entering, forty-two were able to read their book of prayer, and receipt a bill on leaving; the remaining forty-three could write their names and read the First Book of the Commissioners of National Education. The seventeen men here mentioned who made no progress in school knowledge were aged and unable to speak the English language.

On Sundays I attend at the institution from five to six o'clock, p.m., and talk to the men in a familiar way upon sobriety and industry, the necessity for self-dependence, and other kindred topics; and I endeavour to induce those who have left the institution to revisit it on these days, and support me in essaying to impress my views upon those not yet liberated. On Friday evenings, at the conclusion of the lecture, I visit the infirmary, and spent some time with the men who may be there confined.

This species of, if I may so call it, fellowship enables me to understand each man thoroughly; and I have never grudged this self-imposed trouble of the Sunday and Friday evenings' visitings; for I believe that if such men as ours are not individualized, all efforts at reformation, however earnestly made, must of necessity lose half their effect.

During the year 167 men were discharged from the institution; 112 on tickets of license, and fifty-five absolutely. Of the 112 licensed men, 103 were Roman Catholics, and nine were Protestants and Dissenters. Twenty-four of the licensed men were married, and twenty of the free men. Of this total of 112 licensed men, five were re-committed; of the free men, none. And it is worthy of notice that but one of these men so again offending against the law was married; but I must here remark that he had separated himself from his wife for many years previous to his conviction.

It being a self-imposed duty of mine, approved by you, to endeavour to secure employment for the men before they were permitted to leave the institution, I have devoted a considerable portion of time to the fulfilment of this task; and I have kept in view the men employed in the county and city of Dublin. There are at present in Dublin and in the county forty-one licensed men and three free men; and I classify them as to employment as follows:—

LICENSED MEN.							
Weavers,	-	-	1	Tailors,	-	-	2
Shopmen,	-	-	1	Servants,	-	-	1
Painters,	-	-	1	Labourers,	-	-	22
Masons,	-	-	1	FREE MEN.			
Carpenters,	-	-	1	Shoemakers,	-	-	1
Sweeps,	-	-	1	Labourers,	-	-	2
Shoemakers,	-	-	10				

Knowing the great importance which is at present attached to the ticket-of-leave question, I have carried out a system of weekly visitation of every man employed from the institution in Dublin, and within a circuit of twenty miles; I find that they are, with one exception, giving the most complete satisfaction. They are steady, honest, sober, and industrious. Many of the married men are often sorely pressed by the high price of provisions; but they generally

bear their condition in a cheerful and unshaken spirit of honest patience and self-reliance. I have visited some of them in wretchedly poor lodgings; I have seen them badly fed, badly clothed, enduring much hardship, and wishing for, and asking nothing but, continuous employment. I have not found much difficulty in inducing persons to employ them; but as they are not first-class tradesmen, their wages are generally low; and I would respectfully suggest that the men should not be discharged until they are acquainted with their trades as well as the ordinary class belonging to those trades. Labourers, however, secure employment easily, and retain it; but coming, as they do, from prisons, and unaccustomed, through lapse of time, to hard manual labour, they are not able readily to compete with those men who have been accustomed to out-door work. They have the will to toil, but their physical strength is rarely equal to their mental energy. I have remarked also in the evidence of Mr. T. F. Elliott, in his third examination before the Transportation Committee of last session, that this same point has been urged upon the Home Office by the authorities in Western Australia.

The wages of the labourers vary from 7s. to 10s. per week; those of the tradesmen range from 12s. to 20s. per week. They are, of course, content with these wages; but every man amongst them looks to a better future, and that better future he hopes to pass in the colonies.

The majority are extra-careful in the hoarding of their prison earnings; they have given to me every penny they can save towards forming an emigration fund; and although this has been but eight weeks in existence, I already hold their savings' bank books, which show a total deposit of £13 from ten men.

They are all anxious to assist each other. I formed a loan fund last July, which is now certified under the Act of Parliament; and I have witnessed the gratifying spectacle of ticket-of-leave men becoming security for each other, and the borrowers, with very few exceptions, repaying with the strictest regularity. One ticket-of-leave man was on the Committee of Management, acting with some of the most industrious artisans of Dublin, and I feel bound to add that sharper or more careful scrutinizer of the names of securities, and the reasons inducing the borrowers to seek the loan, I have never yet known. This loan fund is now in a most flourishing condition, and amongst the shareholders there are several ticket-of-leave men. In the last week of December £80 were out on loan; and the Government registrar has highly approved of the society, and has certified its legality.

I have stated above that the men are anxious to serve each other; and they feel an interest in the Smithfield Institution not unlike that which Monsieur Demetz describes as a characteristic of the youths who have been the inmates of Mettray; and I cannot state to you the pleasure and astonishment which I experienced when visited, on various occasions during the past summer at the institution during lecture, by two who, quitting the institution, have enlisted and re-visited it in their uniforms.

The following letters from the employers of some of our men are selected from many in the same spirit now before me :—

December 12, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,—The boy, R. A., you sent me about ten months ago from Smithfield is still in my employment, and going on as well as can be desired.

Your obedient servant,

J. P. Organ, Esq.

J. G.

December 19, 1856.

DEAR SIR,—The man we took in on your recommendation has shown himself anxious to do all in his power to give satisfaction. We have increased his wages from 9s. to 12s. a week.

Believe us, dear Sir, your obedient servants,

J. P. Organ, Esq.

O'N & Co.

December 3, 1856.

DEAR SIR,—The six men recommended to me by you continue, I am glad to say, to afford me every satisfaction ; so much so indeed, that I am prepared to employ another, provided one can be found who can be safely recommended for good conduct and willingness to work.

I am, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

James P. Organ, Esq.

J. M'D.

These letters will, I think, prove to any mind but the most prejudiced, that the adult criminal is not necessarily irreclaimable.

The institution at Smithfield has now become known to the public. Several gentlemen of distinction have visited it: and His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant has been a constant attendant, aiding our efforts by his countenance, and evident and frequently expressed interest in our success. The effects of his visits upon the men have been in the highest degree satisfactory.

Although I cannot speak from a personal knowledge of the conduct and position of our men in England or in the country parts of Ireland, yet I have received the most gratifying accounts of their well doing from themselves and from their employers.

You will, Gentlemen, doubtless have observed that for men who have been so long a time in prison, as most of those who have passed through Smithfield were, their progress in ordinary school knowledge in the prisons' schools was wofully deficient. I have observed that the men look forward to the school and lecture time in Smithfield with great and evident pleasure ; and from conversation with them, I attribute this to the fact that the instruction is given at a period of the day when all labour is closed. Thus, they do not look upon it as a part of daily work, but as a pleasant conclusion to the day upon the cessation of work.

I do not, of course, presume to suggest any change in the present system of school teaching adopted in prisons, but I feel myself bound in duty to mention this, which appears to me a plain fact ; and I must further state I have almost invariably discovered that men registered

as possessing a fair amount of knowledge, had but a parrot-like capacity of repeating words, without comprehending their meaning.

Occasionally I have had men under my charge in Smithfield who were, through early instruction, much superior in education to their fellows. When the zeal in self-improvement of these men was especially satisfactory, I have adopted, with great success, the plan of permitting them to take in turn the post of monitor; and I have found that the effect upon the other men was in every respect satisfactory.

Although none of the men are discharged from our institution until every precaution has been employed to secure work for them in safe and trustworthy quarters, I have always endeavoured to induce them before quitting to take the temperance pledge from a clergyman of that religious persuasion to which they may belong. About two-thirds of the men discharged have acceded to my request; and it is well worthy of notice that all thus acting have preserved most excellent characters.

In closing this Report I would, Gentlemen, most respectfully but earnestly urge the necessity for the establishment of some home or refuge, such as that indicated by Mr. Shepherd, the Governor of Wakefield Prison, in his evidence before the Transportation Committee of last session, to which the men could apply forwork at low rates of wages, when unable to obtain employment elsewhere. We find little difficulty in procuring work for our men when leaving the institution; our difficulty is to secure continuous employment—a difficulty which may be increased should the tone of the public press continue as at present. Give our men constant employment at any reasonable rate of wages, and from what I have seen, and from what I know of them, I am convinced that ten per cent. will be the full extent of revocations of tickets of licence in Ireland, even though the most rigorous surveillance, provided it be judiciously used, is exercised in their regard. I have had, during the year, many struggles, through the importunities of the men, and through the offers of employment apparently satisfactory; but, believing that in our experiment, more than in any other, to “hasten slowly” is the surest and safest principle, I have endeavoured to resist the recommendation to you of any species of employment for any man unless I felt fully convinced that it was one which might be in reason expected to afford him a means of honest subsistence, however small that subsistence might be, consistent with his maintenance in health and strength.

It has been my custom to give the men the latest and most authentic information upon the openings afforded to honest industry in Australia; and the new bi-monthly journal, “The Emigration Record,” is an especial favourite with them. It is published by Groombridge & Co., and I have subscribed to it for the benefit of the men. I cannot describe, in language which will not appear exaggerated, the positive delight which they expressed at finding that Western Australia might again be thrown open to them. Such books as we possess giving information upon the colonies were always favourite reading; but from the time at which I was enabled to announce this good news to them, the interest in these books was increased tenfold. I expect results of the most satisfactory nature, far more satisfactory than

any I have been here able to record, from the reported determination of the Government to carry out transportation as a reward. I feel infinite satisfaction in being able to state to you, that so far as the most complete and intimate knowledge of every fact connected with the history of our men who have relapsed enables me to judge, not *one* would have fallen had he been enabled to obtain support here, or had he had placed before him the prospect of emigration to Australia within some fixed period, provided his conduct proved satisfactory.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,

JAMES P. ORGAN,
Lecturer at Smithfield.

I append to my report two lectures delivered in Smithfield, as specimens of the kind of lectures which I have found most suited to the particular class of persons forming my audience.

I think it necessary, in justice to myself, to observe, that these lectures should not be judged by severe rules of criticism. I have made no attempt at composition, my sole object from first to last being to explain common things in clear and simple language. I have not attempted to speak down to the level of the intellects of my audience, but to draw them on, day by day, until they came up to the level of ordinary capacity. My chief aim has been to arrive at the mind, by exciting the curiosity; to arrive at the heart, by showing the men that we all feel a desire in common to receive those who have erred from the path of rectitude; and, having thus identified myself with my audience, I have been enabled to individualize them; and thus, as far as the shortness of their stay in Smithfield permitted, I have been successful in measuring the reliance which could be placed upon the appearances of reformation evinced by its inmates. I have also appended some specimens of the manner in which some of the prisoners have been reported by their employers.

What are we to do with our Convicts? is a question most difficult to answer; but, what are we to do with our Female Convicts? is a question still more difficult. We knew a fine old Irish priest, who used to say, to men complaining of their wives, "My dear, women are a quare *institution*." Whether our reverend old friend was right or wrong we will not say, but certainly female convicts are a decidedly "quare institution," and must be committed to the management of female officers, and kept, save in the *final* exemplary class, in total separation. Association for female convicts in Ireland is perdition. If they were, as in England, where loss of honesty is almost always accompanied by the loss of chastity the evil would not be so great. But in Ireland we must guard against association as the source of two evils—it strengthens old crimes, and teaches new vices. What the Directors have done they thus tell us.

We have endeavoured, during the past year, to carry out the system approved by the Government, as well as our imperfect accommodation in the temporary female convict depots of Cork and Grangegorman would permit.

In Grangegorman, the limited number of cells (76) prevents separation being carried out to the extent that would be desirable. This very serious defect is, however, remedied as far as possible by a judicious classification of the convicts, as well as by the allocation of Newgate Prison, now no longer required for male convicts, and containing cellular accommodation for 62, as an auxiliary to Grangegorman; within the past few days, newly convicted prisoners have been moved from the county goals to this depot, and placed under the charge of a principal Matron; they will be here detained in strict separation, and, as we anticipate, with the most satisfactory results.

The accommodation at Cork Temporary Female Convict Depot being more extensive, we have there been better able to carry out the principles of separation and classification; we hope, however, in the course of another year to occupy the new female prison at Mountjoy, and establish a more perfect and uniform course of discipline. During the four months' separation to which all newly convicted female prisoners are submitted after their arrival at the depot, it is the duty of the Chaplains, Schoolmistresses, and all officers, to endeavour to awaken right feelings in their minds, and inculcate habits of self-control. After the probationary period, prisoners are employed in industrial works, and at school in classes, and are promoted according to merit. The system of badges and gratuities, as fully explained in our Report for 1855, still continues to be a powerful incentive to good, and is appreciated by both officers and prisoners.

The schools are now all under the care of teachers trained by the National Board of Education, and continue to produce very satisfactory effects; the same desire to learn is evinced by the prisoners, and active zeal to impart instruction by the Schoolmistresses. On this subject the Superintendent of Cork says:—"The prisoners arrive in the prison in the great majority of cases grossly ignorant, but already many can read and write fairly; and some who on entering did not know the alphabet, are now capable of acting as monitors; some who entered four months since, entirely ignorant, have by their own efforts in the probationary cells, brought themselves on to spelling and reading."

This is corroborated by the Chaplains and Schoolmistresses, who testify to the undeviating attention of the prisoners during school hours, and the anxiety of both old and young to learn. We also have the testimony of our Chaplains to the good effects of the moral and religious training to which the prisoners are subjected.

Mrs. Rawlins, the Superintendent of Grangegorman, reports the satisfactory conduct of the convicts while in prison, and on reference to those sent to the refuges she states:—"Of those sent to the reformatories, the most satisfactory accounts have been received of their good conduct and industry. From thence many have been placed in situations where they are respectably and honestly earning their live-

lihood; others have been sent home to friends willing to receive them, and no instance has occurred to my knowledge of any of them going astray."

In our last Annual Report, we stated our opinion that facilities must be afforded for the gradual absorption into the community of the well-disposed, considering that respectable persons would object to receive as domestic servants females discharged from prison without a stronger guarantee and proof of their real and permanent reformation than would be afforded by a prison character, or by a Government institution, which, however well managed, could only answer as a refuge, and would probably never be trusted by employers as a sufficient guarantee by which female convicts might be safely brought back into society. The public mind requires reformation to be tested, and must feel satisfied with the efficiency of the test. The individual must be released from compulsory discipline, and allowed sufficient liberty of action to show what change has been effected in her character. For this reason we proposed that female convicts whose conduct had been satisfactory, should be drafted into existing private charitable institutions, supported by voluntary subscription, where the disposition of each inmate would be studied, and the certificate of character, founded on that study, considered sufficiently satisfactory to obtain her employment; the prisoners in all such institutions to be under the supervision and inspection of the Directors of Convict Prisons.

The existing charitable institutions of Dublin were so crowded, that we found great delay and difficulty in procuring accommodation for the numbers eligible. The Lady Patronesses of the Protestant Refuges on Harcourt-road, Dublin, and Blackrock-road, Cork, kindly seconded our views, by taking the Church of England and Presbyterian convicts, some of whom are now in respectable situations as servants; but the great majority being Roman Catholics, we found much difficulty in obtaining admission for them in the already crowded asylums of Dublin. The Ladies of the Refuge of Mercy, Golden-bridge, felt themselves justified to take at first a limited number; but when the successful result of their exertions became evident, they decided on devoting the entire accommodation at their disposal for the promotion of the object we have in view, and have recently made additions to their institution. The lady managers endeavour to procure situations, or otherwise provide for the inmates, and as yet have been most successful in so doing, those who have passed through the establishment having either been reconciled to their friends (if respectable) through their intervention, or placed in situations as servants when their conduct justified their recommendation; 52 women have been placed in refuges during the past year, and from thence 30 have been absorbed into the community, and in no case has the slightest suspicion attached to the character, of any since their release; some have obtained a respectable position as servants, with the good opinion of their employers. The residences of all these persons are known, and as they are in constant communication with the managers of the refuge, and the information positive in all cases, too high a value can scarcely be placed on the statistics. Among these may be found some who have a long list of

former convictions, showing that this fact must not always be taken as an indication of irreformability. We are assured that there will be no difficulty in placing the remainder in situations to earn an honest livelihood, should experience prove the managers to be justified in recommending them. They have represented to us the very great aid to their reformatory efforts that would accrue through the deportation to a colony of convict women on license, in this stage of treatment, and with the results of the past year before us, we cannot question the advantage of such a course both to a colony and this country. The fact of employment having been found for women similarly circumstanced here, where there is a surplus of labour, and their conducting themselves creditably, renders it reasonable to suppose that such deportation properly managed, might be carried out to the satisfaction of the colonists. We have therefore recommended this course to the consideration of the Government, naming Western Australia as a colony that could profitably absorb female labour.

We hope that every reader feeling the slightest doubt of the perfect accuracy of these statements will visit the institutions named. No one can leave them without feeling how deeply the guardians of Poor Law unions, and the Boards of Superintendence err in refusing the assistance which the Nuns could give in the management of Catholic Poor or Catholic Criminals. An English friend, well acquainted with all the points of prison discipline, could hardly believe that we were serious when we told him that the Sisters of Charity or Mercy were refused admission to the Gaols and Poor Houses. "But," said he, "surely 90 per cent of your poor or criminal classes must be Catholics, and why not get at their hearts the surest way you can?" "Oh," said we, "it would encourage Popery." "But," said he, "would it not reduce the cost of recommitments, of prosecutions, and of transportation, or of penal servitude?" Poor innocent Bull, he knew little of Ireland.

The Report of the Mountjoy Model Prison is satisfactory, and that of Mr. M'Gauran, the head School Master, is full of accurate and carefully prepared matter; creditable not alone to the Directors whom he serves, but also to the Board of National Education, of which he is one of the trained teachers.

We miss from the Mountjoy Reports, the Report of the Catholic Chaplain, which a note at page 71 states to have been kept back to too late a period owing to many required alterations. We regret this much, as out of the 352 prisoners committed during the year, 302 were Catholics, and only 44 Protestants, and 6 Presbyterians. In the number of this REVIEW for June, 1856, in commenting on the *Second Annual*

Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, we wrote:—

“We would suggest, that in all future Reports the Chaplains of each Prison should be required to give tabulated returns of the religious knowledge possessed by each prisoner on his admission; excellent *forms* for this purpose can be found in any one of the Rev. Mr. Clay’s *Reports* on the Preston House of Correction. The Doctor tabulates his returns, so the School-master, so the Governor, yet the most important of all the returns is that of the Chaplain. All who are acquainted with the subject of Prison Discipline, know that the Chaplain’s Report is that to which the informed reader first turns, and finding it but a record of the Chaplain’s opinions, unsupported by facts, he is unable to form any useful opinion on its merit or its weight.”

These being our opinions, and finding that no *Report* appeared from the Catholic Chaplain, and being anxious to know something of the 302 Catholics, committed during the year, we enquired for the Chaplain’s Report Book, or any book by which we could arrive at some knowledge of the religious information of the men, but no such book was kept. This is positively absurd; a chaplain is appointed, and paid £170 a year salary, and we have no means of knowing what the progress or disposition of his men is. We are sure the Chaplain believes he does his duty; but he is not the judge of this; his employers say he must do certain things, and keep certain books, to be produced when called for, and we think our friends, the Directors, are to some extent to blame for not having treated the Chaplain as any other officer. Does the Catholic Chaplain know, or does he not know, the disposition of every man committed to his care? Are they individualized? Does he know who is a good prisoner and who a good man? We believe that he is allowed to bring in four or five priests, strangers to the Directors, to assist in hearing confessions, and it is a wise concession, though a mere concession, for the advantage of the prisoners; but this in no respect relieves the Chaplain from the paramount duty of knowing *each* man thoroughly and thoroughly, as far as his power of mind-measuring will permit. The Chaplain may know every thing of his men, but this we feel, that so far as the Directors are concerned, whether these men knew how to bless themselves when they entered, or whether they have gone through a course of repentance, or are buried in impenitence, is a matter of which they must remain

uninformed. But this the public know, that one hundred and seventy pounds a year is a large salary, that the Chaplain's duties are plain, that certain Reports should be made by him, that all his time should be devoted to the Prison, and that if these duties are not performed, either Chaplain, or Directors, or both, must be wrong.

We remark, however, that all the Chaplains of all religions, appear to think that we are to take their opinions, and that without facts or figures we are at once to bow to their statements. This would be quite right if Chaplains of Prisons knew their duties, and devoted all their time to the discharge of them. We do not wish to calculate the grace of God by the four rules of arithmetic; but the outward manifestations of it can be tabulated very simple; and until Chaplains shall have become infallible judges of character, and shall have added the physiological knowledge of the doctor, to the sleepless watching of the warder, we must claim a full Report, in facts and figures, more especially as facts and figures are paid for. One Chaplain's Report appears in this book before us to which, however, we must refer, although it does not contain figures or facts—we refer to that of the Rev. Timothy O'Sullivan, the assistant Catholic Chaplain at Spike Island; it is a most able and earnest appeal to the best feelings of nature, and though we cannot approve its form, we must give our completest approval to the kindness and humanity of the able, and earnest, and eloquent writer.

The 18th Report of the General Board of Directors of Prisons in Scotland has just been issued. At the close of the year 1855, there were 543 prisoners in custody in all departments of the General Prison—viz. 303 males and 240 females. The total number confined in this prison during the year included 584 males and 414 females. At the close of 1856, there were 616 persons in custody. The total net cost of the prisoners was 16*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.* per head, being 2*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* less than in 1855. The number of criminal prisoners received at the various prisons in the year ended the 30th of June, 1856, was 20,931, making a total of 112,235 for five years ending in 1856, and a yearly average of 22,447. Of the prisoners 1787 were under 16 years of age, 1213 under 18, 2843 under 21, 12,824 between 21 and 50, and 1232 of 50 years and above. The net number of commitments in the year was 19,015. There were 264 sentences to transportation and

penal servitude, and 2 to death. The great majority of offenders expiated their crimes by imprisonment. The Report does not present any remarkably salient points.

THE METROPOLITAN (LONDON) POLICE.—The sums received for the purposes of the Metropolitan Police for the year ended December 31, 1856, amounted to 479,717*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*, and the expenditure to 484,081*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.*, leaving a balance in hand of 45,635*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* The receipts on account of the Police Superannuation Fund during the same period amounted to 61,585*l.* 8*s.* 2*d.*; and the balance of government stock to 32,915*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*; the receipts for the service of the police courts amounted to 67,871*l.* 19*s.*, and the expenditure to 67,006*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.*, leaving a balance of 865*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.* The total number of persons belonging to the force on the 1st January, 1857, was 18 superintendents, 142 inspectors, 631 sergeants, and 5056 constables—amounting together to 5847.

We are very much pleased at being able to state that the prisons have been distributed into new districts, in consequence of the Reformatory Schools being placed under the Supervision of one Inspector. They will in future be as follows:—

1. Southern district, including the counties formerly comprehended under the "Home District," and nine other southern counties. J. G. Perry, Esq.
2. Midland district, including the midland counties and North Wales. . . . H. P. Voules, Esq.
3. Northern district, including Scotland and the five northern counties of England. Sir John Kincaid.
4. The Reformatory Schools of England and Scotland. Rev. Syd. Turner.

There is no change made in the convict department, which remains under the management of Colonel Jebb, Capt. O'Brien, and Capt. Gambier.

From *The Philanthropist* for May, we take the following interesting facts regarding the progress made in urging upon the attention of the country, the necessity for Refuges and Industrial Schools for girls. In the Record to our December number we gave some most important details of the opening of the Massachusetts State Industrial School for girls, and we regret to find that although we are, in these kingdoms, learning the value of such Institutions, yet we are far, very far behind

America in this most important development of active philanthropy—that is, if what so materially concerns us all can be considered philanthropy.

FEMALE REFORMATORY.

Amid the efforts in behalf of Boys' Reformatories, girls are in danger of being forgotten. Sir Stafford H. Northcote's Reformatory at Pynes seems to have led to the extension of similar help to girls. On Monday, 16th March, an interesting scene was exhibited by the laying of the foundation-stone of a new Reformatory, in a large and eligible field in St. Sidwell, Exeter, intended for girls, amid a large concourse of ladies and gentlemen, from the city of Exeter and the county of Devon. The ceremony was performed by the mayor of Exeter, Mr. W. Buckingham, and at its conclusion, the mayor having announced that the stone was duly laid, the spectators were addressed by Sir M. Lopes (High Sheriff of the county), Mr. J. Millard, the mayor of Exeter, the Rev. Chancellor Martin, and Sir Stafford H. Northcote.

The following reports of meetings held to afford a position to women and girls willing to fly from those "steeped in step-mothers," the streets, will be read with pleasure by all Christians:—

London Society for the protection of young Females & prevention of Juvenile Prostitution.

The anniversary festival of this valuable Institution was held at the London Tavern, on the evening of the 30th of April. J. J. Mechi, Esq., Sheriff of London and Middlesex, was in the chair.

After the usual loyal toasts, the chairman actually addressed himself to the advocacy of this Society's claim. He spoke in high terms of the orderly management of the Asylum at Tottenham, where he was present at the annual meeting on the 12th of August last, and eulogizing the benevolent object of the Society, and the success which its efforts had achieved. We presume it was mainly to the sterling sense and touching pathos of his remarks that a collection of nearly £900. was made on the occasion. This Society is under the especial patronage of His Royal Highness Prince Albert. It has been established twenty years, with the object of suppressing improper houses, and saving young females under fifteen years of age from threatened ruin. None are admitted above that age, but many others are recommended to the various metropolitan penitentiaries.

Upwards of 700 children under 15 years of age have been saved from ruin since the commencement of the Society, and nearly 400 improper houses have been suppressed. There are in the Asylum (which is capable of accommodating upwards of 100 inmates) fifty-six at the present time. In regard to the great majority of these children, the Committee have every reason to be encouraged; there are few that have not done well, fewer still that have done decidedly ill, and upon the whole, the educational training adopted has been of a most

satisfactory character. This is the more pleasing, when it is remembered that all the children sheltered by the Society have been rescued from a position of incipient iniquity, if not of decided vice. All of them were upon the verge of a profligate life, and in danger of becoming adepts in wickedness.

The Asylum is open for the inspection of ladies every day between ten and four, except Sundays.

The Committee state that several of those who were once inmates of the Asylum are now settled in life and doing well; that a considerable number are in situations provided by the charity; and that many have been restored to their friends; most of whom are pursuing a virtuous life, and maintaining positions of respectability and trust. Several have claimed and received the reward for good conduct in service.

The Asylum at Tottenham, fronting the high road to Cambridge, is placed within its own grounds, which comprise about three acres. The village is considered healthy. The Asylum is remarkably so, no more than 25s. per year having been expended for medicine for seventy children. A large quantity of vegetables are grown in the garden. The playground is large. The house is commodious and well adapted. The rooms (thirty-four in number) are large, spacious and lofty. There is a lodge at the entrance for the porter and the gardener. The arrangements of the whole establishments are, as far as practicable, complete. There is a matron, under-matron, governess, and assistant.

At six in the morning a bell is rung by the matron for every girl to rise and dress. In a few minutes a monitor comes to the matron for keys. The shutters and inner doors of the house are opened, and sundry girls are quickly occupied, lighting fires, sweeping, and preparing breakfast. After breakfast the beds are made. At half-past six a bell rings, and all the girls go to the lavatory to wash. At seven every girl is expected to be in the school-room ready for morning worship. The girls are called over and inspected, a hymn is sung, a chapter read, and prayers offered. Every one in the house is expected to be present at family worship. At half-past seven the girls assemble in the dining-room for breakfast, each having six ounces of bread and butter, and a pint of cocoa. (This meal is taken as are all the others, in the presence of one of the matrons, or assistant teacher.) After breakfast about fifteen of the most efficient girls (the servants for the time) are distributed over the premises, in the different departments of washing, cooking, and cleaning. The rest amuse themselves in the school-room, or playground, till a quarter after nine, when the school-bell rings, and at half-past-nine its duties commence, and are carried on till the first dinner bell rings at half-past twelve. At a quarter to one the children dine; beef, or mutton, or soup, with vegetables, constitute the food. Play till two. In school again from two till half-past four. At five a bell summons them to tea, each girl having, as in the morning, six ounces of bread and butter and a pint of cocoa, which is sometimes changed for coffee or tea.

The dinners vary according to a dietary table. Tuesday and Thursday divine service in the school-room from six to seven. But

on the other evenings the girls are allowed to amuse themselves with their gardens or needles, as they please, till the bell rings for family worship, after which all but about four go to rest. The girls who are in school for the time being, and not employed on domestic work, have the rudiments of a good and useful education imparted to them, beside which they do the whole of the washing and needlework for the establishment, both making and repairing.

On Sunday everything is very quiet, no work is done that can be avoided; a cold dinner is provided. Divine service from eleven till half-past twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the evening. Scripture reading classes in the afternoon conducted or inspected by the governess; but in the intervals the children have the opportunity of walking in the playground, and singing or reading as they choose, but they have always the assistant teacher with them when the governess is not present.

Fifty-eight females, under fifteen years of age, are now fed, clothed, and educated, and fitted for respectable servitude in the Asylum at Tottenham. Numerous applications are continually being made, but no more can be received for want of funds. The Secretary, James Beard Talbot, asks "Shall these young creatures continue in sin, or shall the committee be encouraged by liberal contributions to rescue from ruin those who are asking day after day for admission?"

The office of the Society is 28, New Broad-street, City.

Training Refuge for Destitute Girls, 1, Lisson-street, New Road.

The seventh annual meeting was held at the Institution on Friday, April 24th when the annual report was read. This Refuge, commenced seven years ago, was one of the first opened to admit young girls, who, either from utter destitution, the depravity of their parents, or their own ill-conduct, would be lost but for such a home and moral and religious training as is provided for them there. The report says:—

In the general order and good management of the Institution great improvement has taken place this last year; for which credit is due to our excellent matron, who has had the care of it during that time; and as her heart is so fully in the work, successful results may be expected. She and the assistant teacher (the latter has been working faithfully and perseveringly in the Refuge for more than four years), have both gained the affection and confidence of the girls, whose bright countenances are expressive of the happy life they spend here. Amongst many other excellent plans suggested by the matron, one has been carried into execution, respecting the girls going out to service. When they leave the Refuge for this purpose, everything needed in the way of clothing is provided for them; but in order to teach them habits of independence and honesty they are expected, as they receive their wages, to repay the committee the sum spent in their outfit. This arrangement has answered admirably; and during the year 11*l.* 16*s.* has been repaid by the girls gone to service. By straw bonnet making 6*l.* 17*s.* has been realised this year; and 9*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* by needlework; making the sum of 16*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* by industrial work. More might be done in this way; but as the girls have to

make all their own clothing and bonnets, there is not much time for other work.

At the commencement of the year there were thirty three girls in the Institution. Admitted during the year, twenty-nine; left for service, fifteen; transferred to another Refuge, one; returned to their friends, nine; given back to the missionary who brought her, one; in the consumptive hospital, one; died, one; number of girls left in the Refuge at the close of the year, thirty-four. One hundred and eighty-four have been admitted since the opening of the Institution.

The Institution has lately received a grant from Government of 167*l.*, which covers about a fourth of the expenses. The Committee hope that friends and subscribers will still continue their aid as heretofore, especially as the grant of 50*l.*, which the Ragged School Union has kindly given until now, has been necessarily withdrawn, on account of the low state of their funds.

The ladies of the Committee would take this opportunity to express their grateful thanks to Mr. Malton, who has most kindly and generously given, not merely his medical services, but even a large portion of medicine that has been needed, gratuitously to the inmates of the Refuge—giving close and constant attention when any serious case of illness has occurred.

As long as there are any such poor outcast girls in our streets and at our very doors perishing for want of a helping, loving hand, surely neither those who contribute money, nor those who give their time and labour in carrying out this means for their rescue, will relax in their efforts. Those who have neither money nor time to bestow, may give their prayers, and for this last and *best* gift the Committee would especially entreat on behalf of these poor girls.

Girls are admitted into the Institution solely by the sanction of the Committee, which meets the last Friday in every month, at half-past two o'clock, and subject to the following rules:—

Cases utterly destitute, when there are no parents, or no friends willing to pay for their support, to be admitted free. Children under eleven years of age not admitted unless the sum of 8*l.* a year is paid for them. In cases where there are parents it is expected, when possible, that they should pay a weekly sum as their circumstances may admit. No girl to be removed by her parents or friends from the Refuge, but on the days when the Committee meets. No girl to be allowed to go home excepting in the case of any serious illness of their relatives. The friends are permitted to visit the girls on the first Monday of every month, from four to six o'clock in the afternoon.

Application for admission of girls to be made to the Honorary Secretary of the Ladies' Committee, Miss Barrett, 30, Wimpole-street.

These facts speak for themselves, but the following able article from *The Saturday Review*, for May 9th, 1857, is worthy our attention:—

Public attention is just now called, or recalled, to the subject of Penitentiaries—or rather to the necessity of establishing, in a parti-

cular district of London, a house or houses of immediate refuge for prostitutes. A letter announcing the particulars of the scheme has been published in the *Times*. It is proposed to plant in the neighbourhood of St. James's a refuge for women not of the lowest class—in other words, to deal exceptionally with those who, at all hours of the day and night, haunt the Haymarket and its immediate neighbourhood. Such a plan, merely as a proposition for dealing with the opprobrium of a *quartier* of evil fame which is in every way a disgrace to our civilization, must meet with unqualified approval. Its object is single and narrow—all that is suggested is the humane and charitable object of giving the unfortunates of the streets a chance of breaking through the trammels of their miserable existence. It recommends itself because it proposes but little. It offers a chance to those who have none; and it is idle to say either that the offer will not be accepted, or that the opportunity will be abused, for all this is equally true of any scheme of charity. It is simply all that can be done with the evil as it stands; and if a single unfortunate is reclaimed, enough is gained to justify the experiment. How the proposed refuge is to be conducted, or how it must be connected with a further and more systematic course of reformatory training, and what must ultimately be done with the reformed, it is premature to speculate. All such schemes must be, more or less, unsystematic and tentative. They are attempts, and no more. If we do not see our way to the end, or to ultimate success, or to great results, we may at least take the first step. And, as far as we can see, what is now proposed is sensible enough. It is right to make a distinction of the classes of unfortunates—the sort of home offered to the haunters of Ratcliffe and Whitechapel must be repulsive to the visitors of casinos and dancing saloons. It is right also that the door to reformation should be open as wide as possible. Women of this unhappy class are subject to the most violent and sudden emotions, for good, it may be, as for evil. Impetuous and wayward in their passions, it is the *premier pas* in returning, as in sinning, which tells. A house of reception, open night and day, without a single formality, and without giving the repentant applicants time to think, is the only way of dealing with such a class. Waiting for the next Board-day—be it at the Magdalen or the workhouse—has consigned many a woman to the streets, and many a man to the hulks. "Anywhere, anywhere, out of this life," is a thought which is easily suggested, and as easily dismissed. What we like in the proposed refuge is, that it is not a whole and complete scheme—that it does not aim high, does not claim to be a mission, does not propose to regenerate or to reform society, or to cope with the diffused and difficult problem of modern civilized life. It offers a plank to the drowning, a chance to the lost, and goes no further.

We say this because, in writing or reading interesting essays on the causes of our present social state, or on the latent means of correcting its evils, we run the risk of lightly estimating immediate and paramount duties. If we trace the subject too far backward, and spend our time in lamenting that our girls are not better taught, or that our civilization tends to discourage early marriages, we forget

what is our first, perhaps exclusive, concern—those who are perishing, body and soul, in Windmill-street and the Haymarket. If we look beyond the class of unfortunates now before our eyes, experience, reason, statistics, and half-a-hundred other cold and benumbing conclusions about supply and demand and the world's history, will perhaps bring us to the conclusion that the work is a Sisyphian one—that we may always be beginning it, but never making much impression on the profligacy and misery of great towns. This is true; and because it is true, we must cheerfully resign ourselves to the imperfect character of that little success which is all that we shall ever meet with. We may hope to rescue an individual here and there, but to look for more than this will be to invite disappointment. Undoubtedly our school-girls might somehow or other be better taught—the class of domestic servants might be better taught. It ought not to be, as it is, the ambition of children, and of their mothers too, to be milliners instead of cooks. A young couple of good education and standing in society ought to be ready to begin life upon £150 a year, and to live at Walworth instead of Tyburnia. But the practical result of these edifying homilies is to freeze the current of charity. It costs less to rail at modern civilization than to deal with its results—results which all the homilies in the world will not change. As civilization advances, late marriages will become later; and the dislike to domestic service will become greater. But all this has been a long time coming over us; and our social state, not being a sudden growth, cannot be suddenly remodelled or reformed. The only consolation is, that we have not those unhealthy forms of social disorganization which exists in other countries, neither more nor less religious or conscientious than our own. The opprobrium of London is the state of its streets, at or even before nightfall; and this is traced, and with truth, to the fact that our young men do not take to themselves wives early in life, and that our young women prefer needlework to domestic service. But at any rate, great as is this social evil, we are not, as in France, brought to that condition in which—early marriages being perhaps more against the tendency of society than among ourselves—concubinage is considered a legitimate institution, and the union of *grisette* and clerk is recognised, and rather sanctioned than otherwise. Nor, as in America, have we exchanged the home of marriage for the boarding-house life. These are actual forms of evil as bad as that greatest vice of social life in England of which we are speaking, perhaps even worse. And again, we have been told that prevention is better than cure; but—to pass over the ugly fact that the prevention suggested is distant, difficult, and perhaps unattainable—we are apt, in our speculations about prevention, to forget the duty of cure.

But is prevention altogether unattainable? Or, because we deem it a waste of time to rail against a social state which has been the slow and gradual result of a thousand causes, not all of them altogether to be condemned—for, to take a single example, late marriages even have a respectable aspect and purpose—are we to do nothing with our streets? We do not choose—it is not the English habit—to deal with or to recognise prostitution; but are we therefore to allow things to continue as they are? Very grave and thoughtful

writers, by no means given to unrealities or to sentimentalism—authorities in morals and in medicine—assure us that in all sorts of ways the regulation of prostitution is a social, sanitary, and religious gain. Nor is it foreign to English experience. In the dark ages, “the stews” were under police control here in London; and to say that this recognition of evil is a disgrace to a Christian nation is mere nonsense. We no more legalize prostitution by dealing with it than we encourage thieving by trying to prevent it. Without going to the extent of recommending medical surveillance as on the Continent—though this is by no means the failure which is commonly asserted—we must say that more could be done by a judicious use of police regulations in our streets than is attempted. We have every evil which disgraces Continental capitals, and we have that horrible life in the streets which is a speciality of London. We have the counterpart of the *lorettes* of Paris—we have our *Jardin Mabille*, and something worse, in our Casinos; and we have, in addition, what is worse than all these put together. We have the open hideous abomination which makes our streets such as no other capital in the world would tolerate. That is, we have all the licence of the Continent with none of its checks. Not that this is not felt. The St. James’s vestry complains of the state of the Haymarket, and the parishioners of St. Marylebone complain of a notorious street near the New-road; but Downing-street and Scotland-yard are, or affect to be, powerless. All that we urge—and it is but little—is, that if there must be street-walkers, there is no necessity that street-walking should be such as it is. Without recommending severity, or an undue interference with this evil, it is so clearly on the increase that it must be dealt with. It is unquestionable that our streets are worse than they were ten years ago. We believe that the supply exceeds the demand; and we may therefore safely think of prohibitory checks. And without going into the question of where lies the guilt of originating the class of unfortunates, this is undeniable—that for one man who voluntarily seeks the haunts, and the victims or instruments, of depravity, half-a-dozen are tempted into sin by the licence of our streets.

On the desirableness of increasing the number of Houses of Refuge, it may be enough to quote a statement of the Committee of the London Penitentiary Association. “It seems that no less than thirty-six applications for admission to some such asylum were made at the office of the Institution alone, and that some of them were refused at the existing House of Refuge, for want of room. Eight were not again heard of after their first application—a circumstance which proves that if,” as we have argued, “aid be not given when it is first asked, it is often not sought again.”

These eloquent observations are as true as they are just, but there is another class of women who require Refuges, not from a sinful life, but from the temptations to it—we allude to the female workers in factories. It is admitted, and deplored on all sides, that since the abolition of the horrors disclosed before the Committee on Labor in Mines, Factories, with their

heterogeneous associations of good and bad, vicious and innocent, are a fruitful source of vice; but doubtless, many, very many, of the evils arising from unavoidable necessity would be counteracted if the girls were taught what family duties and domestic comfort are, and if those of their own sex, placed by Providence in the higher range of fortune, aided in developing the good qualities of the well-disposed women and girls engaged in factory labor. To teach them what home is, without its jarrings and its squabbles, as the poor too often only know it, would evidently be a grand movement in the true direction. "Das Noth lehrt beten," says Schamisso, and certainly want does, to some minds, and ought to all, to teach prayer, but in the wretched state of ignorance of temporal and eternal truths in which but too many of our factory operatives are buried, want or labor teach nothing but guiltiness. Home is no home; there are few pleasures attaching themselves to it, and no recollections, save a childhood of sorrow and a girlhood of social slavery. Goethe told the story of many a fall when he made poor *Margaret*, relating her domestic hardships, exclaim—

"Our humble household is but small,
And I, alas! must look to all.
We have no maid, and I may scarce avail
To wake so early and to sleep so late;
And then my mother is, in each detail,
So accurate."

To meet such evils as we have here indicated, the institution of which the following is a prospectus, has been founded:—

FACTORY GIRLS' HOME.

It is proposed to open a FACTORY GIRLS' HOME, in Birmingham, in the course of the ensuing Spring, which shall comprise the following advantages:—

1st. A comfortable and respectable lodging, at the ordinary rate of payment, for female Orphans, and other Girls, whose parents do not live within reach of their several places of work.

2nd. The means of acquiring that domestic knowledge of which factory Girls are often so entirely destitute.

3rd. The superintendence and training of the inmates in morals and religion, by a Lady in every way competent to the task.

This undertaking is proposed with a view to obviate, in some degree, the danger to which young women working in factories are exposed, especially those who have no parents, or whose homes are at a distance from their employment; and it is hoped that the Institution may become self-supporting, and serve as a model for other establishments of a similar nature.

The crying evil of our large towns is being met to a certain extent in all parts of England, by the establishment of Penitentiaries ; but as the temptations peculiar to factory life doubtless augment this sad necessity, something may perhaps, with God's blessing, be effected in the way of prevention, by offering shelter to the weak, refuge to the friendless, and protection and kind guidance to all.

The FACTORY HOME will be conducted by a Lady, who, being deeply interested in this undertaking, will devote to it her time and attention gratuitously. It will be needful that she should be assisted by a head servant, competent to instruct the Girls in household work, cooking, &c. That no feature of a home may be wanting, it is also proposed to take two or three very young Orphan Children into the house,—experience having shown that nothing so elevates the character of a woman, and preserves her from levity of disposition, as association with childhood. The realisation of this object must necessarily depend on the subscriptions of the charitable.

A house has been provided, and gratuitous medical attendance promised,—but to carry the scheme into effect, about £100 will be required for wages, furniture, and incidental expenses. It is proposed to raise this sum by the contributions of those who may approve of the object in view.

We have received two papers, writes *The Philanthropist*, from M. Ducpetiaux, the Secretary of the "Congrès International de Bienfaisance" which show that our neighbours are alive and doing in the great social questions of the day.

It was decided at the "Congrès International de Bienfaisance" at Brussels, in September, 1856, to hold permanent sittings; and after interchange of correspondence, it has been resolved that the second session of the Congrès shall take place in 1857, at Francfort-on-the-Maine, the situation of which city will facilitate the reunion of delegates from all parts of Europe.

The city of Frakfort has undertaken the duty which is thus imposed, highly appreciating the honour which this choice confers upon it.

There has been formed among its inhabitants a committee of organization, which in connexion with the committee at Brussels, has laid down the following programme of questions, which will be submitted to the next assembly :—

FIRST SECTION.

"BIENFAISANCE."

1. Objects and limits of public relief. The results of the "work-house system."
2. Domestic economy—means of ameliorating and securing the future prospects of servants of both sexes.
3. Co-operation of employers for the improvement of the condition of their workpeople. Benevolent and prudential institutions in connexion with industrial and agricultural establishments.
4. Means of remedying the abuse of strong drink, and of arresting the progress of intemperance.

SECOND SECTION.

"EDUCATION."

1. Means of encouraging, perfecting, and extending popular instruction and education. Compulsory attendance at schools. Combination of school instruction with apprenticeship. Patronage of apprentices.

2. Infant education—asylums or guardian schools—infant guardians.
3. Organisation of elementary, industrial, and agricultural education.

THIRD SECTION.

"CRIMINAL REFORM."

1. Physical and moral results of the "cell system" in various countries.
2. Limits of the application of such a system.
3. "Tickets-of-leave"—if admissible, on what condition?
4. State, progress, and results of reformatory institutions for young criminals, mendicants, &c., in different countries.

The Congress will open on Monday, 14th September, 1857, at eleven in the morning; and communications may be addressed to the Secretary at Frankfort, *M. le Docteur G. Varrentrapp, Hochstrasse, No. 4, Francfort-sur-le-Maine.*

It will be observed that each section is replete with topics necessarily of the deepest interest to those for whose especial benefit "THE PHILANTHROPIST" has been undertaken; and we hope to make satisfactory arrangements for recording the results of this very interesting endeavour to ameliorate the condition of man, on sound and well-digested principles. Our continental neighbours are evidently not disposed to overlook the baneful influence of intoxication, as, in addition to its being a separate matter for conference in the first section, we observe that M. Dutrone, one of the Assembly, and honorary councillor of the Court of Appeal at Amiens, has placed at the disposal of the "bureau" of the Congress a gold medal of the value of 300 francs (12*l.* 10*s.*) which, at the next session, should be awarded to the author of the best essay on *the causes and results of intemperance, with a view to the means of preventing and combating it.*

This offer having been agreed to by the Assembly in 1856, the "bureau" in execution of the office which has been confided to it, appeals to persons disposed to co-operate. It would indicate as appropriate for discussion the project for solution inserted in pages 21 to 26, as well as the report presented by the special commission charged with the examination of the question of "strong drink" in the sitting of 18th September, 1856, pages 287 to 307 of the published account of the debates of the Congress (1st vol.).

The greatest liberty is, nevertheless, left to writers in treating of the question, the preceding being indicated rather as suggestions.

Without neglecting moral considerations, attention should be given to statistics—to economical calculations—to facts drawn from the practice and experience of different countries—the necessity and probability of curing a veritable social plague which incessantly threatens the health and the morality of the working classes, destroying a considerable amount of that which should be the people's food. Among the remedies the writer will have to consider those of *moral order*, which find place under the term "voluntary abstinence," and those of *legislative or coercive order*, which would end in the *interdiction*, more or less absolute, of the traffic in strong drink.

The essays must be addressed, post free, before the 15th July, 1857, to the secretary of the Congrès International de Bienfaisance, M. Ed. Ducpetiaux, 22, Rue des Arts, Bruxelles. According to the wish of the donor of the prize, the essays must be written in the French language, and must be accompanied by a sealed note con-

taining the name of the author, and endorsed with the motto placed at the head of the work.

The bureau of the Congress will name the adjudicators, and will take the measures necessary to secure the report of the result to be submitted to the Frankfort Congress at the opening of its sessions on the 14th September, 1857.

What shall we do with our reformed juveniles? is about as great a puzzle as was the What shall we do with our raw materials? of the *Dancing Master* in *Dombey*, to Mr. Toots. Toots said, "cook 'em;" but we cannot cook our juveniles; some will fall into bad habits if set free in England, who would do well if sent abroad; and emigration is the grand and sure specific if we could only manage it.

The following most important letter on this subject, addressed by Sir Charles Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly at Sydney, and Vice Chancellor of its University, to the Rev. R. N. Russell, has been published in *The Law Amendment Journal*.

*Beachampton Rectory, Stony Stratford,
24th February, 1857.*

DEAR SIR—I send you a letter written at the time of the meeting of the Reformatory Union at Bristol, last year. It was intended to be made public, but did not reach in time. The writer, Sir Charles Nicholson, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly at Sydney, will shortly be in England again, and will gladly co-operate with the friends of the Reformatory Union in carrying out his suggestions, which seem to be most valuable and deserving to be made known to all readers of the *Law Amendment Journal*.

Yours faithfully,

R. NORRIS RUSSELL.

G. W. Hastings, Esq.

20, King-street, St. James's,
August 19, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR—I regret to say that I find I cannot possibly attend the meeting which is to be held at Bristol, on Wednesday; and therefore, in accordance with my promise, now briefly convey in writing what I should have been glad to have had an opportunity of stating at length, had I had an opportunity of being present at the meeting above referred to.

Sympathising, as I most heartily do, with the objects of the Reformatory Society, I would gladly give my aid and endeavour to secure that of my friends in promoting the settlement of the boys in the colony with which I am more particularly connected. My plan would simply be, to find masters ready to receive as apprentices, on agricultural and sheep establishments, boys who, after a certain probation here, would be willing or to whom it might be held out as a reward to be permitted—to emigrate. To carry out such a plan systematically, I would suggest the establishment of committees at

Sydney and at Moreton Bay, to co-operate with a committee in London; that, through the agency of the former, persons willing to receive lads as apprentices should make their application; and that it should be the duty of the board in London to make the necessary arrangements for indenturing and forwarding the boys to the colony. The expense of the passage should, I think, be defrayed by the masters, and should be considered as an *advance* of wages. The period of apprenticeship should, I think, not exceed two years; and the amount of wages not be more than £15 a year, out of which the passage-money should be deducted—the master, of course, finding the boy board and lodging.

This system of apprenticeship which I propose seems to me to be the most suitable, reference being had to the social condition of the boys, both here and in the colony. No colonist would expend a sum of £15 or £16 in defraying the passage of a servant, unless assured of his labour for a sufficient period to reimburse him for the outlay. On the other hand, looking at the low caste of the boys at the period of their emigration, their liability to relapse into old habits if not placed under some sort of surveillance, the advantages arising from the *certainty* of their having a home at the moment of their arrival in the colony, there can, I think, be no doubt that it is in every respect desirable for the boys' sake as well as the masters', that they should be brought under the operation of such a system. I assume that a guarantee would be afforded in the character and position of the committee, both in Sydney and London, that the boys would only be indentured to respectable masters. I should, as a general rule, advise their distribution in country districts, on sheep farms or agricultural establishments, where they would be detached from those evil associations and those incentives to vice, which I lament to say exist to a great extent in the larger towns of the colony.

It is hardly necessary that at present I should go into further details. I will, however, communicate with those of my friends who are here and in the colony, upon whose cordial co-operation I think I could reckon. In the mean time, I shall be glad to ascertain whether the scheme generally is one that meets with the assent of those most active in promoting the objects of the Society.

Before concluding, I must add the expression of my conviction, that it is indispensable in organizing any plan of emigration, that there should, as far as possible, be an equal distribution of the sexes, and that concurrently with the sending out of boys, it would be an object of the last importance that respectable females, selected from the poor-houses or orphan asylums, should be enabled to reach the colony under proper guardianship. The passages of these latter might be defrayed from the emigration funds in the hands of Government. I look upon it, irrespective of all other considerations, as essential to the well-being of the class of youths sent out, that they should be enabled to make early marriages, and thus acquire those domestic ties and feeling springing from the relation of husband and father, under the influence of which I have seen innumerable instances of men reclaimed in the colony from profligacy and crime, and becoming useful and respectable men.

With very earnest wishes for the successful working of the truly Christian and philanthropic undertaking in which you are engaged,

I beg to remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

C. NICHOLSON.

The Rev. R. N. Russell, Beachampton Rectory.

As we write of boys, we are reminded of one who has been called The Arnold of the Ragged Schools, Mr. William Driver, who knows as much about managing boys as any dozen ordinary teachers. The following is a specimen of Mr. Driver's style of addressing his young operatives of the Ragged Factory.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE DAILY NEWS.

SIR,—The favourable notice you took on a former occasion of an address delivered by Mr. William Driver, the superintendent of the Belvedere Crescent Reformatory, encourages me to send you the enclosed copy of one given by him on New Year's eve to the inmates of that institution.

The friends present who heard it felt that it might furnish many valuable hints to others similarly engaged, and requested Mr. Driver if possible to recall it, which he has quite succeeded in doing. A place in your widely circulated columns will ensure that publicity which may increase its usefulness.—I am, &c.,

Jan. 24

DANIEL WELBY.

AN ADDRESS, &c.

There are times when anything said or done is better and longer remembered than at others. I think the last night of the year is one of those times. You will not soon forget to-night. The presents you have just received will be carried away with you when you go from here. I dare say you will keep them for years, perhaps your whole life. Perhaps some new years, even years and years hence, those presents will be brought out and shown to your children. The sight of them will help you to remember what I am going to say to you. I am more earnest and more careful in what I am now saying to you, because this is the last new year's eve we shall spend together. Even if I should be alive another year, and standing where I am now, I shall be looking into other faces and speaking to other ears. Most of you will be gone from us, and fighting your way in the world; some of you will, perhaps, be thousands of miles away. Any how, try and get hold of this, and let it have its effect on you. We, as we are now, will never meet again on another new year's eve. To most of you this is my last new year's address, and this is our last new year's meeting. I said, just now, most of you would be out in life soon. Do you know all that is meant by those four letters L-I-F-E? When we say of a person, "What sort of life does he lead?" we mean, what are his actions? That is one meaning. We use the word in another sense when we speak of a person being alive, not dead. Now you don't want me to tell you that you are alive. You feel it. But do you feel this—do you feel that you can't stop living? No, not even by going into the grave. You must live on and on.

You may catch a fatal disease. You may drown yourself. You may so injure your body that it will not hold life. Still you must live. You may destroy that which holds your life, still you must live. Do you wonder at this? So do I. I can't make you understand it. I don't understand it myself. I believe it. There are thousands of reasons why I should; and a glorious thing it is to believe. Then, as you must live, whether you like it or not, it is worth while paying some attention to the way you will live. As far as the grave your way of life is in your own hands. There is nothing that I know of that will force you against your will to be either good or bad. If you like to waste your life and make yourself a nuisance, you can; and there is nothing to hinder you living a useful life and dying beloved. Now, then, what are you prepared to do for the world? It is all very well for you to talk of getting a living, but what are you ready to give in return for your living? Listen to this. Before you ask the world to keep you, you must show it that you are worth being kept. Living must not be your first thought. "Take no thought for your life what you shall eat." I am not afraid to say those words. I don't want to smoothe them over, either for you or for myself. I want you to take them as they stand, and put upon them the plainest meaning. If you go out into the world to try how much you can get out of it, and how little you can give in return, be sure it will be down on you some day in a way you won't like. If you let the world see that you are of use to it, you need not fear for your life. Show that your life is of value, and you will find plenty to take care of it. Don't measure out your services as if you were afraid of giving too much. Let it only be known that you have a clear head, an honest heart, and ready hands—that you are willing to do your best to make the world better, and you need not fear for a chance. The world will judge you by the use you are to it. This is all you ought to ask, and it is all I should ask for you. Never mind a knock or two. If when you are knocked you only send out the ring of the true metal, the world will be pleased to hear the sound. Don't try how much you can get out of the world, but how much you can give to it. My boys, I do not want to frighten you; I do not want you to think you are going out into a hard-hearted wilderness of a place not worth living in. Don't think the world was made only to dig graves out of. It really is not a bit like a wilderness, and I should be sorry if you thought so. Don't be out of heart at the muddles you will come across sometimes, nor yet think that any other days were better than these. Perhaps the finest thing would be to live when there are no muddles, but certainly the next best thing is to live when there are plenty, and to have a hand in clearing them away. You will see many things you will not be able to understand. You may think some are too rich, while others are too poor. That some die when it seems as if they ought to live. Do not worry yourselves about this. Do not be hasty to judge, and above all don't say any of these things are wrong. If you could see the other side of the grave as well as this, and if you were above all, and could see everything at once, you would be better able to judge. It is enough for you to

understand yourself and your own duty. I am not saying it is not painful to stand over the grave of father, mother, and friend. I do not say we should not grieve when, for the last time, we look on those we love. It is right to grieve, but grief must not tie our hands. The death of some should make us more busy for those who live. What if we ourselves die to-morrow, shall that hinder us from working to-day? It is no use saying, "I will not work to-day because I may die to-morrow." What have we to do with the time of our death? That is not our business. Our business is the work of to-day. Do what is right, day by day, never mind to-morrow. Right to-day, right for ever. Now it is time I left off. A new year is before you, may it be the beginning of a new life. Fatherless and motherless though you be, you are not alone, you are not helpless! Around you are the signs of the season reminding us of the birth of Christ. Let this comfort and encourage you. He came to bring comfort and joy to such as you. But for Him the world would be a wilderness indeed. In Him alone is your strength. If you have no more than your own strength, you might fear to encounter the difficulties and trials of life; but with such help as His you may do anything. "The world is His, and He made it." In all trouble think of this, and never despair. He, your friend, your helper, is above all. "In His hands are all the corners of the earth; the strength of the hills is His also."

RECENT VISIT OF MONS. DEMETZ TO ENGLAND.

UPON this interesting visit the following remarks have been communicated to us:—

It may be agreeable to your readers to have a brief account of the recent visit of M. Demetz to England, so sadly shortened as it was by the illness and death of a near relative. It will probably be remembered that, when M. Demetz was in this country last year, he suffered from a lameness so severe that he was obliged to use crutches; and we feel sure all your friends will rejoice to hear that he has recovered from his affliction, and that his former state of health appears completely restored.

M. Demetz brings very pleasant accounts from Mettray. The *colonie* was never, he considers, more prosperous or more hopeful with regard to its future existence. A large portion of the land cultivated by the young *colons* has lately been purchased by the *Société Paternelle* for the *colonie* by means of shares, several of which have been taken up by his English friends—a source of much gratification to M. Demetz. The present number of youths at Mettray is 710; 1,400 have already left

the *colonie*, nine-tenths of whom have become honest and industrious members of society.

M. Demetz is now engaged in erecting the house which is to complete the buildings of the *colonie* according to its original design. It will be devoted to the *Ecole Préparatoire*, that most essential element in his wonderful success. The new building will be able to contain thirty-six pupils, in three divisions—trades, agriculture, and elementary instruction. This enlarged accommodation will enable M. Demetz to educate (as he has long desired) *all* his assistants at Mettray, and thus to prevent *any* from being employed in the *colonie*, on whose peculiar fitness for their calling he cannot fully rely.

It may possibly interest your readers to learn the gratifying manner in which M. Demetz obtained the money with which he is erecting the new building. A short time since, a very benevolent French gentleman, who annually bestows large sums in charity, asked M. Demetz's permission to lay before him a scheme for profitably employing the pauper children of France. He consented, a meeting was arranged, and three hours spent in discussing the gentleman's plan. On rising to take leave, he said to M. Demetz, "When a man consults his doctor, he gives him a fee; when he consults his lawyer, he gives him a fee. The time which you have bestowed on me is most valuable to Mettray; therefore, you must permit me to give you a fee;" and, putting a packet in his hand, left the room. On opening the envelope, M. Demetz found notes for 5,000*f*. (£200). Shortly afterwards the same gentleman visited Mettray, spending some days with M. Demetz, and thoroughly inspecting the *colonie*. At his departure, he said to him, "I gave you a fee for the theory of your institution; you have now shown me its practice, permit me then to offer you another. The difference in the amount will indicate my appreciation of practice above theory." At the same time, placing in the hands of M. Demetz a packet containing 10,000*f*. (£400).

M. Demetz was only six days in this country, but in that short space of time he paid visits to Mr. M. D. Hill, near Bristol; Lord Leigh, at Stoneleigh, near Kenilworth; Mr. Wheatley Balme, near Leeds; and the Monastery of Mount St. Bernard's, near Ashby-de-la-Zouche; besides seeing several of his friends residing in or near London. While at Bristol M. Demetz visited a reformatory for girls, lately established at the Convent at Arno's Court, near that city, by the munificence of a Catholic

gentleman residing at Clifton. This institution, now containing more than sixty pupils, is placed under the superintendence of the nuns of the Convent. M. Demetz inspected the school very thoroughly, and gave much valuable information to the ladies who have devoted themselves to the restoration of their pupils to a respectable position in society.

During his stay at Stoneleigh, M. Demetz visited the Warwick Workhouse and Institution, of course quite new to him, and appeared much struck by the order and cleanliness preserved in the presence of age and helplessness.

He also paid a visit to the Warwickshire Reformatory Institution for Boys, and after making a careful inspection of all the arrangements, expressed himself extremely pleased with the establishment. The master of the Institution spent some time at Mettray, studying under the eye of M. Demetz himself. The last institution visited in Warwickshire was the Allesley Farm-School for Girls, which also met with the approbation of M. Demetz.

He left Stoneleigh in the evening, and, travelling all night, reached Mr. Wheatley Balme's house next morning, and devoted a considerable part of the only day he could spend with that gentleman to the examination of the neighbouring reformatory school at Calder Farm. Leaving Mr. Wheatley Balme's house the same evening, M. Demetz arrived next day at Mount St. Bernard's Monastery, a Catholic reformatory for boys, established by the brothers of that institution. Here he expressed himself delighted with what he saw, and on leaving wrote the following gratifying lines in the visitor's book:—"Je suis venu visiter cette institution avec un vif intérêt, et j'en sors avec une vive émotion, présentant tout le bien qui se réalisera pour l'avenir, en ayant pu me convaincre de tout le bien qui a déjà été obtenu."*

On his arrival in London after his rapid tour, M. Demetz received a telegraphic message, which obliged his instant return to Paris. This sudden departure deprived the National Reformatory Union of his valuable presence at their meeting, on the 9th of May, and also prevented him from fulfilling other engagements.

* I came hither greatly interested in the Institution, and I take leave of it with deep emotion, fully convinced of what it will accomplish in future by that which it has already achieved.

Monsieur Demetz brought with him to England an address from the colonists of Mettray to the boys at Red Hill. It is the composition of the colonists, entirely theirs, no master or other officer having had anything whatever to do with it. A friend, to whom our Records owe much, has procured for us a copy of this address, and has kindly translated it. Referring to the original address our friend remarks:—"People may suppose it was touched up by one of the masters. M. Demetz assured me that it is the production of the boys purely—some of them, however, he says, 'ont fait leur Latinité.' He added that he had been accused of injustice in subjecting these lads to the same treatment as their companions in a much lower rank of life. 'But,' said he, 'the greater their advantages have been, the greater is their crime, and it is no injustice, therefore, if they feel the penalty more severely.'" The address and translation are as follow:—

Address from the Colons of Mettray to the Boys at Red Hill.

Mettray, le 29 Avril, 1857.

Très chers et bien aimés Frères,

Permettez nous de vous donner ce doux nom; car après les preuves d'amitié vraiment fraternelles dont nous venons d'être l'objet de votre part pourrait il en être autrement? Non, croyez le bien, les colons de Mettray n'oublieront jamais ce que leurs frères de Red Hill ont fait pour eux, et les sacrifices qu'ils se sont imposés pour leur être agréables.

Nous vous remercions bien sincèrement des souhaits que vous formez pour notre bonheur et pour la prospérité de l'établissement auquel nous devons notre avenir et le bonheur d'être comptés au nombre des meilleurs citoyens de notre patrie pour laquelle vous faites des vœux si ardents.

Nous vous remercions aussi de tout notre cœur des vœux que vous formez pour notre bon directeur qui remplit si bien le mandat que la Providence lui a confié, pour tous nos dignes chefs qui le secondent si bien, se montrent si bons pour nous et nous enseignent le chemin de l'honneur et de la vérité par leur conseils et plus encore par leurs exemples.

Après avoir demandé et reçu l'assentiment de nos supérieurs toujours si empressés pour nous être agréables, nous nous permettons, nous aussi, de vous offrir un bien faible témoignage de notre affection toute fraternelle. Nous osons espérer que vous voudrez bien agréer la petite souscription que nous avons faite en votre faveur.

Ne considérez point le montant si minime de cette somme, mais bien l'intention qui l'accompagne.

Nous avons encore présent à la mémoire la petite fête de famille que vous avez bien voulu nous offrir; cette douce persévérance de votre part nous imposait une obligation que nous sommes heureux de remplir en vous priant bien instamment d'accepter aussi un fête semblable à celle qui laisse dans nos cœurs de si agréables souvenirs. Nous cimenterons par ces échanges si doux notre amitié pour vous que le temps ne peut qu'augmenter et affirmer, et les Colons de Red Hill et de Mettray renouvelleront, par ainsi dire, l'alliance que leurs nations ont formés pour le plus grand bien du monde entier.

Soyez notre interprète auprès du digne Directeur que la Providence vous a donné, et veuillez lui exprimer les sentiments que fait naître dans nos cœurs son dévouement pour une œuvre appelée à rendre de si grands services à l'humanité.

Veuillez agréer, Chers Frères l'assurance de notre sincère amitié,

Pour tous les Colons de Mettray,

Chaudezon.	Brousseau.	T. Devau.
H. Damezin.	Robert.	E. Guerin.
Brulé.	Gegaud.	

TRANSLATION.

From the Boys at Mettray to those at Red Hill.

Mettray, April 29th, 1857.

Dear Brothers,

Allow us to address you by this endearing title, for how can we do otherwise, after the proof of fraternal love we have just received from you.

Be assured that the Mettray lads will never forget the kindness shown them, nor the sacrifices made in order to give them pleasure, by their brethren at Red Hill.

We thank you heartily for the kind feeling you express on our behalf, and on that of the Institution to which we owe all our hopes for the future, and the happiness of being reckoned by our country among her worthy children—that country for which you offer such ardent prayers.

We thank you from our hearts also for your good wishes for our beloved Director, who so nobly discharges the duty entrusted to him by Providence—for all our excellent Chiefs who aid him so well, and are so kind to us, and who teach us

to follow the path of honor and of virtue by good counsel, and still more by their example.

Having asked and obtained the consent of our masters, who are always anxious to give us pleasure, we wish on our part to offer you a small proof of our warm and brotherly affection. We venture to hope that you will kindly accept the little collection we have made for you, trusting that you will overlook its very small amount, and think only of the good will which accompanies it.

We still remember the little festival you were so good as to procure for us; your unwearying kindness imposed a debt upon us, which we rejoice to have an opportunity of repaying, and we most earnestly beg you to allow us to provide for you a similar entertainment to that which has left so agreeable an impression upon our memory. By these affectionate interchanges we shall cement the bonds of that friendship which time can only increase and strengthen; and thus will the boys at Red Hill and at Mettray, redouble—if we may so express ourselves—the alliance which their countrymen have formed for the advantage of the whole world.

Will you express for us to the excellent Director whom Providence has given you, the deep respect excited in our hearts by his devotion to a cause destined to confer such great benefit upon the human race; and accept, dear Brothers, for yourselves, our most affectionate remembrances.

Signed in the name of all the boys at Mettray,

Chaudezou.	Rousseau.	T. Devau.
H. Damezin.	Robert.	E. Guerin.
Brulé.	Gegaud.	

Five essays on reformatory subjects, and to which the prizes of the Reformatory and Refuge Union were awarded, have just been published, and are sold at the Book Society, Paternoster Row, and cost, singly, three pence, or the five, post free, thirteen pence. The successful candidates were Miss Carpenter, Mr. Julius Benn, Miss Jane Sliman, Mr. E. Harries, and Mrs. Edmonds. The Union has also published a list of the Reformatories of the United Kingdom, price one shilling, from which we take the following "Alphabetical Lists of Reformatory and Industrial Institutions of the United Kingdom :—

FOR MALES.

No.	NAME OF INSTITUTION.	When Founded.	Accommodation.	Ages of Inmates.
1	Agricultural Colony, or Reformatory School -	1856	00	Under 16
2	"Akbar" School Frigate - - -	1856	300	12 to 16
3	Bedfordshire Reformatory - - -	1857	25	8 to 16
4	Berks' Reformatory School - - -	1855	28	Under 16
5	Birmingham Reformatory Institution -	1858	50	8 to 16
6	Blythe House Reformatory School - -	1855	72	Under 16
7	Bradwall Reformatory School - - -	1855	40	Under 16
8	Bristol Industrial School - - -	1849	31	10 to 16
9	Buxton Juvenile Reformatory School -	1856	40	Under 16
10	Calder Farm Reformatory School - -	1855	32	10 to 16
11	Cambridge Industrial School - - -	1856	50	13 to 19
12	Castle Howard Reformatory - - -	1855	40	About 14
13	Devon and Exeter Reformatory Farm School -	1856	30	Under 16
14	Dorset Reformatory School for Boys -	1857	20	Under 16
15	Essex Reformatory School - - -	1857	30	7 to 16
16	Glasgow House of Refuge for Boys - -	1837	400	7 to 17
17	Hampshire Reformatory School - - -	1855	30	8 to 16
18	Hardwicke Reformatory - - -	1853	30	7 to 16
19	Hurst Refuge and Industrial School -	1855	25	14 to 19
20	Kingwood Reformatory School - - -	1852	50	Under 16
21	Leicestershire Juvenile Reformatory -	1855	30	10 to 16
22	Manchester and Salford Reformatory -	1854	20	10 to 17
23	Newcastle-upon-Tyne Reformatory School -	1854	61	Under 16
24	Northamptonshire Reformatory - - -	1856	25	9 to 14
25	Perth Male School of Industry - - -	1843	50	Under 16
26	Philanthropic Society's Farm School -	1788	300	10 to 18
27	Reformatory School of the Burghal Parish of Edinburgh -	1856	80	Various
28	Sutcliffe Industrial School - - -	1848	32	9 to 20
29	Warwickshire Reformatory Institution -	1856	40	Under 16
30	Woodbury Hill Reformatory - - -	1856	25	Under 16
31	Yorkshire Catholic Reformatory School -	1856	40	10 to 15

FOR FEMALES.

1	Allesley Reformatory Farm for Girls - -	1856	12	9 to 14
2	Belfast Ladies' Industrial School for Girls -	1849	200	Over 9
3	Birmingham Girls' Reformatory - - -	1854	50	8 to 16
4	Cork Ladies' Dormitories and Industrial Institution -	1856	50	10 to 16
5	Glasgow House of Refuge for Females - -	1815	270	8 to 25
6	Ladies' House of Refuge for Destitute Girls -	1844	40	6 to 14
7	Perth Female Reformatory School of Industry -	1843	45	7 to 11
8	Red-Lodge Girls' Reformatory School - -	1854	50	8 to 16
9	Sheriff Watson's Female Industrial School -	1848	90	Various
10	Toxteth Park Girls' Reformatory School -	1854	22	12 to 18
11	West Riding Female Refuge and Reformatory School -	1848	24	Over 17

MALES AND FEMALES.

1	Aberdeen Industrial School Association - -	1851	150	6 to 13
2	Ayr Ragged Industrial Schools - - -	1849	100	5 to 14
3	Birmingham Free Industrial School - - -	1846	100	Over 7
4	Bonmahon Industrial Printing School - -	1861	80	10 to 18
5	Bristol Ragged School - - -	1846	200	3 to 18
6	Chester Industrial and Ragged School Society -	1852	150	Various
7	Dale Cottage Industrial School - - -	1853	100	6 to 14
8	Dumfries and Maxwelltown Ragged and Reformatory School -	1847	100	6 to 15
9	Edinburgh Original Ragged Industrial Schools -	1847	230	5 to 14
10	Glasgow Industrial and Reformatory School -	1847	200	7 to 18
11	Inverness Industrial Ragged School - -	1852	50	6 to 15
12	Ipswich Ragged Industrial Schools - - -	1849	150	Various
13	Liverpool Industrial Ragged Schools - -	1849	150	Various
14	Palaeys Ragged School - - -	1850	100	9 to 14
15	Stranrear Industrial and Reformatory School -	1850	100	9 to 16
16	United Industrial School of Edinburgh - -	1847	280	7 to 11

SUMMARY.

21 Institutions for Males, with accommodation for - 2,334 inmates.
 11 Institutions for Females, with accommodation for - 853 inmates.
 16 Institutions for Males and Females, with accommodation for 2,230 inmates.

Total 58 Institutions— having accommodation for - - 5,407 inmates.

The chief publications on the Reformatory question which have come before us in the past quarter are Mr. Recorder Hill's book, *The Repression of Crime*, reviewed at length in the ninth paper of our present Number, and *The American Journal of Education* for March, 1857, Vol. III., No. 8. This most valuable periodical is edited by Henry Barnard, LL.D., it is published quarterly (288 pages), and can be procured from Trübner and Co., 12, Paternoster Row. The subscription is fourteen shillings per annum. The number before us contains portraits and memoirs of Wichern and of William Russell, a native of Glasgow, but author and editor of numerous school books of great value in America. We can recommend this publication to all readers of our Record as being one of the most useful, able, and interesting serials connected with Education and Reformation yet placed before us: full notices are given of all the important events connected with these subjects occurring in the United Kingdom, and in Europe. All communications are to be addressed to Dr. Barnard, care of F. C. Brownell, 29, Asylum-street, Hartford, Connecticut. The following notice, from the *Journal*, may prove useful to some of our friends:—

REFORMATORY CONFERENCE AT NEW YORK.—A Convention to be composed of representatives from each House of Refuge and Reformatory School in the United States, will meet in the Chapel of the New York House of Refuge, on Randall's Island, on Tuesday, the 12th day of May next, at 10 o'clock, A.M. The Delegates will assemble at the rooms of the Children's Aid Society in Clinton Hall, Astor Place, at 9 o'clock, A.M., where a Committee will be in attendance to accompany the Delegates to Randall's Island.

OLIVER S. STRONG,	} Committee on the Part of the N. Y. House of Refuge.
ISRAEL RUSSELL,	
WILLIAM M. RICHARD,	

In the *Record* of our last number we printed a very admirable report of a most excellent establishment, the *Saint Joseph's Industrial Institute*. The following further notes on it have been presented to us, this month, June:—

Industrial training for the children of the poor—its imperative necessity—the means and methods of its accomplishment are without doubt the leading features of the question of the day. Cardinal Wiseman's most eloquent discourses have lately turned upon the want of institutions founded upon such principles. The Prince Consort presiding at a meeting held for the purpose of enquiring the best means of keeping the children who would leave the school at nine or ten years of age longer under instruction, plainly declared that nothing of permanent advantage could be effected for

them without the adoption of a system fitted to combine industrial training with school learning: Mary Carpenter, Mr. Hill, and other noble originators of the Reformatory movement in England, acknowledging this first principle, devote their energies to its development.

The children are after all the most important class of the community. *Pro bono publico*, they *must* be minded. There is no longer a doubt of that. Legislators and political economists perceive at last that it is somewhat too expensive to let the neglected, starving child grow into the idle vagabond, the hardened villian of maturer growth. The moralist knows full well that in habit is the chief strength of character: the well-instructed, tenderly cared-for child, turning by natural progress into the honest, useful member of society. While the Christian man believes that if the children for whom his Master has declared the Kingdom of Heaven is predestined are neglected, ill-treated, left a prey to full-grown depravity, there is little hope for a country whose law-givers are insensible to so vital a responsibility, still less for himself if he do not seriously and with strong heart put himself to the task, and by word and deed, by brain work and hand-work supply the neglect of an inert public, and a most tardy legislature.

A better day is coming. Much has been ill-done or half-done. We must now, after centuries of blind groping and much loud complaining, and many lamentable failures, begin at the beginning. Government must do something. Individual exertion will do more. The masses are not yet stirred to give even a passing thought to what concerns their interest so materially. But the thinkers of the land are preparing the way. The true workers who are awake and abroad before the dawn, have already laid their hand to the plough, and honour a thousand fold by given to them, for they have not waited for the long deferred justice of legislative enactments, the strong incentive of public opinion, or the ever precious sympathy of true hearts, but have set to work alone, doing from day to day what they might, if it were only with the hope of saving one poor girl, one abandoned child—working in a word as individuals, while awaiting anxiously what sooner or later the aggregate intelligence of earnest minds must necessarily accomplish of permanent good.

For these reasons it is that we have been for some time watching with a special interest, the struggling progress of an almost unknown institution in one of the most obscure corners of this city. Our readers no doubt remember that some account was given of St. Joseph's Industrial Institute in our last Record, and are consequently aware of the object of the founders, but the general public have yet to know and to sympathise with the efforts which are being made by the managers of that institution, for the poor of the wretched neighbourhood in which it is located.

It would shock us from its very strangeness to see how little people think of giving their meed of help to such objects, if we did not know that, as in this case, the originators and workers are generally too anxiously engaged with the details of every day management to talk much about their plans and hopes, or in any way to give time and thought to the task of attracting attention or enlisting

patronage. People do not know what a mine of good lies unworked at their very door. They do not understand what great things could be done, if they would only help along what is already in progress. But we say it is a hard thing that when some few devotedly give their lives, and hearts, and brains to the advancement of so noble a work, they should, in addition be hampered, by constantly recurring pecuniary difficulties and embarrassments.

The managers of St. Joseph's are met at every step by wants and hinderances so numerous and so minute as to be almost ludicrous. For example, there are but two chairs in the whole establishment: so that if three lady visitors should happen to arrive together, the "*embarras du richesses*" would not be the complaint of that day. The children, besides learning the mysteries of crochet work, are obliged to practice the art of ingeniously keeping out of harm's way their spools, needles, and other working apparatus, for they have no tables, as in other schools, on which they could range their materials in order. The very forms they sit on are borrowed from the neighbouring chapel on Monday, and again returned on Saturday. The beds are subject to sudden downfalls: two rather heavy girls having sometimes, on account of the scarcity of blankets, to sleep together on too frail a superstructure.

These may seem small things, but the managers are cramped in every way. The washing does not pay because they cannot take in a larger supply. According to the vulgar saying, the question is "as broad as it's long"—If they had more washing, they could keep a better house, and if they had a better house, they could take more washing, the same supervision being sufficient for a much larger establishment. They have no airy yard or fresh grass plot for drying; every separate article has to be tediously pinned on a line, to be drawn aloft to take advantage of an hour's sunshine. When the weather is bad, the clothes of 120 students have to be dried and aired in the various small rooms of the house, as well as in the larger school-room which is occupied by the children at nine o'clock in the morning, and not vacated by them until five o'clock in the evening.

The ironing, sorting, and bagging of the clothes, is got through in a space so small that it requires no prophet to tell that there is danger in this respect even as regards the health of the inmates, and then the want of a little garden is most seriously felt. If the girls have half an hour's rest from their hard work, and long for a breath of fresh air, they must go in search of it into the open street, or through the infected dinginess of a back lane. The little children who, after leaving the schools of the Sisters of Charity or the National Schools, come into the Industrial at three o'clock to "learn the stitch," have to sit down in a dull class-room instead of being turned into a pleasant spot of green to work cheerily for an hour or two; while those who come early in the morning, and spend the entire day in the school, most injuriously suffer the want of an hour's recreation during their long attendance.

A commodious house and a small enclosed garden, are in fact absolutely necessary for the carrying out of the system, and it is but right to let the public know how much is marred by the mere want of

funds to secure this desideratum. The managers may well envy Mary Carpenter's good fortune; for they have found no noble lady benefactor to free them from the trouble of the *rent*, which by the way, it would appear is not exclusive an '*Irish difficulty*.' But although they might have long to wait for an instance of such charitable interference in their regard, we cannot but hope that the limited aid of many may do for them what could not be expected from the munificence of an individual. The public have often given generous encouragement to what was only a speculative good, and often substantially supported institutions which only engaged to do the quarter of what is here realised.

It is no small thing to receive within a very few months four girls from a reformatory, to associate them once more with the honest, industrious, and virtuous of their own rank, to keep their secret for them, or if by their own will, or from want of caution, their antecedents became known, to secure them the continuance of the regard and respect of their associates who had never been stained with crime, giving them, in fine, a far better chance of advancement in the world on leaving the Institution than if their last reference had been the reformatory.

Neither is it a mission of unimportant issue, but of the deepest significance, to take poor girls directly from the Workhouse. There are in St Joseph's at present two young girls, who having lost their health in service, were obliged to go to Hospital, and after long illness, finding they had lost what money and clothes they possessed, seemed doomed to a life-long detention in the Union. After years of patient endurance, and we might say of heroic resistance to all the contaminating influences and hourly temptations to which it is well known poor girls are exposed in that motley gathering of the irretrievably miserable and the professedly vile, they have been most unexpectedly rescued, have tasted once more the joy of promised independence, have had their filthy rags changed for the decent clothing provided by the Institution, and within a few weeks have gone back, how changed in look and feeling! to visit some old companions in the Poorhouse, bringing no doubt by their very appearance, a ray of hope to more than one dweller in that wretched prison-house.

Surely, if people only saw such things done, if they had only once helped in such an instance, to bring from death to life, to rescue from torpor and despair and most fearful danger, those whose self-imposed duty it is to accomplish such christian deeds, would not want companions in their daily ministrations, or the means of a more extended beneficence. All this has been done, and more. Several girls, after a longer or shorter probation in the institution, have been provided with situations in private families. With perhaps one exception, we are assured that no girl has ever entered the institution, who did not, by the fact, make a great step towards respectability and comfort, and not one has left without gaining a still better position. The matron rose directly from the most abject poverty, and the appointment of the workmistress brought prosperity to a whole family. With respect to the children of the school, the wonder is that so

many have been coaxed to give up their vagrant habits, and induced to attend regularly. It tells much for the teachers' system of loving care, and bears strong evidence of the fine nature of the Irish children that so much has been done. Anyone acquainted with the locality in which the Institution is situated, and the manners and customs which prevail there, will understand the difficulties which have to be encountered. The children for the most part lead an out of door existence, running to and from the canal with cans of water, or straying about the side lanes under the pretence of minding the neighbours' children. The parents, when asked why they do not send them to school, frequently reply that they are too poor to do so ! meaning that they cannot afford to do without the odd half-pence acquired by these desultory avocations. The children moreover are singularly independent of parental authority, go to school or absent themselves as they please ; always, when they have a taste for learning, exercising the liberty of choosing what school they shall patronise. It is a continual grief to the patrons of St. Joseph's that they cannot gather in the whole community of young children ; give them a morsel of bread and a mug of milk, and so gain possession of them for the whole day. This not being practicable under present circumstances, they are forced to be content with the consolation which the progress of their limited classes affords them. From our first visits to the present time we have remarked a very great improvement. The order of the school is wonderful. There is no loud talking, no rude conduct, no tossed heads, no dirty bids. The kind lady teachers tell us that all this has been effected by very simple means. At certain intervals an equal number of small bone buttons are given out to each child in the school ; say twelve for a stock in trade. For every fault, every inattention, irregularity, want of neatness, one or more buttons are taken, and for every example of the contrary qualities a proportionate number is given. On particular days these buttons are publically counted ; a badge of distinction bestowed on the largest proprietor, and rewards given to the next best in due order. The effect is extraordinary. The blue ribbon of the School is as eagerly sought as any blue ribbon in the kingdom ; and the prosperity of the Institution can at any moment be calculated by the increased circulation—of buttons.

Our neighbours on the other side of the Channel will understand the full significance of these details. They are in advance of us, and have commenced to work, before we in Dublin have well begun to look about us. The patrons of St. Joseph's tell us that they have received more gratifying encouragement from them than from their own citizens. Mr. Alfred Hill, during a recent visit to Dublin, found time to inspect the Institution, was much pleased with the general working of the system, and deeply interested in the hopes and plans of the foundress. Cardinal Wiseman, in a series of lectures on "Crime and Education," spoke so decidedly of the folly of any but Industrial Education for the poor, and so strenuously urged the necessity of doing for the yet innocent children of the lower class what has been effected by the Reformatories for the criminal portion, that the ladies' patronesses of St. Joseph's could

not refrain from enclosing a report to his Eminence. In return they required the following acknowledgement :—

"Cardinal Wiseman returns his sincere thanks to the patronesses of St. Joseph's Industrial Institute for their kindness in forwarding to him their interesting report. He fully associates himself with them in prayer, best wishes, and entire approbation of their charitable efforts, which he cordially prays God to bless, together with them.

London, 18th April, 1857."

We do not consider it necessary to write at any length on the Industrial Schools' Bill, on the Reformatory Schools' Bill, or on the Transportation Bill. Our readers have already made up their minds upon these two measures; even whilst we write, the National Reformatory Union, at its Annual Meeting, is discussing the questions in all their bearings. In our opinion a more ill-advised and mischievous attempt at legislation than the Reformatory Schools' Bill was never yet introduced to the House of Commons; and we believe that the objections advanced against it by Miss Carpenter and by Mr. Recorder Hill, in their letters recently published, are unanswerable.

With regard to the Transportation Bill, it is simply an attempt to shuffle out of a difficulty caused by official mismanagement, and arising from the neglect and ignorance of Sir Richard Mayne, the stupidity of the Home Office, and the general incapacity and blunders of Sir George Grey, and the contagion of his inefficiency.

The Industrial Schools' Bill we believe to be an admirable Bill, and wants but one section—namely, a provision securing the transmission, as a matter of right, (and upon the order of transmission) of children to a school managed by persons of the same religion as that professed by the parents of the child, and when the parents cannot be discovered, to such school as the child may desire. From our knowledge of the gentleman who drew up this Bill, we are perfectly satisfied that he saw no danger to the faith of any body of Christians, but for our own parts we could never consent to the extension of the Bill to Ireland, unless such a section as we have indicated were introduced. If introduced, and with some slight modifications, we believe there are few men of intelligence in Ireland who would not rejoice at the passing of an Irish Industrial Schools' Act.

From the proposed Educational Conference to be held in London the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of June, much good may be expected. We understand that a paper on Ignorance and Crime, by Miss Carpenter, is to be read at the Meeting.

From *The Third and Fourth Annual Reports of the Birmingham Reformatory Institution*, we learn that the Reformatory is making satisfactory progress, and although Mr. Ellis has resigned his office of superintendent, it is believed that his successor, Mr. Humphreys, will conduct the School carefully and ably. From the Reports we extract the following important passage :—

The following items constitute the exact weekly charges incurred in maintaining each inmate of the Institution during the year 1856. The previous and future expenses may be estimated upon the same basis :—

	s	d
Board and General House Expenses	4	9½
Clothing	1	3½
Salaries	2	5½
Repairs to Furniture, &c.	0	8½
Incidental Expenses	0	9
Total Weekly Cost of each Boy	10	0½

The above statement includes salary and board of the agents who are employed,

While deeply impressed with the necessity for Reformatory Institutions, and convinced of the benefits which have resulted from them, your Committee feel that they ought not to pass over altogether without notice, the serious objection which is frequently made, that their very success affords a premium for crime.

Your Committee conceive that this objection refers more to the manner in which these Institutions may be conducted than to the principles upon which they are based ; for, as it cannot be denied, there is a very large and increasing class of juvenile delinquents growing up in all our great towns, to the serious peril of the community, it will scarcely be asserted that no attempt of any kind should be made to reform them. The danger is, lest too much should be done.

The Committee are fully alive to this danger, and they desire to guard against it, by preserving the utmost plainness and simplicity in the arrangement of the buildings, and in the dress and dietary of the inmates ; to maintain a strict but kind discipline ; to insist upon regularity and industry ; to aim at improvement of the character by careful, moral, and religious training ; and, at the same time, to afford no high degree of education beyond reading, writing, and ciphering, and so much industrial instruction as may be sufficient for obtaining an honest livelihood, but not to confer superior advantages to those usually enjoyed by children of the working classes.

THE HULK, what a sensation of horror the word produces ; how fully one agrees with Lord Brougham when he writes, in

his noble paper, *The Inefficiency of simply Penal Legislation*, read at the First Provincial Meeting of the National Conference,—“The utterly execrable, the altogether abominable Hulk moored in the face of the day which it darkens, within sight of the land which it insults, riding on the waters which it stains with every unnatural excess of infernal pollution, triumphant over all morals!” There is, however, one Hulk which makes bright even the face of day, and that is The Akbar, of which our readers have already heard. At Mettray they have the section of a ship, on land, and the boys are exercised on it, but rather as a species of gymnastics; The Akbar, on the other hand, is a real ship, on, as Sir William Curtis used to say, “its native element.” Through the kindness of a Liverpool friend, we have received the following account of a day spent on board; it is copied from *The Liverpool Courier*, of May 27th, 1857, and is entitled *The Arabs of the Akbar*:—

The history of this institution may be briefly stated. Two or three years ago general attention was drawn to the sad prevalence of juvenile crime, and a society for its prevention was formed in this town under the title of the Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Association. The first principle laid down was, that the institution should be conducted entirely on Protestant principles, so far as the religious portion of the training was concerned, and upon this understanding the association was brought into operation. The next principle adopted was that the experiment should be tried upon boys alone at first, and that these boys should be bred to the habits of a seafaring life. There was double wisdom in this—a seafaring life, after the necessary probation, would more effectually separate the boys from their former bad companions, and therefore be more likely to secure a permanent reform; and in teaching boys to be sailors, the promoters of the institution rendered a real service to the country; for to the cultivation of seafaring habits can we alone look for a maintenance of our national independence and of our naval supremacy. The Admiralty granted for the purposes of a school frigate the Akbar, which had lain here useless for many years as a lazaretto. The Akbar was originally a fifty-gun frigate, built in the East Indies by the celebrated Jamsetjee Bomanjee, and called for some time the Cornwallis. Upon getting possession of this very suitable craft, the committee went to work to make the necessary alterations and repairs required to render her quite fit for their purpose. In this way about £2,000 of the money subscribed has been expended to the present time, and as a training school the Akbar is now almost perfect. We have before described the system pursued on board: it is that of a man-of-war. The boys are divided into two watches, port and starboard, and subdivided again into fore-castle men, fore-top, main-top, and mizentop men, and the after-guard. They are under the abso-

late control of a superintendent, who ranks not lower than a commander in the royal navy, and he is assisted by a schoolmaster, boatswain, second boatswain, carpenter, steward, cook, master-at-arms, and two seamen, all, with the exception of the schoolmaster, formerly belonging to the royal navy. The system of discipline is carried out with a view of *leading* the boys, rather than *driving* them, to be good; but a strict obedience to orders is enforced. It is difficult to describe by any fixed rules how this should be done, so as to render wild spirits amenable to the requirements of order and morality, without tyrannising over them; but those who doubt the possibility of doing it should pay a visit to the Akbar.

Hitherto the Akbar has, partly from motives of economy, been moored in the centre of the Great Float, at Birkenhead, but as the Float has shortly to be run dry, in order to be deepened, it became necessary to remove into the river, (where it was originally intended that she should be placed,) rather earlier than the committee had contemplated. The expense of laying down moorings has been generously borne by the Admiralty, who sent round one of the sloops, usually employed in that service, and this vessel has placed two anchors down in the Sloyne, off New Ferry, to which the Akbar is now moored. The removal took place on Monday last. At six o'clock in the morning the order was given to "cast off" from the great buoy in the Float to which the Akbar has hitherto been attached, and the hauling through the Egerton and Morpeth Docks, to get to the river entrance of the latter, commenced. The river gates opened a little before eleven o'clock, and long before that hour the Akbar was waiting with her nose ready to push through as soon as the way should be clear. Two of the Liverpool Steam Tug Company's boats were in attendance to tow the frigate to her anchorage—the Victoria and the Pilot; but whether their services were rendered gratuitously, we are not aware. Probably they will not be charged for. A party of ladies and gentlemen connected with the institution crossed from the Landing-stage to Woodside in the eleven o'clock boat, and were only just in time to get on board the Akbar as she passed through the gates much earlier than expected. The old frigate looked very well, being "dressed out" in flags from stem to stern. The French tricolour—the famous "red, white, and blue"—fluttered in the fresh breeze from her foremast head; the red ensign of England and the ship's burgee from the main; and the American "jack" from the mizen. Just as the vessel moved through the gates, the youngsters sprang up aloft, manœuvred the yards, sang a verse of "God save the Queen," and cheered most lustily and loyally. A very large concourse of people were spectators of this scene from the quays and the windows of the houses looking upon the docks, attracted by the gay appearance of the stout old ship, and the circumstance that a launch of a rather difficult character was to take place at high water from the yard of Messrs. Brisbane, which adjoins the dock entrance. Fortunately the weather was bright and sunny at the time, and the departure from the dock created a certain sensation. The Akbar being in very light trim the tug-boats had easy work of it, and, aided by a strong flood, a very few minutes sufficed to carry the vessel to the up-

per end of the Sloyne, where she was swung, a little above Rock Ferry, and the mooring chains transferred, in the course of the afternoon, from the anchor sloop to the frigate.

It was during this short trip and the operations which succeeded that the lads gave the visitors a taste of their quality in seamanship. There were various hawsers and lines to be hauled on board, stowed away, or made ready for paying out again; sundry blocks to be rove on to tackles, and numerous other nautical feats to be accomplished, all of which the little fellows got through in a smart, seamanlike manner. Not a bad word was spoken; there were no sour looks, no skulkers; but all the lads seemed to take a pride in what is popularly termed "showing off" their abilities before the visitors. It was pleasant to see how their bright looks kindled up at the approach of Commander Fenwick, the superintendent, or when they were spoken to by Mr. Cropper and other friends of the institution. We may here mention that amongst those who embarked on the Akbar before she left the dock were Mr. John Cropper, the Rev. T. Carter, of Walton House of Correction and Miss Carter, Mr. Brougham, honorary secretary of the institution, Mr. and Mrs. James Beazley, Mr. T. Forsyth, Mr. and Mrs. S. Harvey, Mr. Churchwarden Woodruff, Mr. Astley, &c., Mr. T. D. Anderson, Mr. S. Martin, Mr. C. Langton, and Mr. T. D. Hornby joined the Akbar at Rock Ferry, having arrived at the Dock too late to get on board there. While the vessel was being moored, the visitors were shown over her, and many interesting anecdotes were related in illustration of the improved dispositions of the boys. It appears that the first great change which has to be effected in their characters when they are received on board in their vagrant state, is to make them "boys." They are all too old, too knowing, too sharp, when they come on board; too much up to the ways of the world—and not the best ways, either—and too little acquainted with that childish innocence which exhibits itself in a love of play. When they step on board they are mere city Arabs, whose hands are against every man, and who believe that every man's hand is against them. Strange anomaly as it may seem, they have to be taught to play as well to work. They readily learn to do both. In addition to the arts of seamanship, of learning how to reef, and steer, and splice, and brace, they are taught how to make their own boots, trousers, blue shirts, and sea-chests, and on Monday they were justly proud of a grand display they had got up in honour of the occasion, the whole ship's company being "rigged out" in new white "ducks" of their own making.

In going over the ship many noticeable features present themselves. The boys mess on the main deck, and sleep in hammocks below. The open port-holes secure ample ventilation in every part of the ship, and the system of diet and exercise is so excellent, that although there is a hospital, it is almost an unnecessary accommodation. There are two cells for refractory boys, below what used to be the cock-pit, but we are happy to add that they have only been once or twice occupied, a circumstance which speaks well for the system of discipline adopted on board. There were various evidences in several parts of the ship—in the shape of gifts from well-wishers—of the

general interest taken in promoting the success of the institution. For instance, in one place we saw a large tank—presented by Mr. Vernon, the iron ship-builder: in another, a seraphine, or parlour organ for conducting the church services, given by Mr. Beazley; besides many other little things which we cannot call to mind at present. But what attracted our admiration more than anything else of this kind was a large slate fixed in a most conspicuous place in the after part of the ship over which was inscribed “List of Trustworthy Boys on board the Akbar.” Our readers will be glad to know that the slate was nearly filled. It is a great incentive to good conduct on the part of the boys, for they all desire to see their names included in that honourable calendar. A short time ago one of the boys who had been thus distinguished committed a grave offence. What do most people suppose would be the punishment? Commander Fenwick called the boys aft in a body, informed them of what had taken place and how painful he felt at the punishment he was about to inflict on the offender. He then, in the presence of them all, obliterated the name from the slate, and the erring lad sunk with shame at this moral degradation in the eyes of his comrades. He cried bitterly, expressed great contrition afterwards, and what is still better, his conduct has been unexceptionable since. Another anecdote will show the good feeling which is engendered amongst the boys by this course of religious and moral training which they undergo. In the heat of passion one of them struck another, but the offence was one of such rare occurrence that Captain Fenwick was rather at a loss as to what sort of punishment he should inflict. However, he determined that the offender should ask pardon on one knee before all the scholars. This was done, and it had such an effect on the outraged lad that his little heart nearly burst with emotion, and with the tears flowing freely down his cheeks, he exclaimed, “Yes, Jack, I freely forgive you from my heart! God bless you! and give you strength to keep your temper.” Those who witnessed the scene will never forget it; and surely one such instance of freely forgiving “the trespasses of them that trespass against us,” was alone worth all the trouble, expense, and perseverance which have been bestowed upon the little fellows in the Akbar Reformatory.

One more instance we cannot forbear mentioning. One of the earliest boys apprenticed to the sea made a voyage to Jamaica and other places, and after an absence of thirteen months he returned to Liverpool. On landing, he went to look at his former home at the north end of the town, but on the way, he met his father in a drunken state, in Scotland road, and his parent's bad language and conduct so shocked and disgusted him, that he went no further. Finding his way to the Akbar, he begged to be taken back again, and during his stay in Liverpool he remained on board.

There is service on board the Akbar every Sunday morning; and generally in the afternoon the captain takes the boys out in a body for a stroll, or to attend service in some of the neighbouring churches. At other times parties of them are frequently entrusted ashore alone to carry messages; and the boys invariably repay, by their good conduct, the confidence thus placed in them. Indeed, they seem

warmly attached to their superintendent, Captain Fenwick, who treats them with the same affectionate interest that he does his own children, who live on board with him. Captain Fenwick "is the right man in the right place." He formerly commanded her Majesty's training brig *Rolla*, and he looks every inch a sailor, and something more. We are glad to know that the committee appreciate his services; and those who wish to know the character of the man had better go and see what he is doing on board the *Akbar*. They will then be able to estimate the value of the institution, and we trust that the removal of the *Akbar* into a position where she will be more generally seen, although entailing an increased expense on the committee, will be the means of inducing an extended support. Shipowners, especially, are interested in its success; for it will be the means of supplying them with apprentices who already know more than half their business. All who have received these lads, speak in the highest terms of them. About twenty have already been apprenticed, and there are now applications for more than are reported ready. At present the frigate has 92 lads on board, but there is accommodation for 150. Boys who are brought up as delinquents at the Police court, if found suitable, are committed to the *Akbar* nominally for three years' imprisonment. After a probationary service of about twelve months, they are frequently reported as eligible for sea service, and with the consent of the Secretary of State, they receive a pardon, and are apprenticed. Their future career depends upon themselves: but so far, no instances of relapse into crime have been recorded.

Seeing that this institution has effected so much with criminals, the question has been asked—Why not extend its advantages to those who are mere vagrants, or not even so bad as that. Last week, a ragged, down-at-the-heels young urchin found his way on board, in the *Birkenhead* Float, and begged Captain Fenwick to receive him with the others. Now, this lad had done nothing amiss—he was not even "known to the police," except as a poor, homeless, neglected vagrant. Captain Fenwick was obliged to send him ashore again, though with very great reluctance. On Monday the boy presented himself on board in the river—he had crept on to the vessel while she was hauling through the dock gates—and again begged to be received. Though a real "ragged Robbin," the boy had an honest, intelligent look, and joined in the hardest work going on with a hearty good-will. Captain Fenwick laid his case before the members of the committee present, and they gratified the little fellow by acceding to his request. He is now one of the crew of the *Akbar*, and from this early indication of character we feel assured that he will make his way in the world.

Before the visitors left, they saw all hands piped to dinner, and were themselves entertained with lunch by Captain Fenwick. The boys sing grace before and after meat, each captain of the mess taking it in turn to lead the voices. When dinner was concluded, at the special request of Mr. Beazley, the boys were assembled and sung the "Te Deum" in a most creditable manner, Captain Fenwick leading with the seraphine and his own voice. Every look, every

word of their leader, was followed by the boys, with an alacrity that spoke more eloquently than words could have done of the beneficial influence which he exercises over them. No one could have witnessed the scene without being touched to the heart's core, and made all the better for it; and the visitors departed from the Akbar by one of the attendant steamers firmly impressed with the conviction that a good work is entrusted to good hands.

Before closing this Record, we would ask—Where is the Irish Catholic Reformatory, supported by voluntary Catholic aid? Three months ago we saw a subscription list, on which were names of some of the chief and most influential Catholics of the kingdom, and in subscriptions varying from £50 to £5, there was a sum of not less than £500 as the beginning. We have heard also of a Reformatory in Cork—What has become of that? We have been asked over and over again, and have asked over and over again about these two Reformatories, but we can hear nothing on the subject. We hope that in our next number we shall be able to tell something certain, be it ever so little, of both these proposed Reformatories.

An Educational Conference is to be held in London, the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th of June, Prince Albert, President, the Earl Granville, Vice-President, for the purpose of considering all the most important questions connected with education, the whole design taking its origin from the formidable evils indicated in the topic of *the early age at which children are taken from school*. Some of the most influential men in England have given their names as supporters of this conference; and we understand that amongst the papers to be read, there is one by Miss Carpenter, on Crime and Ignorance. We shall, of course, in our next Record, have occasion to refer to this important conference.

DEATH OF ROBERT HALL, Esq., M.P.

Since the publication of our last Record, a deep-hearted man, with a love of his kind far in his soul, has passed away. Just three years ago, we first knew Robert Hall, the Recorder of Doncaster, and then presented us with a copy of his lecture on Mettray, to which, from page 118 to 127 in the paper,

"Reformatory Schools in France and England," printed in the 15th number of this REVIEW, (September, 1854), we were much indebted. Again he visited Mettray and other Reformatories in France and Belgium, and his lecture on these visits, delivered before the Leeds Philosophical Institute, was presented to us, and printed as an appendix to the Record of our 18th number, (June, 1855). We refer to these lectures merely for the purpose of shewing how wide Mr. Hall's sympathies were, and how unity of feeling and action in a good cause, won all his sympathies and active services. Two years ago we urged the necessity of Reformatory Schools in Ireland, and contended that they should be separate, that is, Protestant Schools for Protestant children, Catholic Schools for Catholic children. We urged the point strongly, and Mr. Hall wrote to us,—"In spite of my Protestantism and my Toryism, and all my other anti-Catholicisms, I feel bound to tell you that I think you are right, and that Reformatory training can only be carried out in a separation of religions, for religion must be the foundation of the Reformation, and this you cannot have in a combined school, without injuring the faith of some, and crippling the advantages of religion for all."

Such a man as this was Robert Hall; more minutely the following sketched from *The Leeds Intelligencer* of June 6th, 1857, tells of him, and it tells us too how well the people of Leeds judged and respected him, for not alone were many of the shops in the town closed during the funeral, but the funeral was attended by all the chief inhabitants and officials of Leeds and of Doncaster:—

Mr. Hall was born in Kirkgate on the 15th November, 1801, and was consequently, at the time of his death, in the 57th year of his age. He was the only child of the venerable Henry Hall, Esq., of Bank Lodge, who survives him, the representative of one of the oldest and most respected families in Leeds, by Grace, the eldest and last surviving child of the late Robert Butterfield, Esq., of Halifax. On attaining his boyhood he was sent to the Grammar School, at Heath, near Halifax, under the mastership of the Rev. Robt. Wilkinson, B.D., where he remained three years, and was then removed to the Leeds Grammar School, and pursued his studies under the care of the Rev. G. P. Richards, M.A., and the Rev. George Walker, M.A. His habits at this time were steady and sedate, as in after life, and in the pursuit of his studies, which were of a preparatory character for the University, he was ever in advance of his fellow pupils, almost invariably standing at the head of his class. After a most successful school career, he went to Oxford, and entered as a

commoner at Christ Church, of which college the Rev. Dr. Hall at the time was the Dean. At this ancient seat of learning he took the degree of B.A., in 1823, being placed in the first class in classics, and the second class in mathematics, and of M.A., 1826. In 1828 he was called to the bar, at Lincoln's-inn, and since that time up to his death he was a distinguished member of the Northern Circuit, enjoying an extensive and increasing practice in the Nisi Prius courts. For some time after he was called to the bar he continued to reside in Leeds, but his professional engagements rendering his removal to London necessary, he left Leeds in the year 1834, and continued to reside in London up to his death, his chambers being at New Court, Middle Temple. In his profession he was not prominent as a practitioner in the courts, but was esteemed one of the best chamber counsel at the bar. His legal knowledge was of the highest class, and his opinions were not only eagerly sought after by the lower branch of the profession, but had great weight with the Bench. He was deeply read in law, and possessed a sound and cautious judgment, which seldom led him astray in giving his opinion on the questions submitted to him, and in this branch of his profession he enjoyed a large and lucrative practice until a serious railway accident in 1855, compelled him to limit his labours. In 1842 he was appointed Deputy Recorder of Leeds, and in 1845 Recorder of Doncaster, both of which appointments he held at time of his death, and at the last quarter sessions for the borough of Leeds he presided in the first court in the absence of the Recorder (T. F. Ellis, Esq.) from indisposition. He was also, in 1848, appointed lecturer on Common Law at the Inner Temple, and held the appointment up to 1852. The duties which these appointments devolved upon him were ever discharged with singular ability and impartiality, and we are sure that there will be but one feeling of regret amongst his professional brethren, shared in by all who came in contact with him in his judicial character, that he should have been removed so suddenly from his sphere of usefulness and of honor.

His high professional position, though it absorbed most of his time, did not preclude him from devoting his attention to important social and political questions, and his whole life was distinguished by earnest labours in the promotion of the welfare of his countrymen. Few men stood higher in the esteem of those whose respect is worthy of ambition, and he was known as a warm and attached supporter of local charities, and of the Church of England, of which he was a most exemplary and devoted member. During his residence in Leeds he was elected a patron of the Parish Church, and also one of the Committee of Pious Uses. He originated and personally superintended a Sunday School, at Richmond Road, Bank; and to the time of his death was the teacher of the first class in the Sunday Schools of St. John's, Westminster. Of later years his studies had been directed more especially to the important question of the treatment of juvenile criminals, to which his mind was forcibly turned by the painful experiences which his judicial duties but too frequently afforded. During the long vacations he usually visited the continent, and inspected the principal reformatories in France

and Germany, and during these tours secured the friendship of M. de Metz, one of the founders of Mettray. Subsequently he published two lectures, one on "Mettray," and the other "Visits to Continental Reformatories," in which he gave expression to his own views on the great social problem of his day. Those views were eminently practical in their character, whilst they were thoroughly comprehensive in their object and detail, and their publication placed him in the first rank of reformers. It was to forward this great object, which had become to him one of intense and absorbing interest, that Mr. Hall more especially was desirous of a seat in parliament, and there can be no doubt, had his life been spared, that he would have distinguished himself as a legislator in all matters pertaining to social reform. His views on the subject were matured, he had attained a position where he was sanguine of giving them practical effect, and the future was before him full of hope, when his career was stayed, and he was called on to pay the last debt of nature. Amongst the minor studies to which he devoted himself during the vacations, was that of natural history, and more especially the department of geology, of which his knowledge was very extensive. He was an active supporter of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, before the members of which he read many valuable papers; and on leaving Leeds, he was entertained at a public dinner given in his honour, and unanimously elected an honorary member of the society.

Mr. Hall inherited the political sentiments of his father, and was a consistent Conservative, anxious to extend electoral reform within what he believed to be the limits of the constitution, but earnestly and determinately opposed to extreme measures, tending to revolutionize the constitution and to swamp the representation of property in that of mere numbers. Trained in political life by the example of his father, he took an active part in political questions, and was one of the most energetic supporters of Mr. Michael Thomas Sadler at the general election in 1832. At the election of 1834, on Mr. Macaulay becoming a Member of Council in India, he acted as chairman of Sir John Beckett's committee. He occupied the same post at the general election in 1835, and contributed to Sir John Beckett's return on that occasion by the sound judgment and untiring energy which he displayed. The increasing professional claims upon his attention after this compelled him to withdraw for the time from active political life, and it was not until the general election of 1852, when he was nominated by the Conservatives of this borough at the eleventh hour, that we meet with him again in the arena of politics. On that occasion he was unsuccessful, but he received such support as to justify the avowal of his intention again to solicit the suffrages of his fellow-townsmen when opportunity should occur; which intention was carried out at the general election in March last. The incidents of that contest—the exertions of Mr. Hall—his popularity, as evidenced in the fact of his receiving the largest show of hands on the day of nomination—and his triumphant return—are too fresh in the memories of our readers to justify repetition now. He attained the highest honour which his townsmen could confer upon him, and instead of resting himself, his anxiety to discharge his duties

induced him to continued exertions, which were followed by protracted sittings in an arbitration case, and by the assumption, on the opening of the session, of his parliamentary duties.

He took the oaths early in May, and sat in the house on two or three subsequent occasions. During one of those sittings he caught cold, which, in the relaxed state of his physical powers, produced considerable prostration, and when his medical adviser was called in, he was found to be suffering from an attack of influenza. He was advised to leave London, in order to avoid the distraction and disturbances of business, and, accompanied by Mrs. Hall, he retired to Folkstone, a favorite place of resort to him, a few days before his death. Whilst there symptoms of a more serious character appeared, and a medical friend at Leeds, under whose care he had been after the accident in January, 1855, was telegraphed for. That gentleman arrived at Folkstone on Friday night last, and found Mr. Hall suffering from fever and hemorrhage of the bowels, and in a very threatening state. The relatives of the honourable gentleman were immediately sent for, as there were but slight hopes of his recovery. The symptoms continued without mitigation until half-past three on Tuesday morning, when they terminated in death.

We need scarcely add that Mr. Hall was a man of deep religious convictions, and never failed in the hour of trial to find consolation in the Bible, of which he was a constant student. In the inscrutable Wisdom of God he has been called to his account, when the future promised a long career of usefulness, and when he had won the honours due to the past, but in the memory which he leaves behind there is traceable the silver lining that fringes the darkest cloud.

THE FUNERAL.

The remains of Mr. Hall reached Leeds on Thursday night, in the charge of Mr. Henry Keenan, Mr. Hall's clerk, and were interred in the family vault, near the south-east porch of Whitkirk Church, yesterday morning. The arrangements for the funeral were under the direction of Mr. Hardwick, of the firm of Hardwick and Headland, undertakers, Briggate, and were of a strictly private character. There was, however, a numerous attendance of the magistracy and gentry of the town, who had assembled to pay their last tribute of respect to the memory of the deceased. The funeral cortege, consisting of hearse and four mourning coaches, besides private carriages, left Bank Lodge, the family residence, precisely at eleven o'clock, and proceeded at a slow pace to the place of enternment, where it arrived a few minutes past twelve. The body was enclosed in a polished oak coffin, which bore the following inscription, on a brass plate.

Robert Hall, M.P.,
Born Nov. 15, 1801,
Died May 26, 1857,

and on being removed from the hearse, it was received by the Rev. A. Martineau, and the Rev. Dr. Hook, the latter of whom had come specially from Leamington to be present on the occasion. The following gentlemen, who wore silk scarfs and hatbands, acted as pall bearers, Dr. Dunn, Mayor of Doncaster; W. C. Smith, Esq., ex-

Mayor, Doncaster ; Mr. Nicholson, Clerk of the Peace, Doncaster ; the Rev. E. Cookson, Leeds ; T. P. Teale, Esq., John Hope Shaw, Esq., and Edward Bond, Esq. It was immediately preceded by Mr. Henry Keenan, (Mr. Hall's clerk) and by Mr. Etches, Superintendent of the Doncaster police, being followed by the widow and the father of Mr. Hall, and other members of the family, as chief mourners, after whom came the Mayor of Leeds (John Botterill, Esq.)

The funeral service was conducted by Mr. Martineau and Dr. Hook, the latter of whom read the Lesson and the concluding portion of the service, at the grave side, most impressively.

The ceremony was solemnly performed, and the proceedings throughout were of the most orderly character.

Several tradesmen closed their shops during the funeral, and the magistrates adjourned the sitting of the Borough Court from eleven to half past one.

Highly distinguished in his profession, he was still more esteemed in his private relations. Enemies he had none, and of those who differed from him in his opinions, there is not one, we believe, who would not bear willing testimony to his sincerity, zeal, earnestness and truth. As a lawyer he ranked among the soundest ; as a judge he was an ornament to the bench ; as a friend he secured the love of all who knew him ; as a man he diligently endeavoured to do all the good that in his sphere of life he could accomplish. To those who were not acquainted with him this may seem overwrought praise, but those who knew him well know also that no terms of commendation can exaggerate his merits.

A laborious but eminently useful life opened up to him the prospects of honourable ambition. Respected at the bar, he was still more deeply regarded on the bench ; and when, at length, another prospect was presented to him, when his fellow townsmen conferred upon him the highest honour they could bestow, by sending him to to represent them in Parliament, there was every hope that his practical usefulness, having a greater field for exertion, would be still more beneficially displayed than in that smaller area in which he had for years been unobtrusively but diligently doing his allotted work.

As we were about to put this Record to press we received *The Times* of Saturday, June 13th, containing the debate in the House of Lords on the Transportation Bill, and with the exception of the speeches of the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Grey, and the Earl of Derby, we have seldom read such a mass of ignorance and confusion as the noble lords exhibited on the occasion. The whole question was fully stated by the Recorder of Birmingham, in his charge delivered to the grand jury, the 29th of last December, when he said—

Gentlemen, we did not abandon transportation willingly, nor until after a struggle which showed us that we could not continue it without shaking the allegiance of the colonies to the mother country. It is consequently admitted that, if transportation is to be restored,

it must be by the establishing new settlements. And it is not denied that in so acting we must forego that which has always been held as the highest advantage derivable from this method of dealing with criminals, viz., that they are absorbed into an honest population, in a country in which the means of subsistence are more easily and surely acquired than at home, from which causes the proportion of relapses is greatly diminished. Gentlemen, I do not mean to engage you in the discussion of a question replete with difficulties and complications. If those who advocate a return to transportation find a suitable territory, (a task, easy as it appears to many, which has baffled the research of able men thoroughly conversant with the resources of our empire in all its regions); if they shall be able to deal with a convict population in any way—save by imprisonment—so as to preclude the recurrence of the multiplied crimes and the mysterious abominations which would form the darkest page of our history did not their very atrocity shield them from disclosure; if they shall devise the means by which the most nefarious of the convicts can be prevented from gradually filtering down into the nearest states, whether our own possessions or those of the foreigner, then, gentlemen, I for one, though not unmindful of the many difficulties and of the enormous expense essential to such a project, will rejoice at that as I should at almost any other solution of our most distressing problem, "What shall we do with our criminals?" But, gentlemen, to send convicts thousands of miles to remain in prison at the end of their voyage does appear to me repugnant to the most obvious dictates of common sense, to say nothing of its being condemned by all authority. If the convicts cannot with propriety be scattered abroad, but must be congregated upon public works in anticipation of the wants of future colonists, who the moment they become strong enough, will deprive us of the outlet for our criminals, which we shall have thus constructed at an enormous outlay, surely it would be far more expedient to keep them at home to labour at public works on our own shores, especially when the absence of such works is a national disgrace.

We know it is quite natural that Bull should say, when he looks at the map of the world, "I have lots of islands, and a large territory, why cannot I set up a new Penal Colony?" The answer is very plain; to found a Colony would cost about, at the very lowest, £500,000; if you are willing to spend this money you must also be prepared to keep the men in the Colony for life, or you must incur the expense of sending them elsewhere. Bull must never forget this point of expense. Let him keep these two following facts in view: we find them in the Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Transportation in 1856, by the House of Lords. It appears, that although Transportation to Van Diemen's Land has ceased since 1852, yet 4,000 convicts still remain, at an annual cost of £142,236, which is £35 per man. In Western Australia,

soon, perhaps, to be closed against us, we have 2,000 convicts, at an annual cost of £82,900, or £41 per man.

But, supposing that Bull is satisfied to take upon himself this enormous cost, let us consider where he is to find a Colony suited to his purpose. He must remember that his colony must not be too near any of our existing dependencies; and he must keep clearly before him this fact, that after a long and careful enquiry, by both Houses of Parliament, only fifteen places could be named as suitable, and yet every one of these fifteen is, from one cause or another, objectionable.

The places named are, Canterbury Settlement, Gulf of Carpentaria, Chatham Islands, East Australia, Falkland Islands, Cape of Good Hope, Hebrides, Hudson's Bay Company's Territories, Moreton Bay, New South Wales, New Zealand, Norfolk Island, North American Colonies, North Australia, and Vancouver's Island. Having named the places, we now proceed to consider the evidence bearing upon them.

Canterbury Settlement was established by private enterprise, and, therefore, will not receive our convicts.

The Gulf of Carpentaria is on the North Coast of Australia, and is in some respects suitable for a penal colony, but there is considerable danger that it would become in time a nest of pirates, as the freed convicts would be entitled to build or purchase vessels for trading purposes, and these ships could be turned to account in plundering the merchantmen sailing through Torres Straits. Besides, the colony would be open to a repetition of all the horrors of Norfolk Island. The inland navigation, by the Albert River, must ever be restricted, as there are only eleven feet of water on the bar; and, in fact, the harbour should be at an Island some distance from the main land, and in addition, allowing even for the latitude, the climate is tropical.

The Chatham Islands are in the Pacific, about 500 miles from New Zealand, and are in no respect better suited than the Gulf of Carpentaria for a penal colony.

Eastern Australia wants nothing from us; neither laws nor laborers: at Victoria they have passed enactments by which, if they suspect a man to be a convict, they require him to prove that he *is not* one, and failing in the proof, they ship him off, or they imprison him with hard labor.

The Falkland Islands appear by nature to have been intended for the shelter of wild beasts—and ships out of repair after

having weathered Cape Horn. The wind is so continuous that vegetables must be grown in walled gardens, and, owing to the nature of the soil and climate, it can never become an agricultural country. The House of Lords have specially reported against these Islands.

The Cape of Good Hope has already, so long ago as 1849, protested loudly and plainly against receiving any convicts.

The Hebrides have been approved by Sir Archibald Alison as a place for penal labor, but, for all practical purposes, any enclosed common would do equally well, as there would be no population into which the men could be absorbed, and no useful public works could be carried out.

The Hudson's Bay Company's Territory has been named, but this is a total mistake. - These lands, including Vancouver's Island, are quite unsuited for a penal colony. To get there by Cape Horn takes three months: to get there by Canada is so expensive that the Company pay 16s. for every 90lbs. of goods transported from York Factory to the Red River. Formerly, a tribute in skins was paid to Russia, but the cost of carriage was so high that other arrangements were made. In going by the Rocky Mountains, one stream must be forded about forty times, when the traveller is often waist-deep in cold water.

Moreton Bay, New South Wales, and the North American Colonies are all, as being now free dependencies, unwilling to receive convicts, and we, in forcing colonists on them, run the very grave risk of a serious quarrel, either with the particular colony or its neighbours;—in the case of North America, we could hardly expect the United States to be satisfied with the formation of a Penal Colony there.

Northern Australia has been very much talked of and written about, as affording scope for a Penal Colony; but we have, in fact, already attempted to found such a colony at Port Essington: however, between the heat and frequent storms of wind and rain, we were forced to relinquish it after a few years' trial. Now, indeed, the formation of a Penal Settlement in Northern Australia is rendered a thousand-fold more objectionable than ever, owing to the temptation offered by the gold regions. We find free settlers leaving their various occupations; and surely the diggings would lure away the Free-Pardon and Ticket-of-Leave men. In fact, already, at Port Essington, when the laborers ran away to the diggings, the settlers were compelled

to import Chinamen to do the work of the absconding miners. To all these objections against the penal colonization of Northern Australia must be added the grave one, that it is too near Moreton Bay, and the route to that district, both by sea and land, is too easy to afford the slightest bar to the escape, into New South Wales, of the Convicts. This difficulty will not be surmounted by the possible formation of Moreton Bay into a separate Colony. New South Wales would then protest against Penal colonization in Northern Australia, and with very great justice and foresight.

We have thus endeavored to enable Bull to comprehend his chances of returning to Transportation as a mode of punishment; but two items of expense we must place before him. The first shows him what he paid for Transportation on the old plan; the second shows him what he pays for it upon the present system:—

Gross cost of Transportation, and the Convict		
Prisons in Great Britain and Ireland, as it		
stood in 1851, for 15,720 convicts	...	£587,294
Net cost, after deducting value of labor	...	£410,476
Cost of an assumed maximum of 17,250 prisoners, and 1,200 females, in Great Britain and		
Ireland, Bermuda, and Gibraltar, with a		
limited number in Western Australia	....	£370,750
Net cost, after deducting value of labor		£195,700

Bull can strike the balance for himself, and if he will only insist that the system which has saved him so much money is fully and carefully carried out, he will have no reason to roar at a ticket of leave, or to tremble before its holder.

The means which we at present possess for disposing of our Convicts and Penal Servitude men in Great Britain and Ireland, Gibraltar and Bermuda, may be thus classed, in the Prisons for Public Works, adopting the data of Colonel Jebb:—

“Estimated expense of carrying into effect penal servitude at Home, Gibraltar, Bermuda, and Western Australia :—

Great Britain :—			
7,300 males, at £23 each	-	-	167,900
1,350 females, 20 „	-	-	27,000
Ireland :—			
1,200 males, 20 „	-	-	24,000
500 females, 18 „	-	-	9,000
Bermuda :—			
1,200 males, 35 „	-	-	42,000
Gibraltar :—			
800 males, 32 „	-	-	25,000
Western Australia :—			
300 males, 40 „	-	-	12,000
Total			£307,500
Cost of transport for sending out and bringing home from Gibraltar and Bermuda, 450 each way, 900 at £7 10s.			
			6,750
Cost of passage to Western Australia, 300 at £25.			
			7,500
Civil guard to replace military guard before furnished,			
			4,800
To the above estimate must be added Gratuities which are accumulated to the credit of prisoners :			
—2,300 at £6.			13,800
Travelling and incidental expenses,			
			7,150
			<hr/>
			£347,500

“Assuming that the above estimate will represent the amount demanded from Parliament, the value of the labor executed by prisoners will require to be considered, not in reduction of the estimates but, for the most part, as a set off in favour of the Government.

“On this point, to which from the first I have devoted much attention, I would state that, although the application of convict labour is still susceptible of improvement, a large amount is executed, and may be valued in connexion with the foregoing estimate at £180,250, as will be explained, thereby making the net cost £167,250.

“As regards Dartmoor and Parkhurst, the labour being chiefly devoted to agriculture, not more than about £5 a-head is realized in diminution of the expenses.

“At Pentonville, Millbank, and other places for separate confinement, average earnings of the prisoners may be taken at about £4 10s. a-head.

“In Ireland, under the improved management which has been recently introduced, the earnings will doubtless amount to an average that may cover a large proportion of the cost of maintenance, which during the year 1854 amounted at Spike Island only to £12 3s. 1d. I take an average of £10.

"I have not the means of giving the particulars of Gibraltar and Bermuda, but from the high price of wages, and the testimony of officers who are well acquainted with the facts, I do not doubt that the convicts employed at those stations execute an equal proportion of work at a greater value, probably not less than £30 a year.

The following will be an abstract of the value of the Labour of Convicts on the foregoing data :—

Undergoing separte confinement -	1,900	at	5 10	8,550
Portland - - - - -	1,500	"	24 0	38,400
Chatham - - - - -	1,150	"	24 0	27,600
Portsmouth, - - - - -	1,050	"	24 0	25,200
Stirling Castle 400 invalids -	1,100	"	5 0	5,500
Dartmoor 700 " }				
Parkhurst - - - - -	600	"	5 0	3,000
Gibraltar - - - - -	800	"	30 0	24,000
Bermuda - - - - -	1,200	"	30 0	36,000
Western Australia - - -	300	"	Nil.	
Ireland - - - - -	1,200	average	10 0	12,000
Total -	10,800			£180,250*

These figures are as close an approximation to the exact expenditure as can be expected; and certainly some of the best officers in the public service have endeavoured to render them as reliable estimates of the actual amounts likely to be required

* **STATEMENT** showing the Average Number of Convicts confined on Public Works, Prisons, and Hulks, during the years 1853, 1854, and 1855, and the Value of their Labour, as calculated according to reasonable rates, for the different description of work performed, some being that of artificers and some of labourers.

Years.	Daily Average No. of Prisoners in Confinement.	Number of Day's Work of 10 hours each performed by the Prisoners.	Average Daily Value Per man.	Value of Work performed.	Annual Average Value of Work performed by each Prisoner.
		Days.	s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1853	2983	644,484	2 3½	+73,774 15 4½	24 14 7½+
1854	3430	768,724	2 3½	+86,376 14 0	25 6 7½+
1855	3432	743,159	2 2½	+82,593 12 4½	24 1 3½+

+ These amounts of work are exclusive of the saving to the establishment arising from the employment of prisoners as bakers, cooks, washers, boatmen, cleaners, &c., &c.

as experience could, by any possibility, make them. So far, then, as expense is in question, we have a pretty clear knowledge of what it will be, and we have already shown what Transportation under the old system cost us.

Bull's management of Western Australia has been a most perfect specimen of "how not to do it." The Colony was never so attractive as Southern Australia, and it was founded on a principle about as wrong as any ever formed and approved by a Legislature. It was resolved that land should be granted in the ratio of one acre for every 1s. 6d. worth of stock, dead or alive, which the settler imported into the Colony. Many went out, lured by this deceptive system, and amidst land all their own—a land rich, valuable, and with a most healthy climate—the settlers were ruined. The other Australian Colonies advanced, Western Australia fell back; and finding that the Colony had been injured by the grants of land too cheaply given, the Government now retards its development by placing too high a value upon it—the upset price for all land in the Colony, good, bad, and indifferent, being £1 per acre, taken in the bulk.

It was proposed to the Colonists that, as they wanted both settlers and laborers, free emigrants should be sent out at the expense of the Home Government; and that, in return for this assistance, the Colonists should receive, with each free adult settler, one able-bodied Convict. This stipulation was broken, and the Colonists complained that they had "toujours" Convicts; and not alone that they were overdone with Convicts, but that we sent out those convicts only whom we did not wish to hang.

We feel bound to acknowledge that the Colonists were perfectly justified in this latter statement. They are supported in every particular by a return, printed in the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1856. From this return, showing certain particulars in relation to prisoners upon the Western Australian Convict Establishment, who, by the nature of their crimes, or by reason of their incorrigible character, are considered by the Superintendent, and are usually regarded at the Home Imperial Prisons, as *ineligible for association with others*, we gather the following particulars. The total number in the return is 53, and of this total, 14 were for unnatural offences, for which the punishment is death.

Of the 53, there were—

Transported for life	...	22
„ for 22 years	...	1
„ for 21 years	...	2
„ for 20 years	...	2
„ for 15 years	...	9
„ for 14 years	...	7

The other sentences were on men re-convicted in the Colony, for bad conduct, and varied from 18 months to 7 years, with hard labor and flogging.

It appears to us that no amount of red-tape—that no length of existence amongst sealing-wax and Government stationery—could make any man so careless of all results as these figures prove somebody to have been, in sending out these men, whose conduct was infamous in the world, bad as bad could be in the prison, and fully as incorrigible in the Colony. Colonel Jebb states that you cannot select Convicts now. This may be true; but why send them out at all? The Colonial Office must know, and does know well, as both Mr. Waddington and Mr. Elliott clearly prove, that if men are sent out who cannot be absorbed into the population, it is much better for the Home Government and for the Colony, that they should be kept in England. We ought to have hung the most of these 53 men—14 of them we could have hanged—there were others whose offences may be named, and we shall here insert some specimens:—

Name—George Hanks, *alias* “Ram,” *alias* Charles Rock; real name Whittaker. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary with violence; sentence, “life.” *Information as to past life*—Convicted of burglary in 1850; sentenced, 10 years’ transportation; attempted to escape from Oxford Castle, while waiting for trial; escaped from Dartmoor Government Prison, 1851; attempted to escape from Oxford Castle, 1852; attempted, from Portsmouth, 1854; also from the establishment, Western Australia, September, 1854. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Three weeks bread and water; dark cells; six months in irons.

Name—William Deane. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary; after previous conviction of felony; also breach of prison rules, 22 years, (15,7). *Information as to past life*—March 1837, 6 months; February, 1839, 14 days; June, 1839, 2 months; June 1840, 7 years, at Knutsford; January 1850, 12 months; January 1851, 1 month; 2 April 1853, 7 years; character, “very bad;” embarked in cross-irons. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Bread and water 7 days, cells; class suspended 3 months; admonished.

Name—Teddy Kenny. *Nature of Crime*—Burglary, 15 years, *Information as to past life*—Conspired with four others to attack the turnkey, when unlocking, to effect their escape; two of the five made a violent attack upon the officer on the 19th of August; the

officer received several bruises on the head, body, and throat; they threw him down, rifled his pockets, took the keys from him, and threatened to murder him; kept in close confinement from the 19th to the 30th. *Conduct in Western Australia*—Bread and water 7 days, cells; class suspended 3 months.

Name—William McFarlane, *alias* Jamieson, Brennan, or S. *Nature of Crime*—Theft, by housebreaking, prison break, assault on an officer; 14 years. *Information as to past life*—I. been a very bad prisoner; not to be trusted; two years forfeited when removed from public works; was transported about 14 years ago; is a dangerous character; broke out of Greenock prison before trial. The governor of Paisley prison states, "This man is the most dangerous character I ever had under my charge; it would be well that officers and others who come into contact with him be upon their guard." Glasgow, most dangerous. Perth, incorrigible. Hulks, bad. Portsmouth, very bad. Milbank, bad. Recommended to be sent to Norfolk Island. *No Record of conduct in the Colony.*

Name—Michael Fleming, *alias*, Jones, *Nature of Crime*—Stealing from the Person; 14 years. *Information as to past life*—A very bad-tempered and violent prisoner, and likely to give bad advice to other prisoners. July, 1843, 7 years; March 1851, 18 months, highway robbery. *Conduct in Western Australia.* Bread and water 7 days, cells. Class suspended three months. Bread and water 2 days, cells. Class suspended one month. Tobacco stopped. Class suspended three months.

Name—James Cannon; this is the sweep who was so notorious about three years ago for assaulting the police. *Nature of Crime*—Assaulting with intent to murder; life. *Information as to past life*—Often for assaults upon the police; not to be trusted. No record of conduct in Western Australia.

With these facts before him, and they are *not the worst cases*, Bull can understand the condition to which Western Australia will be reduced if this system of Transportation is continued. Let him calculate, if he can, how long the Colonists will endure this outrage on all justice, this sweeping away from our shore, where we could manage them cheaply and securely, if we could not reform them, those criminals whose offences made hanging on the highest gibbet in the universe too mild and too undegrading a punishment; we could have kept them safe and at a cheap rate here; we sent them to a Colony where we cannot hold them cheaply, and where we liberate them to the injury of the Colonists.

Bull can help his Colonists in Western Australia to develop the resources of the country; he can send her well conducted Convicts who will work the lead mines; who will prepare the native mahogany, almost as hard and durable under water as

up roads through the country, and thus enable the Colonists to with India, with the Cape, and this cannot be accomplished if ho are "recommended to be kept must send the BEST OR NONE. at there is good authority for stat- Australia can never absorb, even though her become fully developed, more than 1,000 Convicts annum—and this power of absorption would, in all probability, not extend beyond 10 or 14 years.

We dare say Bull will think it very hard to be obliged to keep his worst Convicts at home, and send his best to the antipodes ; but he must remember that he saves by this. He saves in the cost of expensive staffs of guards ; he saves the temper of the colonists ; he saves the departed Convict from the temptations to relapse to which he is exposed if set free in England ; and saves the cost of supporting the Convict in the Colony, for the well conducted man is employed at once, the ill conducted is caged like a wild beast, nobody will employ him, and Bull's money must support him. The well conducted Convict becomes in time the employer of labor—he obtains a few acres of land, the free Irish emigrant girls have no objection to marry him, and once married to a virtuous woman, his reformation, and his prosperity are secure.

We do not enter into the consideration of the question raised by the extraordinary power given in the Transportation Bill to the Home Secretary. It is an absurdity in fact, and dangerous in principle, but before he can exercise it the country must be prepared to risk the offending our colonists, or to spend vast sums in founding that most useless and wasteful of all legalized methods of lavishing the money of the nation—a Penal Colony.

The reader who desires to peruse this subject in its fullest details is referred to a pamphlet from which we borrow these remarks on Transportation, and entitled, "Not so Bad as they Seem. The Transportation, Ticket-of-leave, and Penal Servitude Questions, plainly stated, and argued on facts and figures ; with some Observations on the Principles of Prevention : in a Letter addressed to Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., Q.C. Recorder of Birmingham. By Patrick Joseph Murray, Barrister-at law. London : W. & F. G. Cash. Dublin : W. B. Kelly."

Amongst the public subjects of this Record, *Prevention*, by Mr. Thorpe, just as we were going to notice in our present number with Mr. Thomson's *Social*, no recommendation of them to all our friends—read it.

The following, from the *Irish*, for May, 1857, will interest Catholic readers.

JUVENILE REFORMATORIES.

The President of St. James' Conference, Spanish-place, having been called upon by the President, gave some details of this interesting Work. First, by co-operating with this Work, the Brothers were assisting the magistrates and the police in deterring Catholic children from future crime, or even offence against the laws. For the children would the more hesitate before any delinquency when they found that, besides having to do merely with the police, they were followed up by the Brothers, and so surely sent to a reformatory school. In the second place, this gave the Brothers an opportunity of coming into contact with the parents, who might be thus morally benefitted. In the third place, the exertions of the Brothers might draw the attention of Government more and more to the Reformatories and their results. Now, any one visiting Blythe House would see how many boys were there rescued from vice, and made to learn useful trades. Excellent shoes were now made at that establishment, and actually the boy who finishes them is only fourteen years old. His time is nearly up, and he prefers remaining in the establishment, where he will now receive wages. Thus, the Brothers might see what good might be done if all the Conferences agreed together to carry out the Work. We must say, from the experience of St. James' Conference, that they had met with the greatest civility and even kindness from the magistrates, and they had just now succeeded in persuading them to order to the boys to the Reformatory at Mount St. Bernard, since Blythe House was full. This had established a most useful precedent.

The work was carried on in this manner :—The Brothers had to get up pretty early (say six o'clock), as at half-past nine the boys were taken from the station to go before the magistrates. The Brothers divided the work, so that one Brother undertook to be present at the police court, to claim the boy for the Catholic Reformatory, at the time of his going to be sentenced. The other Brother undertook to visit the police station.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF RE- FORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

Philadelphia has long been noted for its Penitentiary: through the kindness of a Philadelphian friend we are enabled to present the following interesting account of a visit to the Eastern Penitentiary of that city:—

Every Philadelphian is familiar with the great frowning Bastile which lifts its granite head on the north side of Coates street, about Twentieth. Everybody who has ever journeyed to Fairmount knows the external appearance of the building, while comparatively few have ever penetrated to the inside. The walls which enclose the ten or twelve acres of ground appropriated to the prison are thirty feet in height, and very unpromising to the prisoner who may remember them and who contemplates an attempt at escape after having through his evil deeds got himself lodged inside. The front, which is of massive hewn granite, looks even stronger and less get-out-of-able than the rear and side walls. The facade is six hundred and seventy feet in length, and rests upon a terrace. In the centre is the grand gateway, twenty-seven feet high, with two heavy square towers, each fifty feet high, surmounted with projecting embattled parapets. Then there is an octagonal turret, and “embrasures,” and “munitioned windows,” and “loop holes,” and all that sort of fortress-like arrangement to strike terror to the hearts of out-door rascals, and to keep them safe when they become graduates in crime and “bring up at Cherry Hill.” The walls which present so pretentious an appearance are by no means “all show.” They are no less than twelve feet thick at the base, becoming thinner as you go towards their summit.

But after all, these towers and turreted and castellated *et ceteras*, are only the outward flourishes of the institution, for they form no part of the prison proper, except so far as they constitute a barrier between it and the outside world. The prison is composed of several distinct blocks of buildings, each of which forms a corridor. Each corridor has cells ranged upon either side, and they are in double tiers, or two stories in height. The lower cells are all furnished with small yards in which the prisoner may, if he behaves himself, enjoy the luxury of the fresh air for a brief period daily. The upper range of cells have no yards, and as a compensation for this deprivation the cells are in pairs, or connected together by communicating doors. One cell is usually used as a work-shop by the prisoner, while the adjoining apartment is his chamber, parlor, reception room, library, and dining and breakfast room.

There are seven of these corridors, each diverging from a common

centre. The central building, which is called the Observatory, is the hub and the seven corridors are the spokes radiating therefrom. The overseer who plants himself in the centre of the Observatory, by merely revolving around on his stand point, has a view of every cell door of every corridor on the floor on which he is standing.

Although there are at present three hundred and forty prisoners in the institution, the visitor would almost imagine that the place was uninhabited except by the few officials who are loitering about. The long corridors are almost entirely deserted, but the sound of the loom and the shuttle denotes that industry is active within the walls.

The Pennsylvania system of prison discipline requires that each prisoner should be kept "in solitary confinement at hard labor;" and let his time be long or short, he is immured in a cell where he is never seen except by the officers of the prison, by a few privileged officials, who may, if they choose, exercise the right; and, once in three months, he may, by special order of an inspector, receive a visit, of ten or fifteen minutes' duration, from a near relative. But even this poor privilege can only be enjoyed in the presence of a keeper. The ordinary visitor will therefore be disappointed if he enters the institution in the expectation of seeing the prisoners. If, however, his cicerone is disposed to be obliging, he will afford him an opportunity of inspecting the special quarters of some of the prisoners, but, of course, during their temporary absence from their cells. The great mass of these apartments are precisely alike, both in regard to construction and in respect to the condition in which they are kept by their occupants. The cells are all arched; they are eleven feet nine inches long, and seven feet six inches wide; they are lighted from the ceiling, and they are generally well warmed and ventilated. Whitewashed walls, an oaken floor, a grated door, and a door of heavy plank outside of the latter, constitute the architectural peculiarities of each cell. In the matter of furniture an iron bedstead and a small table generally form the entire inventory. There are, however, several exceptions to this rule. Some of the cells are adorned in an extravagant and even a tasteful manner by their occupants. During our recent visit, Mr. John S. Halloway, the worthy Warden, afforded us an opportunity of inspecting several apartments which had been elaborately bedizened by the prisoners who occupied them. The walls were adorned in imitation of paper hangings of showy patterns, and numerous articles of taste, and even of luxury, were scattered about. These articles (providing they are not such as would interfere with the discipline of the prison,) the prisoners are permitted to receive as gifts, or to purchase with the proceeds of their overwork. There is the same diversity of taste and character exhibited among the inmates of the prison as there is among mankind outside the walls. Some of the prisoners care for nothing but the gratification of their animal wants, and they can scarcely be compelled to comply with the prison rules and keep their cells decently clean; others spend their earnings in procuring good books and in little ornamental articles which exhibit taste, while others yet display a genuine African fondness for display in the embellish-

ment of their apartments with such little odds and ends of tawdry finery as they can get hold of. A little bit of mother-of-pearl, a piece of painted wood, or a fragment of bright-colored calico are interspersed upon the walls with pictorial newspaper cuts of John Wesley and the Pirate's Retreat, Bishop White and a dance at the Five Points. There are yet others who are of a poetic turn, and who grace their walls with rhyming effusions which often do more credit to their composers than do the doggerels which sometimes appear in the columns of literary newspapers. To our thinking the most touching ornament we saw in a cell, was a few straggling half-faded flowers in a tin cup. The plants, although half-withered, had evidently been carefully nursed by the poor prisoner, and they brought vividly to our mind the beautiful lines of Mrs. Hemans:

Bring flowers to the captive's lonely cell,
They have tales of the joyous woods to tell;
Of the free blue streams and the glowing sky,
And the bright world shut from his languid eye;
They will bear him a thought of the sunny hours,
And a dream of his youth—bring him flowers, wild flowers!

Who knows but those withering plants had done for their lonely possessor what the budding little flower did for the French prisoner in the exquisite story of "Picciola"—softened a stubborn and wayward spirit, and opened a door into his heart for the admission of gentle influences.

Almost all the prisoners who occupy the cells upon the ground floor cultivate the grounds in their little yards. Some plant vegetables, and in season they luxuriate upon radishes, onions, lettuce, &c.; others turn their attention to flowers, while others yet succeed in raising choice fruits. We recollect to have paid a visit, some five years since, to the institution, and while there were shewn a cell which was occupied by a colored man, and which was embellished in the most extravagant manner by its tenant. The prisoner had contrived an arbor which extended over the whole of his little yard, and which at the time of our visit, was rich with clusters of delicious looking grapes. The convict had at that time three years of a ten years' sentence to serve. His time has since expired, and he left the prison about two years since. His cell is now occupied by a notorious counterfeiter from the interior of the State, but the new tenant has suffered all the finery of his predecessor to go to decay. As we looked at the bright green clusters of grapes ripening in the sunshine, we thought with a sigh of the poor prisoner who lightened and cheered a ten years' solitude by cultivating the fruit, and of the stranger who would enjoy it.

Solitary confinement operates with terrible severity upon some who are compelled to submit to it. Most of the prisoners have been accustomed to lead active, unrestrained lives, and nearly all have spent much of their time in the midst of unnatural excitement. The monotony of solitary confinement, the strictness of prison discipline, the plainness of prison fare, and the certainty of being compelled to submit to these things during a long term of imprisonment, operates severely, even upon the most philosophical minds. Some become

moody and reserved, others grow violent, while others chafe against their prison bars as restlessly as a caged lion, or a bird just made captive. Most persons become reconciled to their inevitable fate in the course of a reasonable time; others commence planning escapes which can never be consummated; while in some melancholy instances the mind yields and insanity is the result. In former times this sad end was more frequent than at present. It has been found necessary to abate the severity of the solitary system, and when the mental or the physical health of the prisoner requires it, he is afforded out-door exercise and more frequent intercourse with his fellow man. Educated, intelligent prisoners generally become reconciled to their fate more speedily than the ignorant and untrained. The latter have no mental resources to fall back upon, and they fret and chafe like a wild beast in a trap. With prisoners, as with the rest of mankind, Hope is their great comfort and support in their time of adversity. Even though the prisoner is sentenced for a term so long that it is virtually a sentence to imprisonment for life, he forthwith commences to count the years, the months, and the days which will elapse before he is once more at liberty, and this hope cheers him up until death steps in and sets him free from the prison walls; but let him be sentenced for life, without hope or the prospect of release, and the poor wretch becomes a victim to despair. There is many a drama of real life acted out within the walls of the Eastern Penitentiary; but there is no audience to behold the thrilling scenes and witness the struggle of Man against Fate, nor will the curtain ever be raised to entertain wondering spectators.

The prison is kept scrupulously clean in every part, and it is well supplied with water from a reservoir upon the grounds. The food of the prisoners is plain but wholesome. It consists of as much bread as they want, with an allowance of a gallon of molasses per month. Tea for breakfast five mornings in the week and coffee the other two mornings. For dinner, beef or mutton and vegetables, and for supper, black tea and butterless bread.

Uneducated prisoners are taught to read and write if they are disposed to learn, and proper attention is paid to the moral and religious culture of the inmates of the institution.

The principal trades at which the prisoners are employed are weaving, shoemaking, chairmaking, cane-seat making and plain sewing. There are, however, other branches of industry at which the inmates are employed.

During the year 1856 the convicts earned 17,910 dollars 92 cents, while the cost of their support was 24,034 dollars 76 cents—leaving a deficiency of 6,123 dollars 84 cents. There were also expenses to the amount of about 10,000 dollars, to be added to this deficiency, and carried to the account of profit and loss.

One hundred and forty-six prisoners were admitted to the institution during the year 1856. Of these 118 were white males and 9 white females. 17 were colored males, and 2 were colored females.

The ages of the prisoners admitted last year were as follows :

Under 18.....	13	40 to 45.....	10
18 to 21.....	28	45 to 50.....	6
21 to 25.....	43	50 to 60.....	4
25 to 30.....	17	60 to 70.....	4
30 to 35.....	16	70 to 80.....	1
35 to 40.....	8	80 to 90.....	1
	125		21

The following table gives the birth places of the prisoners admitted during the same period :

Pennsylvania.....	74	Ireland	14
New Jersey.....	7	Scotland	2
New York.....	9	South Wales.....	1
Massachusetts.....	1	France	1
Kentucky	2	Belle Isle	1
Maryland.....	7	Germany.....	14
Delaware	3	Polish Russia	2
Louisiana.....	1	Switzerland	1
Canada West	1	England	2
St. Lucia.....	1	Prussia	1
New Hampshire.....	1		
		Europeans	39

Americans 107

The table below gives the educational condition of the prisoners admitted, and their habits as regards indulgence in intoxication :

<i>Educational</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Habits</i>	<i>No.</i>
Illiterate	20	Abstainers	11
Read only.....	17	Moderate drinkers.....	78
Read and write	108	Sometimes intoxicated	35
Well instructed	1	Often intoxicated	22
	146		146

The offences of which the prisoners admitted last year were convicted were as follows :

Felony, 1 ; obtaining goods by criminal pretences, 1 ; obtaining money by criminal pretences, 2 ; passing counterfeit notes, 1 ; passing counterfeit money, 3 ; receiving stolen goods, 3 ; larceny, 86 ; larceny at sea, 1 ; horse stealing, 1 ; burglary, 12 ; robbery, 1 ; forgery, 4 ; bigamy, 1 ; assault to commit a felony, 1 ; assault with intent to commit a rape, 2 ; assault and battery with intent to ravish 3 ; rape, 1 ; assault and battery, with intent to kill, 3 ; rape and assault and battery, with intent to commit a rape, 1 ; arson, 4 ; manslaughter, 3 ; murder in the second degree, 5 ; making counterfeit half dollars, 1 ; riot, 4 ; adultery, 1. Total 146.

The following is worthy of attention :—

CELEBRATING THE FOURTH AT A PRISON.

At Jeffersonville, in the State Prison of Indiana, the convicts, we are told by the *Louisville Journal*, were granted a holiday, on that

day, had a banquet served up to them, and were entertained in the evening by foot-races and an oration. The festival commenced by an address from Dr. Mease, of Greene county, sentenced to imprisonment for life for murder. His speech was "an exceedingly creditable production, and abounded in good advice to his fellow convicts."

A sumptuous dinner was then served up, under the supervision of Mrs. Millar, the lady of the Warden. This to men accustomed to no other bill of fare than bread and meat, was of course a great feast. After dinner a dance came off in one of the large halls. At the close of all a choir of prisoners sang "My Own—My Native Land." It is not stated that the Declaration was read. There are a few phrases in it which convicts, of all people in the world, would "go in for."

The following queries regarding Prisons and Reformatories were handed by MATTHEW DAVENPORT HILL, the Recorder of Birmingham, to an American friend, well acquainted with the prisons of the United States. They are, however, too multifarious to be adequately answered by any one person; and it is desirable to obtain opinions from a variety of sources. The questions will be circulated through the United States, in the hope that many who take a benevolent interest in the subjects of them will kindly aid in contributing information,—each replying to such queries as circumstances may have enabled him to answer. We shall feel thankful to any of our readers who will kindly communicate to us the results of their own experience or thoughts upon any of these questions, with all of which we propose to deal according to the information we may receive, and the importance which the subject appears to assume.

QUERIES.

1. It being understood that some of the prisons in the United States of America are self-supporting, to the extent, at least, of defraying all current expenses, viz. food, clothing, medicine, salaries of officers, repairs, &c., and that in the Western States there are gaols which, after defraying these expenses, return an annual profit to the respective treasuries, you are requested to furnish information as to these two classes, with as much of particularity as you conveniently can.

2. It is also understood that in the Northern Atlantic States, the prisons are not, as a general rule, self-supporting. Be pleased to indicate the States in which prisons are not usually self-supporting, and the reasons why they are more costly than those of the Western States?

3. Does the difference in the wages of labour between England and the United States suggest itself to you as an insuperable difficulty in the way of making our gaols self-supporting? Or does any other reason occur to your mind unfavourable to such an undertaking?

4. It is understood that in some prisons the labour of the convicts is hired to contractors, each contractor selecting the prisoners conversant with his own trade. Is this plan shown by experience to yield the largest profit to the funds of the prison? Is there any difficulty in preventing a conflict of authority or influence between the officers of the prison who have charge of the government and training of

the prisoners, on the one hand, and the contractors who have control over the convicts during the hours of labour, on the other?

5. Is there any practical danger in self-supporting gaols of the prisoners being stimulated, either by fear of punishment, or by unwholesome indulgences, to labour beyond their strength, and thus permanently to injure their health?—or of their being led into practices inconsistent with good moral discipline?

6. Will you state what are the sources of this danger, supposing it to exist, and what means you would suggest for avoiding it?

7. The test of a successful plan of training in gaol being the good conduct of prisoners after their discharge, what has been your experience as to the effect of the discipline in the best self-supporting prisons? In the best non self-supporting prisons?

8. With regard to Reformatory treatment, can it be, in your opinion, carried on successfully in the absence of encouragement to industry and good conduct?

9. Are you aware of any encouragement at all comparable in its effects on the mind of a prisoner, with the hope of liberty as the consequence of well doing?

10. As, however, the hope of liberty must at first be that of a remote benefit, would you further encourage the prisoner by rewarding industry and good conduct while in prison with increase of comforts and relaxation of restraints, so as to enable him to make his term of confinement a series of advances towards the position of a well-conducted man at large?

11. Has it occurred to you to observe that the discharge of a prisoner is immediately followed by a period of sore trial to his better principles and reformed habits.

12. Have you had an opportunity of observing the effect of institutions like those on the continent of Europe for the patronage or guardianship of discharged prisoners? Be pleased to state your opinion as to their utility.

13. The success of Thomas Wright, of Manchester, and other individuals, who, without either the aid or the restraints of an association, have rendered great services to discharged prisoners in procuring employment for them, in treating them with sympathy, and extending over them a watchful supervision, seems to suggest the value of such labours in addition to those of the Patronage Societies. Your opinion is desired on this point.

14. Does it appear to you likely that the discharged prisoner would be in less danger of relapse if, by allowing him a qualified liberty before he was discharged, the great change from imprisonment to perfect freedom could be made more gradual than it now is? Would such discipline both exercise and test his powers of self-government?

15. Are you of the opinion that under judicious arrangements so much confidence might be placed in prisoners during the latter stages of their training, as that they might be employed withoutside the prison walls, returning to the prison, or other appointed receptacle, at the close of their daily labour?

16. Do your observation and experience lead you to put faith in

the deterrent consequences of punishment as of themselves sufficient for the repression of crime?

17. State, if you please, its effects, according to your view, as regards the individual punished, and also as regards the example of punishment in preventing the fall of others.

18. Having enjoyed great opportunities of observing the process of reformatory treatment of various kinds, are you of opinion that it can ever be carried on with success, except at the cost of considerable suffering to the prisoner, even although no pain should ever be administered to him beyond that strictly incidental to reformatory discipline?

19. Do you consider the force of deterrents, whatever that force may be, to depend on the purpose for which pain is administered, or on the amount of pain actually suffered? In other words, do you consider that reformatory treatment, involving a certain amount of pain, would be less deterrent than a simple punitive infliction, involving no greater amount?

20. Having inspected gaols in which no attempt is made to reform the prisoners, and where, consequently, the treatment is strictly penal, and having had an opportunity of comparing the state of such gaols with those in which the main object of the prisons is the offender's reformation, have you observed whether or not the officers of the gaols first mentioned stand upon an equality, as to intelligence and demeanour, with those of the second description?

21. Is it your opinion that to the other advantages incidental to reformatory treatment may be added that of rendering it necessary to select for the officers of gaols, including the governor and chaplain, men of enlarged minds, kindly temper, great self-control, capacity for exercising a beneficial influence on the minds of the prisoners, and of exemplary character and conduct?

22. Several of the United States being, as it is understood, well supplied with Reformatory Schools, you are requested to communicate the result of your observations as to their working.

23. When young persons are convicted in the United States of offences which lead to their being sent to Reformatory Schools, are the parents called upon to pay any portion of the expense of their maintenance.

24. In the event of there being such a law, how is it found to work in practice? In the event of there being no such law, do inconveniences arise for want of one?

25. It is understood that in the United States Reformatory Schools are generally founded and conducted on the voluntary principle, but with some pecuniary assistance from the State. Be pleased to communicate such information as you may possess as to the founding and conduct of these Schools, and as to the proportion of aid furnished by the State, particularly as to whether such aid extends to the donation of land and the erection of buildings in whole or part. And as to the value of the voluntary principle, as regards the conduct or management of a Reformatory School.

26. Has it been found advisable to commence these establishments with a very few pupils, gradually increasing the number as the discipline of the school improves?

27. Is the family principle as adopted at the Rauhe Haus, Mettray, Red Hill, and elsewhere, acted upon in the United States? Be so good as to enumerate the establishments.

28. Be pleased to state your opinion of its value.

29. Are you of opinion that the family principle can be carried into full effect without female superintendence, even in Reformatories for boys?

30. Is a system of patronage for the discharged wards or pupils of Reformatory Schools in action in the United States?

31. If so, please to give its results.

32. If not in action, please to communicate your opinion as to its value.

33. Any information which you may be enabled to give as to the cost of reformatory Schools, and how far it is diminished by the labour of the inmates, will be useful and acceptable.

34. Be pleased to add any remarks which may throw further light on the subjects of this inquiry.

Some additional interest may be added to the Report of the Philanthropic Farm School by the fact of its being the last report of the Rev. Sydney Turner, who has been removed to act as Government Inspector of Reformatories. It is, however, interesting in itself. The Red Hill School stands second to none as an index of the progress of the movement in favor of criminal reformation. The report is in the form of a letter from Mr. Turner to the Committee; and as our space will not allow us to give it to our readers *in toto*, we make such extracts as seem best suited to our pages, and refer our readers, with great satisfaction, to the report, which may be procured on application to the Rev. Edwin Gyles, at the Farm School, Reigate, or at the Office, 3, Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, London.

The Report states that—

Between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, 1856, 131 boys were admitted, including 4 re-admissions of boys returning after previous discharge.

Of these—

78 were under Conditional Pardon.

28 were sentenced under 17 and 18 Vict. cap. 86.

19 were received on payment from the Cheshire Association, the Surrey Society, and private individuals.

6 were admitted on the Free List.

It may be noted as to their educational state

That out of the 131—

37 could read and write well,

66 ditto imperfectly,

28 were unable or scarcely able to read at all.

And as to their family circumstances,

That out of the 131—

58 had lost one parent,

21 had lost both, while—

In the cases of partial Orphanage,

The fathers or mothers of 22 had re-married—and in 37 cases the parents were reported to be of dissolute and drunken habits.

Of the 131—

17 were under 12 years of age,
 56 from 12 to 14 ; and
 58, 16 and upwards*
 26 had been in Prison Once before,
 25 ————— Twice „
 13 ————— Thrice „
 9 ————— Four times
 11 ————— Five times and upwards.

The number discharged from the School during the same twelve months was 114.

Of these—

72 Emigrated, viz. :—

2 to Turkey,
 16 „ Canada,
 5 „ United States,
 2 „ New Brunswick,
 13 „ Natal, S. A.,
 10 „ Adelaide,
 10 „ Sydney,
 10 „ Victoria,
 4 „ Hobart Town.

35 were assisted to employment in England by means of their friends and relatives,

5 Were apprenticed or sent to sea.

3 Absconded and were not recovered.

9 Were discharged as hopeless cases—6 of whom are now in prison, and the remaining 3 have been re-admitted.

The number of boys under the care of the Society on December 31st. 1856, was 255

The average number maintained during the year ... 236

The number of boys admitted to Redhill from the opening of the School in 1849, to the 31st December, 1856, including re-admissions of cases discharged in preceding years ... 1066

The number of boys discharged in the same interval ... 751 of whom 449 emigrated.

Of the results of this large emigration they had good cause to speak most thankfully.

The school had again been favoured with a special visit from the Bishop of Winchester, for the purpose of confirmation, and encouraged by his marked approbation of the manner and spirit in which the rite was received and witnessed.

The eighth year of the establishment at Redhill is now ending, and of upwards of 1000 boys they had not lost one by death.

Our treasurer's noble donation of 1000*l.* had enabled the committee to add another House, which already contained nearly forty inmates. The laying of the foundation-stone was distinguished by the attendance of Mons. Demetz, whose coming was as highly

* We understood the Rule, as it indeed appears in the fifth page of the Report, "no boy can be received above 15 years of age."—Ed.

appreciated by the boys and their teachers as by the numerous friends of the institution who met him on the occasion. Our boys made a collection of from 5*l.* to 6*l.* among themselves as a little mark of fellowship and good-will to the lads at Mettray, and every one contributed with a hearty good-will to give the Apostle of the Reformatory movement a heartfelt welcome.

There was a large increase in the farm profits this year, arising not only from the higher prices of grain, but from the evident improvement in the quality and quantity of the produce.

A legacy of 300*l.* had been received from Madame Schimmelpenninck. Contributions of grains to the farm stock to the value of 85*l.* from Messrs. Barclay and Co.; and 50*l.* from William Ellis, Esq., for the improvement of the teachers and school apparatus. Mr. Ellis also kindly gave three most valuable lectures or illustrative lessons on the teaching of social economy.

The school was certified under the Reformatory Act 17 & 18 Vict., cap 86, in September. Arrangements have been entered into with the neighbouring counties of Sussex and Kent, and lately with Nottinghamshire, Leeds, &c., under which young offenders recommended by the Reformatory Associations of those districts are received into the institution on payment of 2*s.* weekly per head, in addition to the Treasury allowance.

Mr. Turner then speaks feelingly of his recent appointment of Inspector to the English and Scotch Reformatories, and concludes thus:—

I have been requested to undertake the office of Inspector of our English and Scotch Reformatories, with the special view of more effectually procuring and consolidating the various reformatory efforts which the last two or three years have seen so cheerfully developed. I cannot consistently with my general duties give that close and personal attention to the supervision and management of the Farm School which its importance deserves and which is essential to its permanence and success. I am obliged therefore to request you to entrust the administration of the school to another.

Looking back as I can through sixteen years on the numberless instances of confidence and friendly sympathy, and devoted self-sacrifice which I have met with, I feel unequal to express all that I owe, and that, through me, the good cause itself owes, to our treasurer and the many gentlemen who have laboured with me in the work. I can wish my successor no better fortune than that his experience may be like mine, and he will then know the privilege and pleasure of being associated for the highest purposes with men who are above all personal jealousies or petty motives—who understand and value the Christian aspects of their work, and who give unsparingly time, talents, and pecuniary exertion to the due fulfilling of its responsibilities.

Assuredly no help that I can render in counsel and in influence shall be wanting to promote and insure his success. Deeply thankful am I to feel that I can surrender my charge to him with the strongest conviction that he will find his fellow-workers in the task

both teachers and directors, such as will effectually help and cheer him in the performance of his duties. That he will have not so much to win a blessing hitherto unbestowed, but to retain and increase that which is already so richly given. **SYDNEY TURNER.**

The Philanthropic Society's Farm School, Redhill,
March, 1857.

At the Gloucester Quarter Sessions, on Tuesday, June 30th, 1857, Mr. T. B. LI. BAKER read the following statement upon the Hardwicke Reformatory School, which, with the accompanying letter, is well worthy of consideration:—

"GENTLEMEN,—Forgive my asking your attention for a moment to a return of the boys of our own country and city received into the Reformatory at Hardwicke since our commencement. I partly drew it up for Lord Caernarvon's use in bringing forward his Bill for the extension of the reformatory principle, but the results struck me so much that I ventured to carry them out more closely, on the chance that they might interest you

				Un-convicted.	1st conviction	2nd conviction	Boys convicted.	Times
1852.	March to June	...	...	1	0	0	2	8
	July to December	...	...	1	1	1	1	4
1853.	January to June	...	...	0	1	3	0	0
	July to December	...	...	0	1	0	1	3
1854.	January to June	...	...	3	5	1	3	9
	July to December	...	...	1	5	0	4	14
1855.	January to June	...	...	0	6	3	2	8
	July to December	...	...	0	10	3	4	16
1856.	January to June	...	...	0	6	9	2	9
	July to December	...	...	0	6	2	4	19
1857.	January to June	...	...	0	7	0	0	0

"For the first two years the school was merely experimental. Up to December, 1852, we only received 13 boys, seven of whom were of our county. In 1853 we received 11 boys, of whom six were of our county. The school was now fairly in work, and we began the attempt of clearing out all the worst boys from the county. Hitherto we had had no public money and no law to assist us. In 1854, Government allowed us five shillings a week for all boys received on conditional pardon under Vict. 1 and 2. In June we ventured to offer to the magistrates to receive all that they might think fit to send us, only requesting them not to send very slight cases (no other county has yet been able to do this). We received one of the two leaders of the Cheltenham gang, about five other very bad ones, and for the time broke the gang. In 1855 we cleared most of the old offenders from Cheltenham, Stroud, and Wotton. In the first half of 1856 all the first and most of the second convictions were very slight cases. There were, however, two bad ones. In the second half of 1856, we caught the five youngest apprentices of the old Cheltenham gang.

At Christmas there only remained in the county eight boys twice convicted, mostly slight cases, and two very small boys often convicted of vagrancy. In the last six months we have only received seven boys, all on their first conviction. This, of course, cannot be expected to continue. Many boys will be convicted a second time, and probably be sent to Hardwicke; but so long as magistrates send nearly every second conviction to a reformatory, no boy can grow up in the regular habits of crime, or in the feelings of what is commonly called 'a gaol bird' under the age of 16. I cannot but think you will agree with me that the preventing regular habits of crime from being formed under the age of 16 will do much to prevent such from being formed at all. Should Lord Caernarvon's Bill pass next year, and the formation of such habits be prevented below the age of 20, I think you will have reason to hope that *regular crime* may be considerably diminished." Mr. Baker proceeded to remark that the number of boys now sent to him was so much diminished that he believed he could be of great help in taking a certain number of boys from Bristol. This was a thing he had long been anxious to do, and he thought the present a favourable opportunity, as they could hardly hope to see the county more thoroughly cleared of offenders than it at present appeared to be. The Mayor of Bristol had urged him to try and help them, and he believed that a considerable blow might be inflicted upon the crime of Bristol if he could find room in the school for the worst of the Bristol boys. He (Mr. Baker) had three years ago told his brother magistrates that he was ready to take *all* the boys they might think fit to send him, only requesting them not to send very trifling cases. Now, for the purpose of enabling him to do what he hoped might be a service to Bristol, might he take the liberty of asking the magistrates to write to him before they committed any boy on his first conviction to Hardwicke? He would take, without hesitation, every boy convicted for the second time; but he trusted that he might, without discourtesy, ask, that when a boy was convicted for a first time, although it was quite possible that there might be good reasons for sending him to a reformatory, that the magistrate would kindly write to him (Mr. Baker) and state those reasons, and ask whether he would receive him. Every second conviction he (Mr. Baker) would receive without hesitation. He mentioned that he had had one little boy sent to him because he had stolen two small pieces of laurel, and he felt great compunction at receiving 18*l.* 5*s.* per annum from Government in such cases as this. The boy's parents had never been accused of thieving; they were a "rough lot," and his mother was "very untidy;" but it was hardly to be expected that he could undertake to receive every boy whose mother was untidy—and apply to Government for 18*l.* 5*s.* for his maintenance in school.

Mr. Curtis Hayward mentioned, with regard to the Reformatory, that at the last sessions there was only one prisoner under the age of 16 for trial, and at the present sessions there was not a single prisoner under that age. Though some boys were convicted summarily, the most serious offences were sent to the sessions for trial; and he found that at the present time the whole number of prisoners

under 16 years of age in the different gaols amounted to only eight, and one of these was in prison for deserting his service. It was clear, therefore, that some impression had been made upon the juvenile population of the county.

Mr. Tart bore testimony to the benefit derived by Cheltenham from the establishment of the Hardwicke Reformatory School.

The Chairman remarked that the state of things disclosed by Mr. Baker's report was highly creditable to the county.

At a later period of the day, the Chairman stated that during the 40 years he had been a magistrate, there had never been so small a number of prisoners for trial at any quarter sessions as at the present.

Mr. T. B. Ll. Baker also read some statistics showing that from the year 1836 up to the establishment of the county police there had been a steady increase in crime. For some time after the establishment of the police, there was still an increase in the number of prisoners, which was attributable to the greater means of detection which the new system furnished; but from that time to the present, there had been a gradual decline in the number of offenders.

STATISTICS OF CRIME.

To the Editor of the Gloucestershire Chronicle.

Dear Sir,—You alluded in your report of the sessions to my having read some statistics referring to the increase or decrease of crime in our county. Perhaps the details, somewhat more fully made out than I had them at that time, may be of interest to your readers. The first few lines are taken at periods of five years apart.

NUMBERS TRIED IN THE YEARS FOLLOWING:—

	Assizes.	Session.	Summary.	Total.
1820	170	289		459
1825	164	263		427
1830	269	289		558
1836	202	275		477
1837	149	401		550
1838	151	432		583
1839	144	391		535
1840	201	435		636 <i>Police</i>
1841	202	513		715
1842	247	547		797
1843	255	543		796
1844	263	463		726
1845	148	416		564
1846	155	404		559 <i>Famine</i>
1847	154	505		659
1848	145	527		672
1849	148	542		690
1850	178	416		594
1851	196	433		629
1852	158	457		615
1853	140	411		551
1854	110	477	2)180	677
1855	112	411	2)250	648
1856	89	275	2)308	518

I fear the above will appear a heavy dull number of figures. Let us place facts by the side of them. From 1820, and for long before that time, crime had been increasing rather faster than the population increased, and we must remember that in those days there were no good means of detection. A great number of serious crimes were committed which were never made public, and there was a strong feeling that it was a pity to prosecute very trifling cases. Not long before this time the prosecutor was obliged to himself defray the whole cost of the prosecution, maintenance of witness, lawyer's fees, and all. Were prosecutors again obliged to do this, you may imagine how our number of prosecutions would diminish, while crime would increase in proportion to the safety with which it would be committed. Steadily, however, it went on increasing up to 1841, when our county police began to work. The *numbers of trials* at sessions and assizes immediately *rose considerably*. Not, however, because crime had increased, but because it was oftener *found out*, and because much smaller cases were brought forward than in former days. Many of the magistrates of that day will remember complaints of "such very slight cases" being brought before the Court. For three years the numbers continued high, but then, although a far larger proportion of crimes continued to be detected, and although very trifling cases were brought before the Court, yet, nevertheless, the number fell off, and in 1846 was lower than in any year since 1837, notwithstanding the increase of population.

During the famine which now occurred, the poor were not really so pinched as they were for a year or two afterwards. Much compassion was excited, many subscriptions raised, and most of the poor had some little furniture or the like that they could turn into money. But I take it that the famine accounted mainly for the rise in the numbers of slight offences in 1847-8-9.

In 1853 it had fallen again to the same number as in 1837, notwithstanding the increase of population, the increased detection, and the slightness of the errors brought forwards. In 1854 a new law came into operation, which enabled magistrates in petty sessions to try many cases hitherto brought before a jury. This makes the subsequent calculation difficult, because, although we know that there were 180 cases in 1854 disposed of summarily, I cannot tell how many of them were mere assaults or trespasses, such as were formerly held at petty sessions, and how many were cases which, under the former system, would have been taken to quarter sessions; but, allowing that half of them would have been of the latter class, and I believe that far less than half would be right, the year 1856 brings us actually a *smaller number* of trials than any year since 1836, notwithstanding the trifling nature of the offences now-a-days brought before quarter sessions; notwithstanding the increase of detection in proportion to the number of crimes committed; notwithstanding the increase of population in the 20 years; and lastly, notwithstanding the facilities lately given for prosecuting small larcenies at petty sessions, instead of the expense and trouble of bringing them to quarter sessions. I should be glad indeed to have the opinion of magistrates or their clerks in different parts of the county as to what proportion

of the convictions at petty sessions would have been formerly tried at quarter sessions. This statement is most pleasingly corroborated by the fact that whereas from 1800 to 1844, we had been perpetually and necessarily adding to our gaols, though hardly so fast as to keep pace with the actual necessity for room (and far too slow to satisfy our masters of the Home Office), we have now shut up two out of four houses of correction, and reduced a third to less than half its former size, while our County Gaol is far from full. But, say some, "the police and the gaols, diminished as they are, cost us more in rates than the gaols of former days." They do so. But let me ask, is it not worth some pay to feel that property (not to say life) is more secure than in former days; and more, far more, that with the decrease of crime diminishes also the temptation to your poorer neighbour to fall into crime? So long as we pray not to be led into temptation, I hardly know anything that we ought more heartily to rejoice at than the diminution of crime.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,
T. B. LI. BAKER.

Hardwicke Court, July 7th.

The following most interesting letters, relating her visits to the Educational Conference held in London last June, and to the various Industrial and Reformatory Schools of the Metropolis, are from the pen of a lady who has on many occasions contributed to our Records, and to the REVIEW. The letters are addressed to the conductors of *The Waverley Journal*, a most admirable newspaper, published every fortnight, and edited and written by ladies:—

(To the Editress of the *Waverley Journal*.)

MADAM—In the 'Few Words from the EDITRESS' in the last number of the *WAVERLEY JOURNAL*, you say that that publication 'will henceforward aim at being the Journal of the *Working Women* of the United Kingdom, using that term in its widest acceptation as inclusive of all ranks, and all real labour, whether performed by the Peeress or the Peasant.' Perhaps, then, the following sketch of what is being done in one corner of a vast field of labour open to all, but peculiarly claiming the help of the female sex, as it is one in which children are the plants to be cultivated, may not be inappropriate to your columns.

I may add that some experience in the management of a Ragged School has made me acquainted to a certain extent with the difficulties which beset such an institution, and in some degree enabled me to appreciate its excellencies. Having been much struck with the amount of good accomplished by two schools of this class which I have recently visited in London, and feeling very thankful for many valuable ideas gained from their inspection, I have thought it might be useful to such of your readers as are, or many hereafter, become engaged in a similar undertaking, to state what I saw and heard. It will be easily understood that the information hereafter given could not be

gleaned in the course of one or two visits to the schools. I owe much of what relates to the early history of these institutions, and to the details of the system pursued, to the kind communications of the managers.

The Dean of Bristol, when presiding as Chairman in Section E of the Educational Conference, gave, in the course of the discussion which followed the reading of Mr Jelinger Symons' paper, a brief account of the St Michael's Free Industrial School, commenced about five years ago on a very small scale by Miss Howell (a lady who has established many Ragged Schools in London), and now a large and successful institution. What I and the rest of my party then heard made us desirous to see it; and having ascertained that it was in Elizabeth Street, South, Pimlico, thither we went. We were fortunate enough to meet there a lady—Mrs F. Elliot—who, about three years and a half ago, became interested in the school, and has devoted herself to it ever since. Her endeavour has always been to find means of employment for the children, which should be remunerative to them, so as to induce the parents to leave them longer than is usual at School. She began with the boys of the highest class, and sent them out between school hours to carry water from a favourite spring in Hyde Park to gentlemen's houses in the neighbourhood, by which they earned sixpence a-week. In course of time the lads were employed at the same houses to clean knives and shoes, and for this they had their breakfast given them. The money they earned they brought to the school; cloth was bought with it, and a tailor was engaged to attend twice a-week to teach them to make their clothes. By these means eight boys for two winters earned and made their coats.

The water carrying, however, lasted only through the London season, and some employment that should be constant was desirable. In May 1856, therefore, Mrs Elliot introduced carpentering and wood carving, still employing in the industrial department (the whole expense of which she defrays) eight boys, selected generally from the highest class in the school, but now and then, to fill up a vacancy, from the second. Some of them show great aptitude for this work; and as their labour, after a little practice, is profitable, they then receive wages. From the period of entering this department, they are given their afternoon tea-meal, and as soon as they are sufficiently skilful to produce a marketable article, they are paid in money, beginning at 3s a-week, and rising to perhaps 4s 6d. By the time they are able to earn the latter sum they usually obtain more remunerative employment elsewhere. This circumstance, and the difficulty which has hitherto been found in establishing a regular sale for the articles made, has prevented the department from paying its expenses; a stall, however, for its manufactures has been secured at the Polytechnic Institution, and it is confidently hoped the class will eventually become self-supporting. Small tables, music stands, candlesticks, toilet trays, bookstands, &c., were shewn to us, which had been made by the boys, with the help of the master-workman who teaches them. Some of these articles were very prettily carved, and all were finished in a highly creditable manner. It was dinner time when we reached the school, and the children were of course absent, but the boys had returned to the carpenter's shop before we left, and we thought they worked with zeal and intelligence. It is not probable that the youths

who have been in this class will, with one or two exceptions, continue to be carpenters or wood-carvers ; but the habit of industry, and the handiness acquired by practising these trades, and being otherwise usefully employed, have already been most serviceable in procuring them other work. Ten have within the last two years got situations as pages or shop-boys, and it is a very satisfactory circumstance that, when out of place, they come back to the workshop. The experiment has been tried of taking in lads not belonging to the school ; but it has always failed, owing to the low moral tone of those who have not undergone previous training.

Eight girls also are employed industrially. Admission to this department from the upper classes in the school is granted to them, as to the boys, by way of reward for good conduct, and is a much-coveted privilege. They are taught to clean the house, to cook, and to bake. A child of about eleven, but small for her age, brought us a loaf of excellent appearance, which, when we tasted it, we found to be as good as it appeared. These girls make all the bread required by the industrial pupils, and they so far assist their excellent mistress in preparing the soup, rice-puddings, &c.,—which supply a dinner through the winter to whoever can pay twopence or produce a dinner-ticket bought by some kind friend at the same price—as to be able when necessary to cook such food without her help. And I may here remark, that the girl who has learnt to make good bread and good soup, wholesome puddings and palatable pancakes, and to cook plain vegetables, has acquired a considerable insight into the culinary art, and will not find it difficult to apply her knowledge in the preparation of a greater variety of food.

The excellent spirit pervading the school was revealed by this little incident. Formerly, the premises were cleaned by a woman, who was of course paid for her labour. The funds of the institution being, however, very limited, the managers wished to be relieved of this expence, if possible. The elder girls were called together, and the case explained to them. They were told that many persons, by giving money, and some by giving time, contrived to keep the school open for their benefit and that of their schoolfellows, and they were asked if they would themselves contribute what they were able by cleaning the premises. Several at once offered to do so, and have ever since attended on Saturdays, two at a time, to perform the duty thus voluntarily undertaken. For the first six months they received no remuneration whatever, but since the kitchen was opened they have had their dinner provided. During the winter two of the industrial girls, taken in rotation, work for a week in the kitchen, and have their dinner and tea every day. In the summer months (when no dinners are supplied) there is only bread to make for the industrial boys. One girl is then kept permanently at this work and to help generally in the school, for which she receives 1s 6d a-week. Several of the girls go out in the morning to clean the steps and areas of houses in the neighbourhood, and are paid from 9d to 1s a-week. This money they take home to their parents. Of those who have left the school, only one has gone to service—their parents seem to feel the advantage of keeping them at home ; but *they are all industrious and well conducted.*

The intellectual instruction of the children is not discontinued when they enter the industrial department, a certain portion of each day being devoted to it. Having, however, already reached a high class in the Ragged School, they are generally possessed of considerable elementary knowledge. Mrs Elliot, who, beside several other ladies, teaches in the school herself, had on the morning of our visit held a class, and shewed us what her pupils had done. The lesson was one in penmanship and arithmetic combined, the children having been employed in writing bills of various goods supposed to have been supplied by grocers, butchers, bakers, &c. The eldest pupils were only twelve or thirteen years of age, yet in the bills we examined there were few mistakes either in spelling or arithmetic, though a great variety of articles were mentioned, and every possible fraction of a pound, both avoirdupois and sterling, fearlessly brought into calculation.

The original institution upon which, as we have seen, the industrial department was grafted, resembles ordinary ragged schools, and is divided into juvenile and infant classes. Much of its success is attributed by the managers to its admirable mistress, Mrs Kirk, and to the valuable assistance given by her husband. He is the Scripture-Reader of the parish, and selects the children who are admitted into the school, his intimate acquaintance with the circumstances of their parents enabling him to choose the right cases. He conducts the Sunday school, and has also evening classes for boys and men. Thus his influence among those from whom the juvenile scholars come is very great, and puts it in his power materially to promote the undertaking.

There are at present 250 scholars on the books, and the number who actually attend—212—(I quote from the report of the school for 1856)—are an unusually large proportion for this class of children. The younger ones come very regularly; if they absent themselves without a good reason, their names are taken off the books; but after about ten years of age they are allowed to attend when they can.

It is found that they make every effort to do so; and though they go out to work for three or four weeks at a time, they do not consider that they have left school, but return to their class when they come home. The fact that expulsion from the school is regarded by the scholars as a severe punishment, speaks highly for their estimation of the institution. Its present state of discipline and efficiency is of course the result of years of patient labour. At first the pupils were as unruly as those of any other Ragged School during the period of early existence. Mrs Kirk pointed out to us a boy who, in a fit of rage, threw her boot at her; but that was long ago—no such outrage is likely to occur now.

The premises in which the school is conducted are as humble as can well be imagined. Three or four rooms in a very small London house, with what has been a stable, turned into a carpenter's shop, and what looks like a long shed walled in to suit its present purpose of schoolroom, are made sufficient for the accommodation of upwards of 200 children, while the kitchen in which the food is prepared is scarcely more than a closet.

The staff of paid teachers, too, is by no means equal to what her Majesty's Inspectors of schools would doubtless require; but it must be remembered that they receive aid from lady volunteers.

A school which affords such humble accommodation to its pupils must suffer by a comparison of its outward appearance with that of others more sumptuously arranged; but the results obtained yield the only sure test of the worth of any institution, and weighed in this balance, the St Michael's Free Industrial School appears, so far as I have opportunity of judging, highly satisfactory. Moreover, it must ever be borne in mind that, as the Director of Mettray has well expressed it: — '*Le moyen de faire beaucoup de bien est de l'obtenir au meilleur marché possible*;' the alternative lies sometimes between doing so much good as can be accomplished with a comparatively small expenditure, and doing none at all. The number of scholars in attendance according to the last report, is (as I have stated) 212; while the whole outlay for 1856, exclusive of the industrial department, was under £164.

Still, no one can be unaware of the advantages derived from convenient premises, the managers of this school probably least of all, as they have had to contend with the difficulties arising from insufficient accommodation, and it may be useful to consider what compensating elements of success exist here to account for the gratifying effect the school has produced in the improvement of the lowest class of children in the district, and in the large proportion of those who have passed through it, and are now leading respectable lives. Perhaps the explanation is to be found chiefly in the addition of the Industrial Department, and in the judicious arrangement, by which it becomes a substantial advantage, and is made a reward for previous good conduct. It is very probable, too, that the abundant and wholesome dinner provided through the winter for those who can earn or purchase it, and the evening meal given to the workers, do much to maintain the regular attendance of the children, and thereby to promote their steady improvement. It has been assumed by persons not thoroughly conversant with the class dealt with in our Ragged Schools, that such institutions are likely to attract pupils from National and British Schools, and to be so far mischievous, the danger being, as it is supposed, much increased where food is supplied. If the food is given simply as a bait to tempt pupils to the school, the danger is imminent; where, however, it is duly earned by industrial labour, I believe the arrangement to have a most beneficial effect. It protects children, whose poverty might otherwise oblige them to obtain their food by begging or stealing it, from that temptation, and enables them to attend school with regularity. As regards the influence of Ragged Schools upon those of a higher class, I have made very careful inquiries of the conductors of institutions of both descriptions, and the information elicited tends to confirm my opinion that the humbler school is an invaluable adjunct to the superior, by relieving it of a degraded class of scholars, whose admission must be paid for by some benevolent individual, or is altogether, though secretly, gratuitous; and whose unruly conduct, gross habits, and irregular attendance, have a most injurious influence on the other

pupils. I almost quote the words of the masters of British Schools I am acquainted with, when I say that the relief to them, and the benefit to their scholars, afforded by providing suitable means of training and instruction for the miserable little beings who are the bane of those schools whenever admitted, is a boon for which they cannot feel too thankful. The following passage from the last report of the Pimlico School fully supports this statement ;—‘ While this School is thus reaching the lowest of our population, and doing so great an amount of good among them, it is remarkable that it has in no degree injured the Parochial School, where the attendance continues to increase. The two schools, in fact, are supplemental to each other ; and provided that due care is taken to prevent abuse, their spheres are sufficiently distinct, and both are equally required, in order to bring every class of our poor under instruction.’

Much is already effected by Ragged Schools towards clearing the streets of the ‘perishing’ and eminently ‘*dangerous*’ classes who abound in our large towns, but without legislative help, many will yet remain withoutside the pale. At present, such as continue unreclaimed exercise a most injurious influence over their better disposed companions, while they are also the terror or the corruptors of that higher class of children who attend National and British Schools. Grateful for what has been already accomplished by private zeal and benevolence, in freeing their pupils from the contamination of evil associates, none are more anxious than the conductors of such schools for still further aid, strengthened, as it must be to be efficient, by the arm of the law—none desire more ardently the introduction into this country of an Act akin to that which has effected so much good in Aberdeen. We cannot then, I think, but rejoice that the Bill to enable magistrates to send vagrant children to an Industrial School, and charge their cost upon the parents, introduced into last Parliament by Sir Stafford Northcote, and so indefatigably and ably carried through the House of Commons during the present session by Mr Adderley, will—as I confidently trust it will—very soon become the law of the land. The passing of that Act must, as I firmly believe, inaugurate a new and happy era for the wretched little creatures whom our hearts have all ached to see swarming in our courts and alleys, and, through them, for society at large.

In a subsequent letter, I propose to describe a Ragged School, differing in some respects from that in Pimlico, but, I trust, no less useful to the community. Your faithful servant,

HOPE.

July 20, 1857.

(To the Editress of the *Waverley Journal*.)

MADAM—I have in a former letter described a Ragged School in Belgravia ; I am now about to speak of one at the very antipodes of that fashionable quarter—namely, in Field Lane. It was one of the first established in London, dating from 1841, and having survived the struggles for existence which attend the early years of such institutions, may be considered to have reached the prime of life—the period for unwearied and effective labour. It has long outgrown the

premises in which it was commenced, and boasts now a spacious, airy school-room, which, though originally forming part of a smithy, has, together with the Dormitory beneath, been admirably adapted to the requirements of the school and the Night Refuge. The school-room is 55 feet long by 35 wide, and will accommodate 500 persons. One end has the floor raised considerably above the general level, and by means of curtains can be made a separate apartment; moveable wooden partitions, 3 feet high, placed at right angles with the walls, and about 10 feet apart, effect, whenever it is desired, complete division between the numerous classes; leaving them, however, open to the surveillance of the master.

We reached the building just as the children were leaving it after the morning school. Their thin, sickly faces, uncombed hair, and tattered clothes, and, still more, the self-reliant, audacious bearing characteristic of the street-child, sufficiently proved that the right class were being dealt with here. I am well acquainted with a provincial Ragged School, which, it is believed, receives at least some of the very lowest of the population of one of our chief sea ports, but I never beheld there such rags as hung about many of the children at Field Lane. During the absence of the pupils, Mr Mountstephen, fortunately for us, came in—a gentleman who devotes most of the time which the demands of his business leave at his disposal, to this institution, of which in fact he is the honorary, but laborious, superintendent. From him we learnt many interesting particulars of the school. In winter the day-school numbers 500 scholars, but in summer from 250 to 300 is the average attendance; their age varies from 18 months to 12 or 14 years, and children of both sexes occupy the same school-room, though (excepting the infants) they are divided into separate classes. This separation, I regretted to observe, for, as they must associate at all other times than during school hours, it would, I think, be well to take that opportunity of training them to behave with propriety and forbearance towards each other; and considerable experience has proved to me that this may be done without mischief.

The night-school is divided into several sections. On two evenings of the week the elder boys, lads who are at work by day, and also men, attend, from 100 to 150 in number. They receive instruction in reading, writing, &c., and are taught by a tailor to mend their clothes. From 100 to 150 of the elder girls, and others who have already left the day-school—as most of them do as soon as they are barely strong enough to drag about a baby—come on two other evenings, and about 50 grown up women attend on a fifth evening, when they are instructed in sewing and in cutting out clothes, as well as in elementary knowledge. On Saturday there is no school either in the day-time or at night, but Sunday is a very busy time: religious services are held in the school-room, which are attended by the very refuse of society, whom probably no inducement whatever would bring into an ordinary place of worship, and there are Bible classes besides; both are conducted entirely by voluntary assistants, of whom there are no fewer than 60 connected with the institution. Mr Mountstephen is himself almost invariably present on Sundays;

the fact that he is there is generally sufficient to preserve order, and a word, or even a glance from him is rarely needed. Now and then new, or very unruly pupils, have given much trouble in their class, and it has happened that even a lady teacher has been grossly insulted by them; but for many years past the feeling on the side of right has been so strong, that a sign from the superintendent would suffice to send three or four of the steadiest youths present to the offender, whom they would speedily bear off to the door of the school-room; but it is two years at least since such a scene has occurred. In the early days of the school, however, it had to struggle through every species of turbulence and disorder. It was long before the wretched population of the district forgave the managers for invading their domain; they used to assemble round the building, in noisy crowds, abusing every one who entered it. The conversion of the smithy to its present use, which demonstrated that the school was to be permanent, excited very angry feelings in the neighbours, who had expected that their violent opposition would eventually drive it away; and Mr Mountstephen told us that he had been obliged to sit under an umbrella, in order to be sheltered from the brickbats and other missiles flung into the building through the windows.

Before afternoon school commenced we inspected the Night Male Refuge, which is under the school-room. This was opened by the munificence of a lady, in May, 1851. It can accommodate 100 persons, each having a separate berth and rug; lavatories and baths are attached, and the thorough cleansing of the inmates themselves, and by them of the dormitory, is rigidly enforced. The Scriptures are read aloud after the doors are closed in the evening, and before they are opened in the morning, by the superintendent, who keeps watch in the dormitory during the night, occupying for that purpose a sort of pulpit, which enables him to observe every inmate. Six ounces of bread are given to each person on his entrance and departure. In affording gratuitous shelter and food, there is of course danger of doing far more harm than good, but it is a danger which, in this instance, appears to be successfully guarded against. The regulations by which cleanliness, propriety of conduct, and attendance at the school are made conditions of admission, together with the early hour at night at which the doors are closed, and the enquiry made into the cases of the inmates, prevent, there is good reason to believe, this charity from being abused; and until our workhouses are so conducted as to perform their duty of affording relief to all whom the well being of the community demands should be aided (leaving the lazy and the vicious to be dealt with in our prisons), it is to be hoped that this and other Refuges will supply the want, which it is a disgrace to our social condition should still exist.

On returning to the school-room we found the children re-assembled, divided into small parties under the care of monitors, who in some of the infant classes were scarcely more than infants themselves. The latter seemed to be attempting nothing beyond a rather desultory effort to keep their little charges quiet. The elder children, under monitors of from 10 to 14 years old (fourteen of whom

receive payment), were having a writing lesson, not sitting to desks, but holding their slates in their hands. One master and one mistress superintended the whole, and preserved excellent order. We noticed one boy who was contumacious, but the master threatening him with expulsion, he yielded to orders.

It is difficult to estimate the quantity and quality of instruction given in schools of this description, unless the inquirer knows how long each child has attended, and what amount of knowledge he brought with him. Time did not permit of my making this minute investigation, but I may say that the boys in the highest class satisfactorily stood a test which I have heard a school inspector declare difficult to scholars of their age and rank. They readily reduced half-a-crown into smaller coins, told what change would remain if 17½d were spent from it, and spelt the word 'neighbour' without hesitation.

We paid a second visit to the school on a Sunday evening. The weather was intensely hot, and notwithstanding the provision for ventilation, so large an assemblage, on a sultry evening, of the 'great unwashed,' including grown men and women as well as boys and girls, rendered the atmosphere anything but pleasant; and yet for this close room, and for association with the outcasts of the metropolis, the numerous band of teachers, the greater part of whom were probably laboriously engaged during the week, had voluntarily exchanged the country walk, the home circle, or the evening service. It should be stated, however, that *all* the scholars do not now belong to the lowest ranks of society, for on Sunday evening many old pupils attend, who, being at work, have no opportunity of meeting their teachers, and a large proportion of them are as well dressed as the teachers themselves. The managers have hesitated whether they ought to admit these young persons, whose occupation of space in the school-room necessarily excludes many of those who have not yet risen out of the class for whom the institution is intended; but the pleasure with which they revisit the school, and the wholesome influence which their prosperous condition and grateful demeanour have upon the rest, are so beneficial, that they have never been refused admittance.

The classes broke up shortly after our arrival, but before the pupils departed they listened in silence, but apparently with deep interest, to an exhortation adapted to his hearers' needs and understandings, addressed to them by Mr Mountstephen. This was followed by a short prayer and hymn, after which they dispersed in perfect order, a few remaining who had some special business to transact with their teachers. One quick, bright-looking lad, a member of the Shoeblack Brigade, while waiting till he could speak to the superintendent, explained to us many of the rules of the society to which he belongs, and towards which he seemed to have quite a filial feeling. He further told us that one of his companions could cleave a pair of boots (on the wearer's feet) in two minutes, which he appeared to regard as the *ne plus ultra* of shoeblacking; he himself could accomplish the feat in three minutes. His gains varied greatly, he said; on some days he earned scarcely anything,

while now and then he had received several shillings before night; but that, he added with gusto, was after 'a nice wet morning!' Thus though, according to Mayhew, three days wet throw thousands of Londoners out of employment, the principle of compensation is still at work.

The school having closed, we visited the Female Refuge in connection with it, and distant about a quarter of a mile. On our way we passed a commodious building, lately erected by the Roman Catholics, who, finding that a large proportion of the children attending the Field Lane School were of their creed, resolved to collect them within an institution of their own; thus the original school, in addition to its own efforts, has incidentally been the means of bringing other earnest labourers into the field.

The Female Refuge was opened three months ago, in consequence of the good effected by that for males, and out of pity for the miserable condition of the women and girls attending the school, many of whom are literally homeless, and either walk up and down the streets through the dreary night, or sleep in the casual ward of a workhouse. It was formerly a coachmaker's shed, which, at the cost of about £200 (£150 of which was contributed by Miss Portal), has been converted into a comfortable, well-lighted, well-aired dormitory, capable of receiving 50 women. Like the Men's Refuge, we found it scrupulously clean, but, unlike theirs, each berth is provided with a mattress, as well as a rug. It was nine o'clock when we reached it, the hour when the inmates are required to have arrived. They looked thin and careworn, and their garments were of the humblest description, but their demeanour, though spiritless, showed self-respect, and their answers to our inquiries were gentle and intelligent. The class who avail themselves of the Refuge are, as may be inferred, those who desire to preserve their respectability, and have generally become destitute through misfortune rather than ill-conduct. A strict investigation of the cases of a large number of the women attending the school was made previous to the establishment of this Refuge, when it was ascertained that, while the more aged had fallen into want owing to the death of the husband, or some other event beyond their control, the greater proportion had been domestic servants who had lost their places through debility consequent on chronic disease. Doubtless these did not belong to the highest class of servants, who can always command employment, but to the inefficient and ignorant portion, who can take only humble places, and who are not valuable enough to be retained through an illness. Some may have been discharged for misconduct; and even a trifling fault, or the refusal of an employer to permit any reference for character, is enough to preclude these unfortunate persons from obtaining work. Those mistresses take a heavy responsibility upon themselves who cast forth upon the world a sick or erring servant-girl.

Much good may be done by procuring employment for the inmates of the Refuge, and in aiding them to emigrate; and with this view, it is proposed to give them suitable moral and industrial training. Within a few days after its opening, 12 young women

had been provided with places. Perhaps there is no direction in which charitable effort can be more usefully exerted than in this, especially as the objects of it are anxious to second the endeavours of their benefactors. The managers of the Male Refuge have from the first laboured to obtain work for the men; and of 9920 who have availed themselves of the dormitory, 1326 are known to be permanently settled in life. It is scarcely to be hoped that the destitute of the other sex are fewer in number; here, then, is a field in which many of us may find ample occupation.

The expenditure of the institution, including the Day, Night, and Sunday Schools, the Penny Bank, the Ragged Church, and the Night Refuge, amounts to between £1000 and £1200 per annum, and is met entirely by voluntary subscriptions, the schools not being under Government inspection. The sum spent is large, but so is the number for whose benefit it is expended. It would appear from the tables of attendance in the recent published report, that at least 4000 persons have at one time or other been brought under the influence of the institution during the past year.—Yours, &c.

August 10, 1857.

HORN.

The two letters are most interesting and useful, and will, we trust, induce our readers to become more fully acquainted with the very ably conducted *Waverley Journal* in which they appear.

The *Thirty-fifth Report* of the Inspectors-General of Prisons in Ireland has been issued during the past quarter, and its facts and figures are most cheering.

Everybody knows what Ireland was a few years ago, and most persons are aware that what between emigration, and the passage of the Encumbered Estates Act, by which a vast amount of land was thrown open to the labourer, it is now an easy matter for the poor and industrious man to live there in comfort. We find the most striking proofs of the *moral* effect of this reform in the fact that, "the decrease in crime was so great in 1855, that the Inspectors-General scarcely expected to be able to report a continuance of such progress in improvement in 1856; it is therefore with peculiar pleasure, that they are able again to report that the reduction in crime steadily progresses, and that on the whole, the criminal statistics for the past year may be taken as indicating great moral and social improvement.

The following extract presents some very curious items, which may be acceptable to those who are interested in studying and solving the great mystery of human vice and crime:

Felony and vagrancy, the results of pauperism, have wonderfully declined, although among females misdemeanors and drunkenness

have increased. The committals of 1856 were less than those of 1855 by 4733, or 9.769 per cent. The total number of persons confined in 1856 in the various gaols was 48,060, against 54,531 in 1855, equivalent to a decrease of 6471, or 11.87 per cent. Statistics prove that the females are far more likely to relapse into crime or to recur to the jails, than men; a phenomenon which, it is hinted, may be in a great measure attributed to the want of deterrent and reformatory action in the female portions of the gaols, which are, generally speaking, lamentably defective. Of 48,446 culprits committed last year, 534 were 10 years old and under, 6554 between 11 and 16, 7148 between 17 and 20, 18,907 between 21 and 30, 7703 between 31 and 40, and 7501 of 41 years of age and upwards. Eleven thousand one hundred and fifty-six could read and write, 9556 could read imperfectly, 8173 knew spelling, 2347 knew the alphabet, and 82,115 were wholly illiterate. It is remarkable that the great bulk of the criminals were of the Romish persuasion; out of the total of 48,446 as many as 42,814 were Papists, 4589 only Protestants, and 944 Presbyterians.

There had been a great decrease in gaol expenses, with an improvement in the general health of prisoners. The decrease in crime included all classes of offences.

Of 7009 persons committed for trial or held to bail in 1849, 4024, or 56.68 per cent, were convicted. Of these, eight were sentenced to the scaffold, and the rest to penal servitude, imprisonment, and flagellation. Education is progressing to some extent among that part of the population which supplies the inmates of prisons, for the returns of 1856 give a higher percentage of prisoners able to read and write than those of 1855. On the whole, nothing can be more satisfactory than the evidence of these official documents.

In connexion with these facts we may refer to the very excellent and careful paper on the Statistics of Crime in Ireland from 1842 to 1856, read before the British Association at its sitting in Dublin, by Mr M. Wilson.

A new society, under the presidency of Lord Brougham, and called the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, has just been founded.

The first meeting of this Association will be held in Birmingham, on the 12th of October and four following days. Lord Brougham will preside, and Lord Granville, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Stanley, and other noblemen, with deputations from some of the leading societies affected by the Association, will take part in the proceedings—and in passing we may observe, that although we purpose, in our October number, giving as complete a programme as may be attainable, such of our readers as desire more information upon the details

of the proposed conference should put themselves in communication with Mr. Charles Ratcliff, of Wyddrington, Edgbaston, Birmingham, or Mr. G. W. Hastings, 3, Waterloo Place, who respectively act as local and metropolitan secretaries. So far as we are at present informed, it is in contemplation to inaugurate the proceedings by a public meeting under the presidency of Lord Brougham on the Monday. On the following four days the Association will be divided into four departments, each taking up and discussing some subject directly connected with social and moral reforms, such as—1. Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law. 2. Education. 3. Punishment and Reformation. 4. Public Health. 5. Social Economy. From the names which appear as Presidents and Committee of the respective departments, we cannot but anticipate that each important topic will be fully and impartially discussed.

We understand that this meeting will be largely attended, and we hear that some of the most influential advocates of Reformatories have resolved to aid the project. We find that the Recorder of Birmingham, and the Mayor of Birmingham are to act as Vice-Presidents, and that Lord Brougham will attend. We wish this Association every success: it is a noble design, and must succeed if the motto, bear and forbear, be kept in mind.

During the first quarter the Manchester and Salford Reformatory has been opened.

The building is situated on a rising ground about half a mile to the north of Blackley Church; it has been constructed by Mr. Robert Neill, builder, Strangeways, from plans furnished by Messrs. Cawley and Radford, and in every respect it is a structure which seems admirably adapted to the object in view. It is a plain brick building, with stone facings, and convenience of internal arrangement has very properly been more attended to than beauty of external appearance. It is designed to receive from fifty to sixty boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen; but we are glad to perceive that it is not intended to admit more than forty at first.

A site has been chosen for the Monmouthshire School, consisting of 22 acres of land near the Little Mill Station on the Newport and Hereford line. A meeting, presided over by the High Sheriff, was held at Newport on the 24th of August, when some very admirable speeches were delivered. The list of donations amounted to £646; the annual subscriptions to £200.

The following must interest all our readers :—

THE PLAYGROUND SOCIETY.

At a Meeting held at 66, Harley Street, Cavendish Square, on Thursday, the 13th August, 1857, the following Resolutions were carried unanimously :—

“That the children of the poor, having no playground but the streets, are, of necessity, brought into contact with temptation at the most unguarded time.

“That for the sake of society at large, as well as for that of the thousands of children whose interests are involved, some public steps should be taken to provide public playgrounds.

“That it is desirable to awaken local feeling on the subject ; to encourage the gift of sites ; and, if necessary, to procure a short Act of Parliament to facilitate conveyances.

“That the noblemen and gentlemen who have expressed themselves friendly to the cause be invited to join those present in forming a society to be called ‘The Playground Society,’ for providing playgrounds for poor children in populous places.”

Bankers—Messrs. Williams, Deacon, and Co.

Secretary—Edward West, 12, Roxburgh Grove, Haverstock Hill.

The progress of the Saint Joseph’s Industrial Institute, Clarence Street, Summer, Hill, Dublin, has been, for the past three months, most satisfactory. An Infant school under the National Board is now attached, and thus, in addition to work for “little hands,” there is work for little brains. In our next Record we shall report fully on this excellent Institute, and we earnestly beg the aid of every reader to advance the objects of its managers.

We are happy to be able to state that at last Ireland is to have one Reformatory at all events. The Cork people have resolved to lead the way with a school for boys, which will be shortly opened. We understand that Mr. Sergeant Berwick has subscribed £100 to the funds, and will, if required, subscribe a further sum of like amount.

VISIT TO THE IRISH CONVICT ESTABLISHMENTS.

During the past quarter we examined all the establishments under the management of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. From the earliest stage at Mountjoy to the latest at Lusk or Smithfield, we found everything proceeding as satisfactorily as could be expected ; in many places, (as at the Forts, and Lusk, and Smithfield,) in which the prison character is tested, in which the good prisoner must prove that he is a

good man, the results of a jealous examination clearly proved that the system adopted was not alone satisfactory, but perfectly sound in *all* points.

It is not our intention to enter at length into the history of our inspection, as we understand that the Recorder of Birmingham (with whom we examined the Institutions) will detail the facts which came before him, in a paper to be read at the Birmingham meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science; and as the Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons, and others interested in the question will attend the meeting, the discussion upon the paper will be as perfect and full as facts, figures, and experience can make it. We look forward to the reading and discussion of this paper with most considerable interest, because from it may arise that knowledge which will enable thinking men to form plans of criminal reformation which will relieve society from that reproach of Edward Livingstone,—“No where has a system been established consisting of a connected series of institutions founded on the same principle of uniformity directed to the same end—NO WHERE IS CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE TREATED AS SCIENCE. What goes by that name consists of a collection of dissimilar, unconnected, sometimes conflicting expedients to punish different offences as they happen to prevail; of experiments, directed by no principle, to try the effect of different penalties; of permanent laws to repress temporary evils; of discretionary power, sometimes with the blindest confidence vested in the judge, and at others with the most criminal negligence given to an officer of executive justice.”

We have just received the following prospectus of the Society, referred to at page xxvii :—

**NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE.**

President—THE LORD BROUGHAM.

General Secretary—G. W. HASTINGS, Esq.

*First Annual Meeting at Birmingham, on the 12th of October, and
Four following Days.*

Vice-Presidents.

The Mayor of Birmingham
The Recorder of Birmingham.

Local Secretaries

J. T. Bunce, Esq. | Charles Ratcliff, Esq. | J. F. Winfield, Esq.

Local Bankers.—Messrs. Lloyds and Co.

General Committee.

Abdy, Professor	Goodman, J. D., Esq.
Acland, Dr.	Granville, Earl
Adderley, C. B., Esq., M.P.	Guthrie, Rev. Dr.
Akroyd, E., Esq., M.P.	Hadfield, J., Esq., M.P.
Attorney General, The	Hanbury, Robert, Esq., M.P.
Ayrton, Acton S., Esq., M.P.	Hargreaves, W., Esq.
Babington, B. G., Esq., M.D.	Harrowby, Earl of
Badham, Rev. C., D.D.	Hastings, Sir Charles, M.D.
Bastard, T. Horlock, Esq.	Hatherton, Lord
Baxter, Robert, Esq.	Hawes, W., Esq.
Bazley, Thomas, Esq.	Headlam, T. E., Esq., M.P.
Booth, Rev. Dr.	Helpa, Arthur, Esq.
Bowyer, G. J., Esq.	Hereford, Dean of
Bracebridge, C. H., Esq.	Hill, Alfred, Esq.
Broom, Herbert, Esq.	Hoskyns, C. W., Esq.
Browne, Rev. Dr.	Jaffray, John, Esq.
Browne, W. A. F., Esq., M.D.	Johnstone, James, Esq., M.D.
Bunce, J. T., Esq.	Kinnaird, Hon. A., M.P.
Calthorpe, Lord	Lane, Thomas, Esq.
Carter, Rev. Thomas	Lee, Rev. Dr. Robert
Cave, Stephen, Esq.	Lichfield, Earl of
Chadwick, Edwin, Esq., C.B.	Lloyd, Sampson S., Esq.
Chambers, Robert, Esq.	London, Bishop of
Chester, Harry, Esq.	London, Lord Mayor of
Churchill, Lord Alfred, M.P.	Lyttleton, Lord
Clark, Sir James, Bart., M.D.	MacClelland, James, Esq.
Clay, Rev. J.	M'Kerron, Rev. Dr.
Conolly, John, Esq., M.D.	Mann, Horace, Esq.
Cookson, W. S., Esq.	Maurice, Rev. F. D.
Cowper, Right Hon. W. F., M.P.	Melville, Rev. D.
Courtauld, Samuel, Esq.	Mill, John Stuart, Esq.
Crofton, Captain	Miller, Rev. Dr.
Dartmouth, Earl of	Milnes, R. M., Esq., M.P.
Denman, Hon. George	Napier, The Right Hon. J., M.P.
Dunlop, A. M., Esq., M.P.	Newmarch, W., Esq.
Dunn, Thomas, Esq.	Northcote, Sir Stafford, Bart.
Ebrington, Viscount, M.P.	Pakington, Right Hon. Sir J.S., Bart., M.P.
Edgar, A., Esq.	Pillans, Professor
Elton, Sir A. H., Bart, M.P.	Playfair, Lyon, Dr.
Ewart, W., Esq., M.P.	Raynham, Viscount, M.P.
Farr, W., Esq., M.D.	Batcliff, Charles, Esq.
Field, Rev. J.	Roche, H. P., Esq.
Forbes, Sir John, M.D.	Russell, Rt. Hon. Lord J., M.P.
Forsyth, W., Esq., Q.C.	Ryland, Arthur, Esq.
Garnett, W. J., Esq., M. P.	Scholefield, William, Esq., M.P.
Gassiot, J. P., Esq.	Shaftesbury, Earl of
Gilbart, J. W., Esq., F.R.S.	Simon, John, Esq., F.R.S.
Girdlestone, Rev. Canon	Slaney, R. A. Esq., M.P.
Gladstone, W., Esq.	Smith, Southwood, Esq., M.D.
Goderich, Viscount, M.P.	

Spooner, B. Esq., M.P.
 Stanley, Lord, M.P.
 Sturge, Joseph, Esq.
 Taylor, J. Pitt, Esq.
 Taylor, Tom, Esq.
 Tite, W., Esq., M.P., F.R.S.
 Turner, Rev. Sydney
 Ward, Lord

Ware, Martin, Esq., Junr.
 Whateley, J. W., Esq.
 Whitbread, S., Esq., M.P.
 Winfield, J. F., Esq.
 Winnington, Sir T. E., Bt., M.P.
 Woolrych, Mr. Serjeant
 Yorke, Hon. and Rev. Grantham

The First Annual Meeting of the National Association, will be held at Birmingham, on the 12th of October next, and the four following days.

The object of the National Association is, as its name implies, to aid the development of the social sciences, and to guide the public mind to the best practical means of promoting the Amendment of the Law, the Advancement of Education, the Prevention and Repression of Crime, the Reformation of Criminals, the Establishment of due Sanitary Regulations, and the recognition of sound principles in all questions of Social Economy.

The proposed mode of action is, once in every year, to bring together the various societies and individuals who are engaged or interested in furthering any of the above objects; and without trenching upon their independent exertions, to elicit by discussion the real elements of truth, to clear up doubts, to harmonise discordant opinions, and to afford a common ground for the mutual exchange of reliable information on the great social problems of the day.

The better to carry out this plan, the Committee have divided the Association, for the present, into five departments, viz:—Jurisprudence and Amendment of the Law—Education—Punishment and Reformation—Public Health—and Social Economy; but at the time of each Meeting any Department will, if necessary, be subdivided into sections for the more convenient transaction of its business.

Full particulars of the business to be transacted in each Department will be published previous to the Meeting, but in the meantime, and in order more fully to explain the range of topics on which papers and discussion will be received, a short statement is subjoined under the head of each department.

First Department.

JURISPRUDENCE AND AMENDMENT OF THE LAW.

President.—The Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.

Secretaries.

J. Stuart Glennie, Esq. J. Napier Higgins, Esq. Arthur Ryland, Esq.

Committee.

Abdy, Professor
 Barlow, W., Esq.
 Broom, H., Esq.
 Bristowe, H. F., Esq.

Cookson, W. S., Esq.
 Denman, Hon. G.
 Edgar, A., Esq.
 Ewart, W., Esq., M.P.

Forsyth, W., Esq., Q.C.
 Gassiot, J. P., Esq.
 Harris, G., Esq.
 Hawes, W., Esq.
 Headlam, T. E., Esq., Q.C., M.P.
 Hodgson, T. R. T., Esq.
 Ingleby, C. M., Esq.
 James, T. S., Esq.
 Jefferys, J., Esq.
 Kynnersley, T. O. Sneyd, Esq.
 Levi, Professor
 Lloyd, Sampson S., Esq.
 Napier, Right Hon J., M.P.

Ratcliff, John, Esq., Mayor
 Roche, H. P., Esq.
 Symonds, A., Esq.
 Taylor, J. Pitt, Esq.
 Trafford, L., Esq.
 Theobald, W., Esq.
 Thornton, Samuel, Esq.
 Whateley, J. W., Esq.
 Wills, W., Esq.
 Wilmot, Sir E., Bart.
 Woolrych, Mr. Serjeant
 Yorke, J., Esq.

In this Department will be discussed the science of civil jurisprudence; its bearing on the social condition of the people; the advantages derivable from a wide diffusion of its principles; the practical defects in our laws; the evils arising from such defects; and the fitting remedies.

Second Department.—EDUCATION.

President.—The Right Hon. Sir John S. Pakington, Bart., M.P.

Secretaries.

James Chance, Esq. | Rev. Nash Stephenson.

Committee.

Akroyd, E., Esq., M.P.
 Albites, A., Esq.
 Badham, Rev. Dr.
 Beard, Rev. Dr.
 Bagnall, Thomas, Esq.
 Bastard, T. Horlock, Esq.
 Baxter, Robert, Esq.
 Bazley, Thomas, Esq.
 Booth, Rev. Dr.
 Bull, Rev. G. S.
 Cockin, Rev. W.
 Collis, Rev. J. D.
 Cowper, Rt. Hon. W. F.
 Cox, W. S., Esq., F.R.S.
 Darbishire, C. J., Esq.
 Davidson, Rev. Dr.
 Dawson, George, Esq.
 Gifford, Rev. E. H.
 Girdlestone, Rev. Canon
 Gover, Rev. W.
 Guest, E., Esq., LL.D.
 Guthrie, Rev. Dr.
 Hargreaves, W., Esq.

Hereford, Dean of
 Hodgson, W. B., Esq., LL.D.
 Holden, Rev. H., D.D.
 Humphreys, E., Esq., LL.D.
 Johnston, Sir W., Bart.
 Lucas, S., Esq.
 MacClelland James, Esq.
 Mackenzie, Rev. Dr.
 M'Kerron, Rev. Dr.
 Mann, Horace, Esq.
 Marsden, Rev. J. P.
 Melly, George, Esq.
 Miller, Rev. Dr.
 Norris, Rev. J. P.
 Rawlins, O. E., Esq., Jun.
 Shaw, Charles, Esq.
 Spooner, Rev. J.
 Sturge, Joseph, Esq.
 Vaughan, James, Esq.
 Whitmore, Wolryche, Esq.
 Winfield, B. W., Esq.
 Winterbottom, A., Esq.
 Yorke, Hon. and Rev. G.

This Department will deal with the various questions relating to education, both industrial and intellectual, whether of the upper,

middle; or lower classes of society; the foundation schools of the country; the connection of art and literature with national education; &c.

Third Department.—PUNISHMENT AND REFORMATION.

President.—Bishop of London.

Secretaries.

Rev. J. T. Burt. | Alfred Hill, Esq. | Martin Ware, Esq., Jun.

Committee.

Adderley, C. B., Esq., M.P.
Akroyd, E., Esq., M.P.
Bacchus, J. O., Esq.
Baker, T. B., Esq.
Barton, Rev. H. J.
Bedford, Rev. W. K. R.
Bengough, G. H., Esq.
Bondier, Rev. John
Bowyer, G. J., Esq.
Bracebridge, O. H., Esq.
Calthorpe, Lord
Calthorpe, Hon. A.
Carter, Rev. T.
Carleton, Hon. E.
Cave, S., Esq.
Clay, Rev. J.
Dartmouth, Earl of
Dickens, W., Esq.
Dugdale, G. S., Esq.
Dunn, T., Esq.
Field, Rev. J.
Garnett, W. J., Esq., M.P.
Gedge, Rev. S.

Girdlestone, Rev. Canon
Gladstone, W., Esq.
Gover, Rev. W.
Hill, M. D., Esq. Q.C.
Hoskyns, C. W., Esq.,
Kerrison, Sir E., Bart., M.P.
King, E. Bolton, Esq.
Kinnaird, Hon. A., M.P.
Leigh, Lord.
Lichfield, Earl of
Melly, George, Esq.
Melville, Rev. D.
Miles, W., Esq., MP.
Morgan, W., Esq.
Pelkington, Rev. Canon
Penny, Rev. C. T.
Sturge, Joseph, Esq.
Turner, Rev. Sydney
Ward, Lord
Winnington, Sir T.E., Bart. M.P.
Woolrych, Mr. Serjeant
Wright, Henry, Esq.

In this Department will be discussed the various questions relating to the prevention and repression of crime; the reformation of the Criminal; the best mode of secondary punishment; prison discipline; the management of reformatory schools and institutions; &c.

Fourth Department.—PUBLIC HEALTH.

President.—Lord Stanley, M.P.

Secretaries.

Dr. Headlam Greenhow. | William P. Marshall, Esq.
H. W. Rumsey, Esq., F.R.C.S.

Committee.

Babington, Dr. B. G.
 Baly, Dr.
 Browne, Dr. W. A.
 Chadwick, Edwin, Esq., C.B.
 Churchill, Lord Alfred, M.P.
 Clark, Sir James, Bart. M.D.
 Conolly, Dr.
 Cowie, Rev. Morgan
 Cowper, Right Hon. W.F., M.P.
 Cutler, J. H., Esq.
 Ebrington, Viscount, M.P.
 Evans, Conway, Dr.
 Farr, Dr.
 Fleming, Dr.
 Fletcher, Bell, Dr.
 Forbes, Sir John, M.D.
 Green, Thomas, Esq.
 Hastings, Sir Charles, M.D.
 Helps, Arthur, Esq.
 Heslop, Dr.
 Holliday, W., Esq.

Houghton, J. H., Esq.
 Johnston, A. Keith, Esq., F.R.S.
 Johnstone, James, Dr.
 Lankester, Dr.
 MacWilliam, Dr., R.N.
 Melson, Dr.
 Miller, Professor
 Phillips, John, Esq.
 Postgate, John, Esq., F.R.C.S.
 Ratcliffe, John, Esq., Mayor
 Russell, Dr.
 Shaw, George, Esq.
 Sibson, Dr.
 Sieveking, Dr.
 Simon, John, Esq., F.R.S.
 Slaney, R. A., Esq., M.P.
 Solomon, J. V., Esq.
 Smith, Southwood, Dr.
 Taylor, Tom, Esq.
 Thompson, Spencer, Esq., M.D.
 Wade, Dr.

This Department will consider the various questions relating to the public health and the prevention of disease; it will collect statistical evidence of the relative healthiness of different localities, of different industrial occupations, and generally of the influence of exterior circumstances in the production of health or disease; it will discuss improvements in house-construction (more especially as to the dwellings of the laboring classes), in drainage, warming, ventilation; public baths and wash-houses; adulteration of food and its effects; the functions of government in relation to public health, the legislative and administrative machinery expedient for its preservation; sanitary police, quarantine, &c.; poverty in relation to disease, and the effect of unhealthiness in the prosperity of places and nations.

Fifth Department.—SOCIAL ECONOMY

President.—Lord Lyttleton.

Secretaries.

W. C. Aitken, Esq. | T. H. Bastard, Esq. | J. D. Goodman, Esq.
 W. M. Williams, Esq.

Committee.

Akroyd, E., Esq., M.P.
 Aston, John, Esq.
 Bracebridge, C. H., Esq.
 Bray, Charles, Esq.
 Chance, R. L., Esq.

Cole, Henry, Esq.
 Courtauld, S., Esq.
 Dixon, A., Esq.
 Elkington, G. R., Esq.
 Ewart, W., Esq., M.P.

Farr, Dr.
 Gassiot, J. P., Esq.
 Gem, E., Esq.
 Gilbert, J. W., Esq., F.R.S.
 Goderich, Viscount, M.P.
 Hawkes, W., Esq.
 Helps, Arthur, Esq.
 Lloyd, T., Esq.
 Maurice, Rev. F. D.
 Melly, George, Esq.
 Mann, Horace, Esq.
 Mill, John Stuart, Esq.

Milnes, R. M., Esq., M.P.
 Newmarch, W., Esq.
 Osler, F., Esq., F.R.S.
 Shaw, Charles, Esq.
 Slaney, R. A., Esq., M.P.
 Turner, Rev. Sydney
 Twining, Thomas, Esq.
 Ward, Lord
 Welch, Frederick, Esq.
 Whitbread, S., Esq., M.P.
 Winfield, R. W., Esq.

In this Department will be considered the various questions relating to social economics; the conditions of industrial success, whether of nations or individuals; savings' banks and insurance; the relation between employers and employed; strikes and combinations; legislative interference with the hours and wages of labour; legislative regulation of professions, trades, and employment generally; and of price and means of supply; emigration, its effect, and true conditions; exercise of public and private charity; relief of the poor; industrial employment of women; industrial and economical instruction of the labouring classes; social economics in relation to education; &c.

Monday, October 12th.—Opening Meeting in the Town Hall, at Half-past Seven in the Evening. Lord Brougham will deliver an Inaugural Address.

Tuesday, October 13th.—The several Departments will meet in the Queen's College, at Eleven o'Clock A.M., for Papers and Discussions.

In the Evening a Conversational Meeting (Dress) at the Town Hall, under the Presidency of the Mayor of Birmingham.

Wednesday, October 14th.—Departments at Queen's College at Eleven A.M. A Dinner in the Evening at Dee's Hotel, to Lord Brougham and other Members of the Association, by the Mayor of Birmingham.

Thursday, October 15th.—Departments at Queen's College, at 11 A.M. In the Evening a Public Meeting in support of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Movement at the Town Hall.

Friday, October 16th.—Concluding Meeting to receive a Report from the General Committee, at 12.

A Reception Room will be open during the days of the Meeting, where letters may be addressed, tickets purchased, lists of lodgings obtained, and every information given.

Tickets to admit to all the Meetings, Ten Shillings each.

Members of the Association (Subscription One Guinea Annually) admitted free.

All Papers to be read at the Meeting must be sent to the General Secretary (3, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, London, S. W.), at least one Week before the 12th of October.

By the permission of the Hon. and Rev. Grantham Yorke a Special Service for the occasion will take place at St. Philip's Church, on the Afternoon of Monday the 12th of October.

BELVEDERE CRESCENT REFORMATORY.

The annual meeting of the Reformatory and Ragged Factory or Home for Outcast boys, founded by Mr. W. Driver, in June, 1853, and established in Belvedere Crescent since June, 1854, was held Wednesday, July 8th, at Belvedere House, Belvedere Crescent. The meeting was opened under the presidency of the Hon. F. BYNG, but at a later period of the day the Earl of SHARRNSBURY, who had been detained upon a commission, took the chair.

Letters apologising for non-attendance were read from Sir John Pakington, M.P., Mr. Roupell, M.P., and other gentlemen, who take an interest in the objects of the institution, after which the report of the committee was read. The following is a brief outline:—

Since the last annual meeting nine of the boys had been sent out as emigrants to Canada, where they landed on the 9th of September. They all speedily found employment, and were doing well, but according to their own letters, which were quoted, they find hard work is absolutely necessary. The Committee appeal for the means of sending out nine more of the boys who are now in the institution. They state that the cost of sending out the nine last year was upwards of 100*l*. The main difficulty with the committee was in not being able to get clear of their debt, which prevented their sending out lads as often as they desired, and added to the cost of working the institution. Since the last meeting employment had been obtained for seven of the boys in this country, and one had been sent to sea by the assistance of the Reformatory and Refuge Union. The committee further

say, that they think they begin to recognise in employers of labour in this country an increasing desire to assist in the work. The letters from the emigrants and the boys in employment in other ways proved that it was no lack of intellectual instruction that consigned many of this class of the juvenile population to the streets. The committee here observe; "Our own experience goes to show that it is not wise for an institution such as ours to meddle with any kind of boy except what we may term the involuntary vagabond. This sort of boy finds himself on the streets either through the death or downright brutality or desertion of his parents. It often, and even generally, is the case that he does not belong to the very lowest class of people. The very lowest class of boy in such cases is quickly consigned to the workhouse. The boys of whom we speak are rarely deficient in instruction. Neither are they, as a general rule, deficient in honesty, although this is a quality for which they do not often get credit. And whenever they are thought to be honest, it is generally said that they have not the wit and energy to succeed as thieves. If by wit is meant intellect, as distinguished from cunning and sharpness, then we say that the London vagrant boy is superior to the habitually thieving boy. He has more in him, though it must be confessed that it is harder to get it out of him, because he certainly does lack energy, just as many thoughtful and reflective men lack the energy to become men of action. Our boy wants teaching to be handy, but he has no taste to become handy as a thief. The London vagrant boy has first-rate passive qualities. He is patient of hunger and cold, and endures his sufferings often with touching resignation. Perhaps he cannot help sometimes pilfering in a paltry way, out of sheer necessity, but he will any day rather do a rough job than steal. Neither does he, as a rule, grow up into a thief. Very often, though perhaps in a poor way, he rights himself at last. Then why meddle with him at all? Why not let him alone?—For three reasons—1. He it is who deserves our sympathy, if any street boy does. 2. He it is who may receive that sympathy without increasing the evil which we seek to lessen. 3. We do indirectly touch even the voluntary young thief by befriending the involuntary vagrant. And here comes the question, who then is the voluntary young thief? Why simply the boy who, having a home, first takes to the streets as a lark. We cannot stop to prove this now. We know it is true, and for our own part we do not care to have to do with this kind of boy. We are quite sure that for every one such boy you take in hand in a privately benevolent way you increase the inefficiency of parental superintendence in a dozen other cases. We do not indeed believe that parents turn their children into the streets in order that they may become qualified for a reformatory; but we do say that they get into a habit of thinking that they have as much right to be released from the care of a troublesome boy as their neighbour had, and that this very habit of thinking so increases the inefficiency of their control. And here we desire to call attention to a fact which can only come under the observation of those who are really familiar with the substratum of society. The vagrant boy, though he does not, as a rule, himself grow up as a thief, does smooth the way for others to become so. The street life of the vagrant, with all its misery and wretched-

ness, has nevertheless its charm for lawless minds. It has a certain aspect of jollity. It has its haunts and its traditions. The involuntary vagrant is the habitual frequenter of its haunts—the depository of its traditions. He welcomes the amateur vagrant, and helps him to be independant of his home when he first quits it for a night or two. But the latter soon tires of mere vagrancy. He is only a sojourner among the vagrants. Thieving is his destination, and the vagrant does but help him on his way to cast off more thoroughly the already loosened shackles of his home. Now the upshot of all this, according to our way of thinking, is, that it is both desirable and possible to clear the streets of the involuntary vagrant, and that private philanthropists, by means of institutions similar to this, if they will but carefully study the facts of the case, are competent to effect this result, but that they are not competent, by means of such institutions, to do much towards diminishing the mass of troublesome thieving boys who have homes. Indeed, unless they are very careful, they may even increase the evil. Let the Government do what it can at one end, in a wholesale and systematic way, with parents and children, and let society do what it can by all moral and religious influences at the other, but, let there be as little empirical treatment of individual cases as possible. We are quite conscious that we have very inadequately handled this subject upon the present occasion. Time does not permit us to-day to go thoroughly into it. Nevertheless, we trust that we have said enough to show that we try experimentally to grope our way to principles. We would very willingly say a great deal more upon the subject if we knew how to say it in such a way as would draw the close attention of influential persons to the work in which we are engaged."

We have referred to *The Waverley Journal*, and have quoted some very valuable, and *important* and interesting matter from its pages. We have much pleasure in placing the following statement of its aims and objects, from the pen of the Editress, before our readers :—

This Fortnightly Periodical having already attained a large circulation in Scotland under the title of "THE WAVERLEY JOURNAL, EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY LADIES," it is now proposed to widen its scope, and to render it a WORKING WOMAN'S JOURNAL for the United Kingdom.

In the term "Working Women," it is intended to include all

women who are actively engaged in any labour of brain or hand, whether they be the wives and daughters of landed proprietors, devoted to the well-being of their tenantry, or are to be classed among the many other laborers in the broad field of philanthropy ;— whether they belong to the army of Teachers, public and private, or to the ranks of professional Artists ; or are engaged in any of those manual occupations by which multitudes of British Women, at home and in the Colonies, gain their daily bread.

This Journal endeavours to collect all facts relative to the important question of Remunerative Employment for Women, and will report upon all Legal questions affecting their welfare. It also devotes especial attention to all the great movements of Social Reform, and partakes of the character of a domestic Magazine, and contains literary Reviews, Fiction, Poetry, and Scientific papers of a popular character.

Communications by Gentlemen are gladly accepted, provided they be signed (not necessarily for publication of the writer's name, but as a guarantee of good faith). A certain portion of the Journal will be thrown open to independent communications upon any points connected with education, or other topics of public interest.

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NOTES ON REFORMATORIES FOR IRELAND,
AND FOR DUBLIN IN PARTICULAR,
WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE
NECESSITY FOR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

In the **QUARTERLY RECORD** of our present number we print the Prospectus of the Cork Reformatory, and append to it the admirable Charge of Mr. Sergeant Berwick, and we beg the earnest attention of every reader, who believes that "a child, even when criminal, should be treated as a child, and sent to a Reformatory School and not to a Prison," to these important documents.

It may appear strange to many that Cork should have taken the initiative in this matter, and it may be supposed that Cork is cursed with a more numerous and vicious population of juvenile criminals in proportion to its population, than other places—this, however, is not the case; Cork is simply, in this matter, as in some others (as in classifying its paupers and making its poor-house Industrial) in advance of the rest of Ireland, and of Dublin in particular, to Dublin's especial disgrace.

Referring to Juvenile Crime in Ireland, the Inspectors-General of Prisons in Ireland state, at page xliii of their *Thirty-fifth Report*, that for 1856, as follows:—

We have adhered to the plan adopted in our last Report, of separating the juvenile from the general criminal statistics, and of including under the heading "*Juvenile*" only those who were under seventeen years of age. It is to be recollected that the persons treated of in the subjoined tables have already been taken into account in the previous statistical tables, and are now considered separately, as composing that portion of the criminal population about whom the greatest solicitude is felt; for it is universally admitted that it is far easier to make an impression upon a juvenile than an adult, and it is moreover notorious that a large proportion of our criminals have graduated in gaols, and therefore every thing calculated to throw additional light upon the habits and condition of juvenile prisoners is peculiarly interesting; because upon the right or wrong method of dealing with those incipient law breakers, both as to sentences and treatment in prison, depends in great measure the rise and fall of crime.*

* The Inspectors-General state, at page xxxiii of their *Report*, that there is no complete separation in the County Dublin Prison, neither

No. 15 —OFFENCES OF JUVENILES, 1856.

Classes of Offences.	10 Years old and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years old.		Total.			Total in 1855.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M. & F.
<i>Convicted at Assizes and Quarter Sessions.</i>								
Felons,	3	2	190	68	193	70	263	485
Misdemeanants, ..	2	..	49	1	51	1	52	92
<i>Summary Convictions.</i>								
Misdemeanants, ..		15	2,120	645	2,184	660	2,844	3,361
Vagrants,	72	67	945	286	1,017	353	1,370	2,424
Courts Martial & Des- erters, .. ..	..	..	13	..	13	..	13	..
<i>Acquitted.</i>								
Felons,	1	5	107	36	108	41	149	138
Misdemeanants, ..	1	..	49	16	50	16	66	113
Further Examination, Untried. &c., ..	26	9	391	144	417	153	570	475
Total, ..	169	98	3,864	1,196	4,033	1,294	..	..
	267		5,060		..	..	5,327	7,088

is there in Grangegorman Penitentiary, nor Richmond Bridewell. They state in another part of their *Report* :—

“Of the forty-two gaols, therefore, under our supervision, it appears that there are only *four*, in which “complete separation” is enforced—viz., those of the counties Antrim, Armagh, Kilkenny, and Louth.

“Partial separation,” is carried out in *seven*—viz., those of Carlow, Richmond Bridewell, in the County of Dublin, King’s County, Limerick County, Queen’s County, Roscommon, and Westmeath; but a reference to the column in which it is recorded will show to what a small minority of the inmates it is extended. We would further observe that this category, as well as that of “approximative separation,” is found to co-exist with a very imperfect observance of the classification prescribed by the Prisons Act; no less than *thirty* gaols being defective in this particular with regard to either males or females, but especially as to the latter, although prisoners of this sex are peculiarly susceptible of the evils derived from almost unrestricted intercourse.”

“In *four* of our gaols no school exists, and in only *three* are regularly trained schoolmistresses appointed, while in no less than *twenty*, or nearly one-half of the whole number, the duty of teaching the male prisoners is abandoned to turnkeys, who are selected without consideration of their aptitude for tuition.”

WORKHOUSE OFFENDERS, 1856, included in foregoing.

	10 Years old and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years old.		Total.		Total in 1855.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M. & F.
Workhouse Offenders,	5	..	185	45	190	45	235	442
On leaving Workhouse,	2	..	110	5	112	5	117	148
Total,	7	..	295	50	302	50	352	590
	7		345		352			

No. 16.—RE-COMMITTALS OF JUVENILES IN 1886.

How often Re-Committed in 1886.	10 Years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 Years old.				Total.				Gross Total in	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		1886.	1885.
Once, ..	M. 5	F. 3	M. 6	F. 7	M. 273	F. 72	M. 64	F. 29	M. 278	F. 76	M. 70	F. 36	M. & F. 459	M. & F. 594
Twice, ..	M. 3	..	.. 1	2	M. 67	F. 26	M. 31	9	M. 70	F. 26	M. 31	11	M. 138	F. 291
Three times, ..	..	..	.. 1	..	M. 33	F. 14	M. 12	7	M. 33	F. 14	M. 13	7	M. 67	F. 140
Four times and upwards	..	..	1	1	M. 13	F. 5	M. 29	4	M. 13	F. 5	M. 30	5	M. ..	F. 351
Totals, { Males... Females, Criminals, Vagrants,	8	..	8	..	386	..	136	..	394	..	144	..	..	..
	..	3	..	10	..	117	..	49	..	120	..	59	..	..
	..	11	..	18	..	503	..	185	..	514	..	203	717	1,376
Total No. of individuals com- mitted in 1886—compiled from Table No. XVI., ..	86	29	57	48	2,355	714	604	199	2,441	743	661	247	4,692	
	115		105		3,069		803		3,184		908			
	220				3,872									

No. 17.—COMMITTALS OF INDIVIDUAL JUVENILES IN 1866.

Ages.	In Prison once in 1866.				In Prison twice in 1866.				In Prison three times in 1866.				In Prison four times in 1866.				In Prison five times and upwards in 1866.				Total No. of individual Juveniles committed in 1866.			
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
10 years and under, ..	78	26	49	38	5	3	6	7	9	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	86	29	57	48
Above 10 and under 17 years	1,969	597	468	150	273	72	64	29	67	26	31	9	33	14	12	7	13	6	29	4	2,355	714	604	199
Total Males, ..	2,047	..	517	..	278	..	70	..	70	..	31	..	33	..	13	..	13	..	30	..	2,441	..	661	..
Total Females, ..	..	623	..	188	..	75	..	36	..	26	..	11	..	14	..	7	..	5	..	5	..	743	..	247
Total Males & Females	2,670	705	..	..	253	106	..	..	96	42	..	..	47	20	..	..	18	35	..	..	3,184	908	..	..
	3,375				459				138				67				53				4,092			

In the committals the females were 24·29 per cent., or nearly *one-fourth* of the whole ; whereas in 1855 they were only 20·41 per cent. or *one-fifth* ; it thus appearing that amongst juveniles, as well as in the total number of prisoners, the proportion of females has increased. In the subjoined classes of ages and offences the proportion of females was—ten years and under, 36·7 per cent. ; above ten, and under seventeen years, 23·63 per cent. ; vagrants, 25·76 per cent. ; criminals, 23·78 per cent.

The re-committals of prisoners under seventeen years of age, in 1856, amounted to but 717—viz., 514 males and 203 females ; in 1855 they numbered 814 males and 562 females—in all 1,376. A reference to Table XV. shows that the number of committals at ten years and under, in 1856, was 267, including 139 vagrants ; and between ten and seventeen years of age, 5,060, including 1,231 vagrants ; but Table XVI., which exhibits the number of *individuals* committed in the same period, shows that the 267 committals under ten years of age, owing to the fact of the re-committal within the year of the same parties, include but 220 persons ; and the 5,060 between ten and seventeen, only 3,872 individuals. Thus it appears that the 5,327 committals under seventeen years of age included but 4,092 persons, of whom 3,375 were but once committed in 1856, and 717 individuals twice and upwards.

We would also draw attention to the following table, showing how many times each of the prisoners under twenty-one years of age, committed in 1856, had been in gaol from the time of their first committal in *any* year ; but owing to the nature of this table having been somewhat misunderstood by some of the local authorities, and the records on the subject being defective in many gaols, we cannot vouch for its accuracy.

No. 18.—SPECIAL RETURN, showing the Total Number of Times each of the Juveniles committed to this Gaol, in the year 1856, has been in any Gaol from their first committal in *any* year to the present time, so far as can be ascertained from the Records of the Gaols or other sources.

How many Times Committed to Gaol.	Criminals.		Vagrants.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.
Once,	4,416	1,646	536	184
Twice,	624	394	108	118
Three times,	274	188	45	63
Four times,	164	88	49	58
Five times,	103	71	18	38
Six times,	65	51	9	26
Seven to Eleven times,	106	41	26	30
Twelve to Sixteen times,	40	20	18	12
Seventeen to Twenty times, ...	19	3	11	6
Twenty-one to Twenty-six times and upwards,	14	1	34	5
Total individuals committed in 1856,	5,825	2,503	54	540

No. 19.—SENTENCES of Transportation and Penal Servitude of Juveniles in 1856.

	Above 10 and under 17 Years of Age		Total.	Total in 1855.
	Males.	Females.		
Transportation for 15 years, ...	3	1	4	—
Penal Servitude for 14 years, ...	1	—	1	—
„ for 6 years, ...	5	—	5	12
„ for 4 years, ...	30	2	32	58
	<u>39</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>70</u>
Total,	42			

No. 20.—SENTENCES of JUVENILES to Unlimited or Indefinite Terms of Imprisonment in 1856.

	Males.		Females.	
10 years old and under,	2	1		
Above 10 and under 17 years of Age,	9	2		
Total,	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>		
Total in 1856,	14			
Total in 1855,	56			

No. 21.—SENTENCES of JUVENILES for all Definite Terms of Imprisonment in 1886.

Terms of Imprisonment.	10 Years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 years old.				Total.		Total in 1886.
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals and Vagrants.		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M. & F.	
3 Years and above 2, ..	...	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..
2 Years and above 18 months, ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	7
18 Months and above 12, ..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	14	..	16
12 months and above 9, ..	..	..	..	..	41	..	6	..	42	..	48
9 Months and above 6, ..	1	..	..	..	13	1	..	..	13	1	25
6 Months and above 3, ..	..	..	..	..	85	27	..	..	86	29	115
3 Months and above 2, ..	1	2	..	..	283	91	1	1	295	93	135
2 Months and above one, ..	11	1	..	..	239	74	5	1	246	79	408
1 Month and above 14 days, ..	2	4	..	..	690	193	280	118	992	335	325
14 Days and above 7, ..	11	6	11	18	388	140	523	127	970	297	1,827
7 Days and above 48 hours, ..	16	1	43	29	366	113	102	28	495	156	1,267
48 Hours, ..	12	2	15	13	142	24	14	8	163	37	651
24 Hours, ..	6	..	1	5	80	42	20	2	109	46	200
Total Males, ..	7	..	2	2	2,345	..	945	..	3,429	..	155
Total Females, ..	67	..	72	..	..	711	..	285	..	1,079	219
Total Males and Females, ..	83		139		3,056		1,230		4,508		6,242

No. 22.—Sentences of Juveniles for Short Terms of Imprisonment in 1856.

	Males.	Females.	Total.	No. of Days of 24 hours, represented.
1 Month and above 14 days,	992	335	1,327	37,156
14 Days and above 7, ...	970	297	1,267	17,738
7 Days and above 48 hours,	495	156	651	4,557
48 Hours, ...	163	37	200	400
24 Hours, ...	109	46	155	155
	2,729	871	3,600	60,006

It is to be observed that there were four juveniles sentenced to transportation, and one to penal servitude for fourteen years, during 1856, but none in 1855; and that, on the other hand, the number of sentences to penal servitude for shorter periods was only 32 in 1856, against 56 in 1855. Of the 4,508 sentences to ordinary terms of imprisonment, *i.e.*, in county and borough gaols, only 700 of males and 208 of females—in all 908—were for longer *periods than one month*, whereas 2,729 males and 871 females, in all 3,600, four-fifths, or 79·85 per cent. of the whole 4,508, were under sentences varying from *twenty-four hours to one month*; and the average length of imprisonment under sentence for *each* of these 3,600 juveniles, taking the maximum of time mentioned under each heading, was only sixteen days and sixteen hours, or less even than in 1855 by eighteen hours.

No. 23.—PARENTAGE OF JUVENILES in 1856.

	10 Years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 Years old.				Totals.		Total in 1855.	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.					
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M. & F.
Having both parents living, ...	46	18	18	18	993	286	90	113	1,147	435	1,582	2,326
Having both parents dead, ...	15	4	13	8	806	247	571	90	1,405	349	1,754	2,354
Having father dead, ...	28	8	36	28	693	229	162	58	924	323	1,247	1,611
Having mother dead, ...	8	...	5	14	288	140	108	23	509	177	686	797
Not ascertained, ...	...	...	...	...	34	8	14	2	48	10	58	...
Total Males, ...	97	...	72	...	2,919	...	945	...	4,033	...	...	...
Total Females, ...	...	30	...	68	...	910	...	286	...	1,294	...	...
Total M. and F., ...	127		140		3,829		1,231		5,327		5,327	7,086
	267				5,060							

SUB-CLASSIFICATION.

	10 Years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 years old.				Totals.	Total in 1855.		
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.					
Having stepfather, ...	M. 7	F. 3	M. 2	F. 1	M. 128	F. 30	M. 22	F. 4	M. 159	F. 38	M. & F. 197	234
Having stepmother, ...	4	2	1	...	87	39	32	11	124	45	169	176
Abandoned by parents	2	3	...	...	112	48	38	7	152	58	210	255
Abandoned from parents	2	...	2	5	141	41	35	19	180	65	245	423
Illegitimate, ...	2	...	...	...	25	9	4	1	31	10	41	95

No. 24.—STATE OF EDUCATION OR COMMITTAL in 1856.

	10 Years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 Years old.				Totals.		Total in 1865	
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.					
Read and wrote, ..	M. 5	F. 1	M. 2	F. 6	M. 755	F. 104	M. 303	F. 46	M. 1,065	F. 157	M. & F. 1,222	1,412
Read imperfectly, ..	13	4	4	13	554	178	196	70	767	265	1,032	1,439
Knew spelling, ..	22	1	14	2	381	84	163	12	580	99	679	868
Knew alphabet, ..	9	1	5	2	207	57	4	8	261	68	329	312
Wholly illiterate, ..	48	23	47	46	1,015	487	248	150	1,353	706	2,059	3,257
Not ascertained, ..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..	..	7	..	7	..
Total Males, ..	97	..	72	..	2,919	..	945	..	4,033	..	..	..
Total Females, ..	..	30	..	68	..	910	..	286	..	1,294	..	..
Total M. & F., ..	127		140		3,829		1,231		5,327		5,327	7,066
	267				5,060							

No. 25.—RELIGIOUS PROFESSION in 1856.

	10 years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 years old.				Totals.				Total in 1856
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.						
Protestant, ..	M. 8	F. 4	M. 10	F. 3	M. 242	F. 63	M. 17	F. 7	M. 277	F. 77	M. & F. 354	410	
Presbyterian, ..	..	2	..	..	84	4	..	..	84	6	90	63
Roman Catholic, ..	89	24	62	65	2,643	543	928	279	3,722	1,211	4,933	6,615	
Total Males, ..	97	..	72	..	2,919	..	945	..	4,031	..	..	..
Total Females, ..	..	30	..	68	..	910	..	286	..	1,294	..	..
Total M. and F., ..	127		140		3,829		1,231		5,327		5,327	7,066	
	267				5,060								

No. 26.—RESIDENCE OF JUVENILES Previous to Committal in 1856.

	10 years old and under.				Above 10 and under 17 years old.				Totals.	Total in 1855		
	Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.					
County or borough to which gaol belongs ..	78	23	36	28	2,144	591	335	110	2,598	752	3,345	4,736
Other localities, ..	19	7	36	40	775	319	610	176	1,440	542	1,982	2,352
Total Males ..	97	..	72	..	2,919	..	945	..	4,038	..		
Total Females ..	..	30	..	68	..	910	..	286	..	1,294		
Total M. and F.,	127		149		3,829		1,231		5,327		5,327	7,068
	267				5,060							

The foregoing tables may be thus analyzed :—

First.—Parentage: 29·69 per cent. had both parents living; 32·92 per cent. had both parents dead; 23·4 per cent. had lost their fathers, and 12·87 per cent. had lost their mothers; 3·69 per cent. had step-fathers, and 8·17 per cent. had stepmothers; 9·94 per cent. had been abandoned by their parents; 4·59 per cent. had absconded from their parents; *and only 0·76 per cent. were illegitimate.*

Secondly.—Education on committal: 22·93 per cent. could read and write; 19·37 per cent. could read imperfectly; 12·74 per cent. could spell; 6·17 per cent. knew their alphabet; and 38·73 per cent. *were wholly illiterate.*

Thirdly.—Religion: 6·64 per cent. were of the Established Church; 0·75 were Presbyterians; and 92·63 per cent. were Roman Catholics.

Fourthly.—Residence: 62·79 per cent. came from the town or county in which the gaol to which they were committed is situated; 37·2 per cent., or more than *one third*, were strangers to the locality.

Having thus shewn, from the Report of the Inspectors-General, the state of Juvenile Crime in Ireland, generally, we proceed to lay before the reader the facts and figures bearing upon juvenile delinquency in the County and City of Dublin. We take our tables from those elaborate returns furnished by the Inspectors-General, and the Dublin Metropolitan Police, in the Reports for 1856 :—

TABLE XV.—Number of Juvenile Offenders committed to the

County and Town Gaols.	Convicted at Assizes and Quarter Sessions.												Misdemeanors			
	Felons.						Misdemeanants.						Misdemeanors			
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.			
	10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin County .. ..	..	..	6	..	4	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	94	25
Dublin City—																
Richmond Bridewell ..	1	..	33	..	29	..	1	..	16	..	12	..	25	..	499	..
Grangegorman Peniten...	..	1	..	8	..	24	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	180	..
Total,	1	1	39	8	33	27	1	..	17	..	12	2	30	..	773	25

Number of Juveniles Committed twice, three times, four times, and five times and upwards, &c., in the year 1856.

Total Number of Individual Juveniles Committed in 1856.													
County and Town Gaol.		Criminals.						Vagrants.					
		Ages.						Ages.					
		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.	
Dublin County' .. ..	..	4	..	101	24	78	43	8	6	40	13	6	7
Dublin City—													
Richmond Bridewell ..	..	20	..	484	..	429	..	20	..	179	..	44	..
Grangegorman Peniten. ..	..	..	2	..	110	..	330	..	21	..	97	..	160
Total, .. ..	..	24	2	685	134	507	373	28	27	219	110	50	175

County and Town Gaols, in the year 1856, with their offences, by ages and sexes.

Convictions.						Acquitted ; no Bills ; no Prosecution for further examination ; Discharged ; and remaining for Trial.										Total.											
Vagrants.						Felon.						Misdemeanants.				Ages.											
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.				Ages.											
10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17		17 and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17		17, and under 21.		Total			
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
8	6	48	15	10	14	..	..	4	1	1	2	..	..	2	..	2	1	12	6	162	49	92	75	266	13
41	..	428	..	73	..	..	..	8	..	24	..	1	..	5	..	8	..	69	..	1027	..	527	..	1683	..
39	..	181	..	32	..	..	..	7	..	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	42	..	382	..	948	..	13	..
88	6	637	15	385	14	..	..	19	1	44	2	1	..	7	..	10	1	81	48	1189	431	679	1023	1849	15
																								Grand Total,		3391	

**Number of Juveniles committed Twice, Three Times, Four Times, and Five Times
Criminal Offenders being**

County and Town Gaols.	Committed Twice in 1856.												Committed Three Times.					
	Criminals.						Vagrants.						Criminals.					
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.					
	10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17 and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17 and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17 and under 21.	
Dublin County.. ..	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	..	..	13	3	4	7	..	..	4	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	2
Dublin City ;																		
Richmond Bridewell ..	2	..	85	..	49	..	2	..	26	..	3	..	3	..	14	..	8	..
Grangegorman Penitentiary ..	..	1	..	28	..	81	..	6	..	23	..	81	..	..	..	12	..	52
Total	2	1	98	21	53	88	2	6	20	25	3	54	3	..	14	12	8	54

**Sentences of Death, Transportation, Penal Servitude, and Imprisonment of the Juvenile Offenders
in 1855, but Tried in 1856, with their Ages and Sexes:**

County and Town Gaols.	Criminal Offenders.																	
	Death.		Transportation, for								Penal Servitude.							
			Life.		15 years.		Other Periods.				14 Years.		10 Years.		6 Years.			
	Ages.		Ages.		Ages.		Ages.				Ages.		Ages.		Ages.			
	17 and under 21 years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.
Dublin County, ..	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin City—																		
Richmond B., ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Grangegorman P., ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total, ..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	2

upwards, within the year 1856, to the several County and Town Gaols, by Ages and Sexes, distinguished from Vagrants.

In 1856.						Committed Four Times in 1856.						Committed Five Times and upwards in 1856.					
Vagrants.						Criminals.			Vagrants.			Criminals.			Vagrants.		
Ages.						Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.		
years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 20.				Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.		10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.		10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.	M.
..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
..	15	..	2	..	6	..	2	..	1	..	5	..	7	..	8	..	..
2	9	..	19	..	7	..	22	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	11	..
2	17	9	3	19	6	7	2	23	1	..	5	7	..	8	3	3	12

mitted to the several County and Town Gaols in the year 1856, and also of those Committed and Offenders being distinguished from Vagrants.

1856.

						Imprisonment, for																	
4 Years.		Other Periods.				3 years and above 2.			2 Years and above 18 Months.			18 Months and above 12.			12 Months and above 9.								
Ages.		Ages.				Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.								
over and under 17 yrs.	17 and under 21 Years.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.			Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.			Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.			10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21				
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
.	11	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	14	.	11	.
.	.	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	4
.	11	3	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	1	.	14	2	11	6

Sentences of Death, Transportation, Penal Servitude, and Imprisonment, of the 1856, and also of those *Committed* in 1855, but *Tried* in 1856, with their

County and Town Gaols.	CRIMINAL																	
	Imprison																	
	9 Months and above 6.						6 Months and above 3.						3 Months and above 2.					
	Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.		
	10 Years and under	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.
Dublin County ..	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin City—	2	1	4	..	..	..	8	5	6	1
Richmond B.,	1	..	2	..	..	..	18	..	18	..	8	..	51	..	38	..
Grangegorman P.,	1	..	2	..	8	..	15	..	1	..	14	..	23
Total,	1	..	2	1	..	2	20	9	17	15	3	1	89	19	44	24

County and Town Gaols.	CRIMINAL																	
	Imprisonment, for												Not Convicted, Untried, &c.					
	48 Hours.				24 Hours.				Unlimited.									
	Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.					
	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.
Dublin County ..	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin City—	..	..	13	2	8	12	1	..	6	4	8	7	..	..	..	..	1	..
Richmond B.,	..	..	70	..	68	..	4	..	37	..	38	..	..	..	46	..	1	..
Grangegorman P.	5	..	36	26	..	121	8
Total ..	3	..	83	7	76	48	5	..	43	20	41	128	46	8	2	..

REFORMATORIES FOR IRELAND.

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Male Offenders Committed to the several County and Town Gaols in the year and Sexes ; Criminal Offenders being distinguished from Vagrants.

ENDERS.

for

2 Months and above 1.						1 Month and above 14 Days						14 Days and above 7.						7 Days and above 48 Hours.					
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.						Ages.					
10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.	
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
14	4	8	10	1	..	19	6	20	8	1	..	21	5	9	6	14	2	10	10	14	2	10	10
72	..	59	..	5	..	123	..	78	..	7	..	79	..	52	..	3	..	78	..	82	..	..	..
..	..	27	..	59	..	..	41	..	114	..	..	..	38	..	107	..	..	..	27	..	..	108	..
1	..	86	31	67	69	6	..	142	47	90	122	8	..	100	43	61	113	3	..	92	29	43	118

ENDERS.

VAGRANTS.

Total.						Imprisonment, for											
						6 and above 3 Months.				3 and above 3 Months.				2 and above 1 Month			
Ages.						Ages.				Ages.				Ages.			
10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.
M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F. M. F.	114 34 82 61 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	602 201 517 646 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	716 235 599 707 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2														

Sentences of Death, Transportation, Penal Servitude, and Imprisonment of the Juvenile
these Committed in 1855, but Tried in 1856, with their Ages

County and Town Gaols.	VAGRANTS.																	
	Imprisonment, for																	
	1 Month and above 14 Days.						14 and above 7 Days.						7 Days and above 48 Hours.					
	Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.			Ages.		
	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.
Dublin County, ..	M. 1	F. ..	M. 18	F. 7	M. 2	F. 6	M. 5	F. 5	M. 27	F. 6	M. 5	F. 8	M. 2	F. 1	M. 3	F. 2	M. 3	F. ..
Dublin City—																		
Richmond B. ..	7	..	52	..	6	..	30	..	352	..	6	..	4	..	18	..	6	18
Grangegorman P. ...	..	13	..	77	..	106	..	16	..	96	..	178	..	5	..	8	..	..
Total, ...	8	18	70	84	8	112	35	21	379	102	11	186	6	6	21	10	9	18

Condition as to Parentage of Juvenile Offenders Committed to the several County and
from

County and Town Gaols.	Both Parents Living.												Both Parents					
	Criminals.						Vagrants.						Criminals.					
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.					
	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin County ..	..	..	39	7	34	10	..	..	5	4	1	..	M. 1	F. ..	M. 37	F. 11	M. 30	F. 29
Dublin City—																		
Richmond B. ...	16	..	219	..	304	..	9	..	24	..	55	..	4	..	173	..	142	..
Grangegorman P., ..	..	2	..	..	..	279	..	12	..	85	..	94	..	1	..	65	..	185
Total, ..	16	2	259	..	238	289	9	12	29	89	56	94	5	1	210	76	173	214

enders Committed to the several County and Town Gaols in the year 1856, and also of Sexes ; Criminal Offenders being distinguished from Vagrants.

VAGRANTS.

Imprisonment, for												Not Convicted.			Total Vagrants.		
48 Hours.						24 Hours.											
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.			Ages.		
10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 years and under	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 Years and under	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 Years and under	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
..
..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	41	..	428
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	39	..	181
..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	49	45	476
																196	83
																	316

own Gaols in the Year 1856, by Ages and Sexes, Criminal Offenders being distinguished vagrants.

Father Dead.																	
Vagrants.						Criminals.						Vagrants.					
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.					
10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 years and under	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17, and under 21.
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
..	..	36	3	6	11	3	..	27	10	8	14	7	6	4	5	2	2
6	..	294	..	2	..	5	..	137	..	122	..	22	..	64	..	10	..
..	8	..	54	..	110	..	..	..	53	..	93	..	14	..	30	..	70
6	3	33	57	8	121	8	..	164	63	131	107	29	20	68	35	12	72

Condition as to Parentage of Juvenile Offenders Committed to the several County and Town Gaols.

County and Town Gaols.	Mother Dead.												Could not be Ascertained.							
	Criminals.						Vagrants.						Criminals.			Vagrants.				
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.			Ages.				
	10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.		Above 10 and under 17.		17 and under 21.		Above 10 and under 17.		17 and under 21.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin County .. .. .	..	..	11	6	10	6	1	..	3	3	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
Dublin City ; Richmond Bridewell ..	3	..	70	..	46	..	4	..	46	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Grangegorman Penitentiary ..	..	..	..	32	..	89	..	10	..	12	..	28	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	3	..	81	38	56	95	5	10	49	15	7	29	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..

County and Town Gaols.	Having Stepmother.												Included .. .					
	Criminals.						Vagrants.						Abandoned .. .					
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.					
	10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17 and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17.		17, and under 21.	
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Dublin County	4	4	3	2	..	..	1	2	1	1	1	..	5	6	3	4
Dublin City— Richmond Bridewell	12	..	5	15	..	2	6	..	2	..
Grangegorman Peniten...	2	..	6	1	..	3	2
Total,	16	6	8	8	16	3	3	4	1	..	11	6	5	6

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Totals.												Included in foregoing Columns.												
Criminals.						Vagrants.						Having Stepfather.												
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.												
years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17	17 and under 21.							
1	...	114	34	82	61	8	6	48	15	10	14	...	...	6	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
8	...	599	...	514	...	41	...	428	...	73	...	1	...	24	...	6	...	2	...	9	...	...	...	...
...	3	...	201	...	646	...	39	...	181	...	302	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	3	713	235	596	707	49	45	466	196	83	314	1	...	30	1	7	1	2	...	9	...	...	...	...

Sex.		Absconded from Parents.														Illegitimate.									
Vagrants.		Criminals.						Vagrants.								Criminals.					Vagrants.				
Ages.		Ages.						Ages.								Ages.					Ages.				
Male and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17.	17, and under 21.
3	1	..	..	..	13	5	12	9	..	..	5	4	..	1	..	..	2	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	...	...	17	..	9	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	...	..	..	..	...	..	...	..	..	..	..
2	1	..	..	...	30	14	21	76	..	..	6	4	1	3	..	..	2	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Gaols in the year 1856, by Ages and Sexes, Criminal Offenders being distinguished Vagrants

other Localities.												Total.											
Vagrants.						Criminals.						Vagrants.											
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.											
10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.							
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.						
2	..	36	3	7	11	4	..	114	24	82	61	8	6	48	15	10	14						
24	..	332	..	55	..	28	..	599	..	514	..	41	..	428	..	73	..						
..	27	..	122	..	201	..	3	..	201	..	646	..	29	..	181	..	302						
26	27	368	125	62	212	32	3	713	235	596	707	49	45	466	196	83	316						

and Town Gaols, in the year 1856, by Ages and Sexes, Criminal Offenders being from Vagrants.

Imperfectly.												Knew Spelling.											
Vagrants.						Criminals.						Vagrants.											
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.											
10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.							
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.						
..	..	29	5	1	1	1	..	33	8	9	14	2	..	7	4	1	..						
2	..	76	..	10	..	8	..	73	..	21	..	9	..	82	..	..	..			
..	12	..	56	..	124	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	12	96	61	11	125	9	..	106	8	30	17	11	..	89	4	1	..						

State of Education, on Committal, of Juvenile Offenders Committed to the several
being distinguished

County and Town Gaols.	Knew Alphabet.												Wholly			
	Criminals.						Vagrants.						Criminals.			
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.			
	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	
Dublin County ..	M. 2	F. ..	M. 16	F. 4	M. 6	F. 3	M. 1	F. ..	M. 3	F. 2	M. ..	F. ..	M. ..	F. ..	M. 5	F. 10
Dublin City—																
Richmond B., ..	.. ..	.. ..	11	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	16	.. ..	166	77
Grangegorman P.	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	1	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	171	253
Total ..	2	..	87	4	7	3	1	..	3	2	..	..	16	..	171	271

Religious Professions of Juvenile Offenders Committed in the Year 1856 to the
distinguished

County and Town Gaols.	Protestant.												Presbyterian.			
	Criminals.						Vagrants.						Criminals.			
	Ages.						Ages.						Ages.			
	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	10 years and under.	Above 10 and under 17 Years.	17 and under 21 Years.	
Dublin County, ..	M. 1	F. ..	M. 5	F. 6	M. 6	F. 9	M. ..	F. ..	M. 1	F. 2	M. ..	F. ..	M. ..	F. ..	M. ..	F. ..
Dublin City—																
Richmond B., ..	1	..	37	..	59	..	10	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
Grangegorman P.,	..	1	..	16	..	24	..	3	..	4	..	6	..	..	..	..
Total, ..	2	1	42	22	65	33	10	3	13	6	..	6	..	..	1	..

County and Town Gaols, in the year 1856, by Ages and Sexes, Criminal Offenders from Vagrants.

Illiterate.						Could not be Ascertained.				Totals.												
Vagrants.						Criminals.				Criminals.						Vagrants.						
Ages.						Ages.				Ages.						Ages.						
10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 7 Years.		17 and under 21 Year.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
5	6	1	1	1	2	1	..	..	..	4	..	114	34	82	61	8	6	48	15	10	14
29	..	87	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	28	..	599	..	514	..	41	..	428	..	73	..
...	21	..	84	..	81	3	...	21	..	646	..	39	..	181	..	303	..
34	27	88	85	32	83	1	..	..	..	32	3	713	235	596	707	49	45	476	196	83	316

several County and Town Gaols, by Ages and Sexes, Criminal Offenders being from Vagrants.

Roman Catholic.												Totals.												
Criminals.						Vagrants.						Criminals.						Vagrants.						
Ages.						Ages.						Ages.						Ages.						
10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		10 Years and under.		Above 10 and under 17 Years.		17 and under 21 Years.		
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
3	..	109	28	6	52	8	6	47	13	10	14	4	..	114	34	82	61	8	6	48	15	10	14	
27	..	562	..	454	..	31	..	416	..	73	..	28	..	599	..	514	..	41	..	428	..	73	..	
..	2	..	185	..	622	..	36	..	177	..	296	..	3	..	201	..	646	..	29	..	181	..	3	2
30	2	671	213	530	674	39	42	453	190	83	310	32	3	713	235	596	707	49	45	476	196	83	316	

Table showing the Number of Juvenile Offenders Committed in 1856, who had been in Twelve to Sixteen Times, and Twenty-one to Twenty-six Times and upwards, from ascertained from the records of the Gaols, or other reliable sources, Criminal Offenders.

County and Town Gaols.	HOW MANY HAD																			
	Twice.		Three Times.		Four Times.		Five Times.		Six Times.											
	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.	Criminals.	Vagrants.				
Dublin County, ...	M. 25	F. 12	M. 7	F. 1	M. 9	F. 7	M. 6	F. 2	M. 2	F. ..	M. 6	F. 2	M. 3	F. 2	M. 3	F. ..				
Dublin City—																				
Richmond B. ...	124	..	32	..	40	..	20	..	31	..	15	..	31	..	7	..	12	..		
Grangegorman P.	122	..	69	..	92	..	45	..	47	..	28	..	32	..	25	..	24	..	
Total, ...	149	124	39	60	49	99	26	47	33	47	21	30	34	34	10	26	13	24	6	24

Condensed from the Dublin Metropolitan Police Tables. Table showing the Age, Sex, Convicted during

Ages.	Total.		Death.		Totals.								Transported for							
					Trans.				Imprisonment.				Fined, Held to Bail, &c.				Life.			
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Under 10 Years,
10 Years and under 15,
15
Total,

Twice, Three Times, Four Times, Five Times, Six Times, Seven to Eleven Times, first Committal in any year to the 31st December, 1856, by Sexes, so far as could be distinguished from Vagrants.

COMMITTED.																Number of Individual Juveniles Committed in 1856.				Number of Com- mitals of Juve- niles in 1856.				
to 11 Times.				12 to 16 Times.				17 to 20 Times.				21 to 26 Times and upwards.												
Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		Criminals.		Vagrants.		
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
5	1	3	4	2	1	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	183	67	54	26	200	95	66	35
9	..	19	..	20	..	14	..	..	11	..	6	5	..	30	..	903	..	253	..	1141	..	542	..
..	17	..	18	..	9	..	9	..	1	..	6	..	1	..	2	..	442	..	285	..	850	..	522	..
4	18	22	22	22	10	16	9	10	1	11	6	5	1	33	6	1086	509	307	312	1341	945	608	557	

Sentences of Persons, (not exceeding 20 years of Age) Committed for Trial, who were Year 1856.

Imprisoned for																FINED, HELD TO BAIL, &c							
1 Years Penal Servitude	3 Years Penal Servitude	6 Years Penal Servitude	5 Years Penal Servitude	4 Years Penal Servitude	2 Years and upwards	12 Months & under 2 Years.	6 Months & under 12.	1 Month and under 6	Under 1 Month	Fined.		Held to Bail, &c.		Recognition forfeited									
M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
..
..
..	1	..	..	..	26	3	2	..	17	5	19	4	8	6	..	..	..	..	8	..
..	1	..	..	..	26	3	2	..	20	6	22	5	22	7	..	..	..	..	2	..

(Condensed from the Dublin Metropolitan Police Tables.)

Table showing the Ages of Persons (not exceeding 20 years of age), Discharged, Summarily Convicted, and Committed for Trial, and of those so Committed who were Convicted during the Year 1856.

	Total			AGES.					
				Under 10 years of age.		10 years and under 15.		15 years and under 20.	
	M. & F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
Discharged by Magistrates	14,506	6,617	7,889	161	131	728	200	1,164	659
Summarily Convicted, .	23,692	12,410	11,282	167	113	796	229	1,996	1,003
Committed for Trial, .	678	376	302	.	.	26	8	110	32
Total taken into custody	38,876	19,403	19,473	328	244	1,550	437	3,270	1,694
Summarily Convicted, as above, .	23,692	12,410	11,282	167	113	796	229	1,966	1,003
Convicted of those Committed for Trial .	413	247	166	.	.	20	3	81	18
Total Convicted, .	24,105	12,657	11,448	167	113	816	232	2,077	1,021
Discharged by Magistrates as above, .	14,506	6,617	7,889	161	131	728	200	1,164	659
Discharged, Acquitted, &c. of those Committed for Trial, .	265	129	136	.	.	6	5	29	14
Total Discharged .	14,771	6,746	8,025	161	131	734	205	1,193	673

(Condensed from the Dublin Metropolitan Police Tables.)

Comparative Table of the Age, Sex, and Sentences of the Persons Committed for Trial, who were convicted for the Years 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, and 1856.

AGES.	Years.	Totals.		Sentences.				Fined, Held to Bail, &c.					
				Death.		Transportation.						Imprisonment.	
		M. & F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M.	F.	M. & F.	M.	F.
Under 10 years of age,	1850	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1851	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1852	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1853	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1854	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1855	1	1	.	.	.	.	1	1	.	.	.	.
1856	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
10 years and under 15,	1850	40	83	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1851	52	43	.	.	1	1	39	7	.	.	.	.
	1852	32	26	.	.	3	3	49	9	.	.	.	.
	1853	49	38	.	.	3	3	29	23	.	.	.	.
	1854	46	37	.	.	5	4	44	34	10	.	.	.
	1855	90	18	.	.	.	.	46	37	9	.	.	.
1856	23	20	.	.	.	.	30	18	12	.	.	.	
15 years and under 20,	1850	225	186	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
	1851	230	195	.	.	29	24	195	161	34	1	1	1
	1852	262	218	.	.	34	31	195	163	32	1	1	1
	1853	231	177	.	.	39	36	219	178	41	4	4	4
	1854	207	172	.	.	34	25	197	152	45	.	.	.
	1855	116	85	.	.	2	2	203	168	35	2	2	2
1856	99	81	.	.	.	.	116	85	31	.	.	.	
						5	5	91	73	18	3	3	3

With facts like these before them it is strange that our legislators and those intrusted with the administration of justice, should lag behind the public, and act as a species of drag upon the desire which many entertain of advancing the Reformatory question in Ireland. Some object to giving power to Irish magistrates to commit to Reformatories, and desire to see the power of committal confined to Judges of Assizes and Assistant Barristers. Others object to the adoption of the great principle of Parental Responsibility.

We have heard grave lawyers and Members of Parliament say—“It is better to leave things as they are than expose the children to the dangers that would beset them.” This is no more than the talk of ignorance or the excuse of laziness. What is the “danger?” If the act direct that the child shall be sent to a school managed by those of the same religion as the parents—if it do not direct that the child shall be sent to such school as the parent “*shall select*”—then we see no danger, more especially if full power of appeal be given from the justices to the Assistant Barrister, and if wide and free authority to change be given to the Chief Secretary, as is extended to the Home Secretary in England.

The schools must be separate. This is the opinion of all who have with experience expressed themselves upon this part of the question, and these opinions were stated as follows, in a letter on Reformatory Schools for Ireland, addressed some months ago to the Right Hon. E. Horsman, when Chief Secretary. The writer is referring to a proposed Reformatory Act for Ireland, and continues:—

The provisions of this section, it must be admitted by all who know the state of religious feeling in Ireland, are strictly requisite in any such Bill as that before us, if it be intended to secure public confidence for the measure. But indeed the authority of Mettray is in favor of the principle herein contained. Catholics form as large a proportion of the great body of criminals, compared with Protestants, in Ireland as in France, for the simple reason, that those of the former religion are most exposed to temptation, and are the vast majority of the population. Besides, if further proof of the necessity for this rule, and of its good sense, were needed, it is furnished by our esteemed friend, Mr. Recorder Hall, who, in his admirable Lecture on Mettray, informs us—“all the colonists at Mettray are Roman Catholics, but this is only to avoid the inconvenience of mixing children of different persuasions. M. le Comte de Gasparin,

the President of the Society, is himself a Protestant ; children of that faith are sent to a Protestant colony at Sainte Foy." And I know, from M. Martin, the Protestant head of this Protestant Colony, that he believes the Protestants and Catholics cannot be reformed together—that if the boys do not quarrel, the chaplains most surely will disagree.

It may be objected to this section, that it is in direct controversion of the principles of the Irish System of National Education : none admire that system more earnestly than I, and did I consider the objection founded in truth, I would at once oppose the section as being a check upon the progression and full developement of the greatest legislative boon ever conferred upon Ireland. But it is not opposed to it. By the National System religion is made the companion of literature and science ; it is combined with the system, so that those who have never fallen into crime may learn that the avoidance of crime and the love of virtue are the greatest duties of life ; but in the Reformatory School all have fallen into crime, and most require to be taught what virtue is. In the National School the knowledge, and the acceptance of God's law, are taken as admitted rules of conduct ; in the Reformatory School the ignorance of this law, or knowledge of it warped from its true position, as the rule of duty, must be considered as the great difficulty to be encountered ; yet, in this same school, religion must be made the be all and the end all of every hope of Reformation,—it must be the lever to raise the " Home Heathen " to the knowledge of his merciful, omnipotent Father.

As to the absurdity of objecting that this section would encourage and acknowledge the teaching of what some well-meaning but thoughtless people call " Popery," the thing is simply ridiculous. Ireland is, in numbers, a Catholic country ; the vast mass of its criminal population must of necessity be of that religion, or they must have learned just so much of it as to make them totally incapable of being reformed through the medium of any other faith. It should also be borne in mind, that for a long series of years paid Catholic Chaplains have been appointed to all our Prisons, and in the justice of this arrangement for Ireland, my good friend and fellow countryman, the Rev. Henry Kingsmill, the excellent Chaplain of Pentonville Prison, agrees, even whilst contending most vigorously, in his letter addressed, on the appointment of a Catholic

Chaplain to Pentonville Prison, to Lord Palmerston, against the adoption of the same principle in England.

Other considerations may be urged in support of this section. First, if young offenders of different creeds are sent to the same Reformatory, the system will entail a double set of Chaplains, possibly a double staff of officers for each Institution. Second, by combining the two religions in Protestant and Catholic "families" within the same Reformatory, we shall expose the Institution to all those disheartening, embarrassing, and unseemly sectarian squabbles, which at present disgrace the administration of our Poor Houses. Third, the combination of religions will lead to frequent disturbance of arrangements upon Catholic holidays and fasting days. Fourth, the combination will produce distrust amongst the people in Ireland, who are but too apt to consider that all combination in such Institutions as Prisons and Reformatories is designed for the purpose of affording facilities for proselytism. Fifth, and most important of all, if it be admitted, as it must be, that religion is the great means of Juvenile Reformation, it becomes at once evident that owing to the great, wide, and important differences, between the externals of the two religions, the professors of them never can be placed together in Reformatories, if the peculiar means of Reformation afforded by each faith are to be employed effectively, and, at the same time, inoffensively, to those of the opposite creed.

I am not unsupported, in these opinions here expressed upon this second section, by the perfect judgment of those in England who are best able to write with authority and weight of knowledge upon this important topic. Referring to the system of separation, as contemplated by the second section, one of the oldest, most able, and most clear-judging advocates of the Reformatory principle in England, Mr. Recorder Hill, thus writes to me, replying to a query addressed by me to him, in requesting his opinion of the section :—

"I do not look upon the arrangement as a boon to the professors of either creed, but as a boon to the state. This state is expending money to reform young offenders—the religion of those offenders may be made a potent engine for advancing the object. On the other hand, a religion which they have been taught to fear and hate and the more contact with which will disunite them from those of their own communion, will retard the reformatory progress, instead of aiding it, and will prove an evil instead of a blessing.

"I perfectly agree with you that the two modes of faith are so dissimilar and repugnant to each other in their eternal demonstrations

that they ought to be kept widely apart. In the great Prison of the Murate at Florence, I observed an arrangement of altars by which the prisoners could at all times of the day see the various emblems of their worship before them, and I have no doubt that it had been found, by experience, an effect was produced on the minds of the prisoners by this religious apparatus. But all *that* is opposed to the feelings of Protestants, and would assuredly produce no salutary effect on prisoners of that faith.

"Why then should the Protestant be subjected to the constant sight of what would be likely to give him a scoffing turn, the most pernicious direction in which his mind could move; or on the other hand, why should the Roman Catholic be deprived of that which may be a source of consolation to him in his misery."

This is the opinion of a sincere Protestant who has not suffered Creed to crush Christianity. Mr. Hill is accurate in his estimate of the manner in which these symbols work upon the mind of Catholics. James Wilson, of the Belmont Factory, Vauxhall, one of the most eloquent and earnest men in England, thus writes upon this topic, describing the death of a young man, a Catholic, who had worked in the Factory, in one of his admirable letters addressed to the workmen:—

"Before leaving Creamour's death-bed, it is worth remarking to you how good a place it was for learning the wrongness of a practice that we zealous Protestants are very apt to let ourselves fall into—the practice of lumping up together a great many things, some very good, some very bad, and some neither good nor bad, and sticking the label 'Popery' upon the whole bundle, and then thinking it a religious duty to hate, as something belonging to the service of the devil, every single thing in the bundle, and to cry out against any one whom we may see trying to use any of these things in his service to God.

"I told you that Creamour was very often in such agony that he could neither speak to nor listen to any one at his bedside. Yet these were the times even more than any others when one would wish to keep religious thoughts uppermost in his mind—times when one would especially wish him to remember that, while he was bearing this great pain as a part of the consequences of his own sins, and yet only for his good, there was One who had borne far greater pain, not for sin of His own, but for ours, and not for any good to Himself, but only for our good.

"But how was it possible to say all this to a person in too great pain to be able to attend to you? To a Protestant it would indeed have been impossible to say it, for to attempt to say it by using one's own mouth, and forcing him to use his ears and to give his attention, would have been mere useless cruelty; and the only way of saying all one wished to say, with almost certain success and without pain or effort to the poor sufferer, would so offend his prejudices, that it

would not do to make use of it: so one must submit just to watch the suffering in silence, without attempting to give spiritual help of any sort.

Crucifixes.

"But with a Roman Catholic there was no such difficulty. To him one could say all without words and see his eyes brighten a little even in his extreme pain, showing how perfectly he understood what was meant, and yet feel that, instead of exciting and exhausting him by forcing his attention, one had soothed and comforted him by the representation, in a way to be taken in at one glance and without effort, of the Cross, and of our Lord in His agony upon it—this held up before the eyes, and then put into the hand, said more than words could say, and the look with which it was received said more than words could say in the way of answer."

When two Protestants, with heads of Philosophers and hearts of Christians, write thus, can one wonder that we dwell upon this point? A Catholic may say—"If the emblems and symbols of my belief are beneficial, why should I not have them before me? I have no right, and I have no wish, to obtrude them upon you, but you do me injustice, you do the Reformatory Principle an injustice, if you prevent me, by your presence, from adopting any aid to the most effectual means of amendment."

Most of our readers are aware that about two years ago a Reformatory Schools' Bill for Ireland was introduced by Government to the House of Commons, and was re-introduced in May or June, 1856, in a form (if possible) more dangerous and objectionable than when first placed before the country.

By the original Bill justices were empowered to commit to Reformatories, no provision being made that the young offenders so committed should be sent to Reformatories managed by persons of the religion of the juvenile's parents. This section was at once opposed by the Roman Catholic members, and by the bishops of that Church. The Chief Secretary expressed his anxiety to act fairly by all religions, and now what was the result, as we have it in the Amended Bill? By the third section the judge or justice was to commit to a school managed by those of the religion of the young offender, or to such Reformatory "*as the parents, or guardians, or near relations of such offender may select.*"

It must be kept clearly in mind that, by the fourth section of the Amended Bill, "*any House of Refuge for Juvenile Offenders, or any Industrial School, or othersimilar institution,*" might, if the managers or directors should desire it, be certified as a Reformatory. Further,

it must be also kept in mind that, by the seventh section of the Amended Bill, the parents of any offender committed to a Reformatory would be liable to contribute, if of sufficient ability, a sum not exceeding five shillings per week towards his support; but any two justices might, "*upon consideration of all the circumstances of the case,*" if they thought fit, order any lesser sum as that which the parent should be bound to pay to the Reformatory in which his child or *step-child* should be confined.

By the third section the juvenile might be sent to such Reformatory as his parent, guardian, or near relatives might select—*step-parents* being included. By the fourth section *any* of our Ragged Schools, or other "similar institutes," could be certified as Reformatories; and by the seventh section any "two justices" might name the sum to be paid by the parents, or step-parents, or guardians, or near relatives of the juvenile, to the Reformatory.

No man in Ireland can conceal from himself that this would be but to give a legislative help to that system of proselytism supported in our Irish Ragged Schools by the money of English and Irish fanatics—a system of corruption of which Dr. Cullen, in a pastoral read in all his churches, Sunday, June 8th, 1856, thus wrote:—

"But our enemies are not satisfied with heaping insult and contumely on us: they have recourse to bribes and gifts to obtain the perversion of the poor and destitute, and especially of children. Unfortunately, the late famine, and the ruthless anxiety of many landlords to clear their estates of the poor peasantry, have filled this city with misery and want. Thousands of these victims of want or oppression crowd our streets. Bigotry and fanaticism have determined to traffic on their misery; and, with that view, Ragged Schools have been opened, or put in greater activity, in several parts of the city. Lurgan-street, Townsend-street, the Coombe, and Rutland-street, are the seat of schools of this description, which are met with also in other parts of the city, on a smaller scale; and there are agents sent through the streets, to seize on poor neglected children, and to seduce them, oftentimes against the will of their parents, into those schools.

"These Ragged Schools are purely aggressive, instituted for the purpose of depriving poor Catholic children of their faith. If any family be in distress, the agents of those schools make a regular contract with its members. They say to the parents, 'Send your child

to the proselytizing school, and we will provide both for his and your wants—all we require is, that you allow us to imbue his mind with heresy.' The parents are thus tempted to sacrifice their own souls, and to immolate their child to Baal, by the hope of some temporal relief. If they reject the proffered boon, then the pretended charity of the proselytizer leaves them to pine in misery, and to witness the starvation of the child. When a father dies, leaving an unprovided family, similar offers are made to the widow: her children will be protected, but only on the condition that they renounce their faith.

"Can anything, dearly-beloved brethren, be more degrading or more unworthy than thus to trample on Ohristian charity, under the pretence of promoting religion? And what fruits are to be expected from a system so perverse and anti-Christian? Nothing but hypocrisy and lying, scepticism and unbelief; and these are the only results obtained by a most profligate expenditure."

What was there to prevent all or any of these schools from being certified under this Bill, if it became law? All are within the spirit and letter of the fourth section. Parents or relatives have the power of selection, and, though Justice may frown, yet justices will, "on consideration of all the circumstances of the case," use that power which the law would give them, of making the weekly payments greater or lesser, as the parent, step parent, guardian, or near relative, should prove steadfast or elastic in conscience, and in faith.

The Bill made no provision that if juveniles were sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment previous to committal to a Reformatory, they shall pass these 14 days in separation.

The bill, however, was laid aside, and so the matter rested; but now, owing to the success attending the project for the opening of the Cork Reformatory, the necessity for an Irish Reformatory Schools' Bill is of pressing and immediate importance. We have, we presume, already given facts and figures more than sufficient to prove the necessity for Irish Reformatories, but the following passage from the *Cork Daily Reporter*, of December 5, 1857, is so much in point that it would be unjust to exclude it:—

Following the excellent example which has been so prosperously set afloat, it has been determined that a Protestant Reformatory shall be established. It is quite admitted that these establishments must be exclusively devoted to persons of individual creeds. As their morals

are the agencies through which they must be affected, it follows that the spiritual direction brought to bear upon them must be active, and were the clergymen of various sects to operate in the same field, annoyances would follow. We do not look upon religious charity as debatable ground where sects may quarrel for people's redemption, but rather regard it in that fair view which is now growing, of separating those that adhere, even in vice, to various persuasions, and doing them all the service and benefit which human means can bestow. In reformatories, that most prevalent and injurious cry, on both sides, to any work of benevolence—that it is only a means to proselytism—can never arise. Every inmate of these asylums must have undergone a criminal conviction and come from a gaol. Then one of the earliest inquiries is, to what religion the offender belongs, and accordingly to that primal declaration of faith will the person pass to the Catholic or Protestant Reformatory, so that it is idle to introduce this element of disunion into good endeavours, which it can never tangibly reach. If we were to exhaust homilies upon the need of such refuges for those that wander from the right path, they would be less striking than the cold statement of the existing reality taken from any day's experience of a criminal court. To illustrate this fact we take gaol biographies written in very terse and significant characters of two criminals standing before his Worship the Recorder, upon yesterday: one male, the other a female culprit. Both were young and able, but their career of vice has been as compulsive from their first slip from rectitude as the current "of the Propontic." If the dates and offences of these persons be studied, we doubt that any more pressing arguments in favour of the call which exists for Reformatories could be adduced. The dark and painful stories of these two lives are written in these characters:—

FRANCIS HEALY.

Before the recorder, 28th Oct., 1850, for stealing linen, ticking, and a box of blue. Not guilty.

Convicted before the Magistrates,

28th Nov., 1850—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—1 week hard labour and a whipping.

6th Dec., 1850—Stealing a canister—14 days hard labour, and whipped.

24th December, 1850—Stealing a shoe—3 days hard labour, and whipped.

7th March, 1851—Stealing a pewter quart—24 hours hard labour, and whipped.

17th March, 1851—Stealing a pewter measure—one week hard labour, and whipped.

26th May, 1851—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—14 days hard labour, and whipped.

16th June, 1851—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—1 week hard labour and whipped.

18th July, 1851—To keep the peace—1 month or bail.

2nd September, 1851—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—3 days hard labour, and whipped.

- 3rd October, 1851—Picking pockets—1 month hard labour, and whipped.
- 15th November, 1851—Picking Pockets—14 days hard labour, and whipped.
- 6th December, 1851—Picking pockets—1 week hard labour, and whipped.
- 17th December, 1851—To keep the peace—1 month or bail.
- 21st February, 1852—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—3 days, and whipped.
- 4th May, 1852—To keep the peace—2 months or bail.
- 5th July, 1852—Picking pockets—eleven days hard labour, and whipped.
- 22nd July, 1852—Stealing a pair of boots—1 week hard labour.
- 29th October, 1852—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.
- 26th November, 1852—Suspected to be a robber—2 months or bail.
- 31st January, 1853—Stealing a handkerchief—2 months hard labour, and whipped.
- 28th May, 1853—Stealing a watch—1 week hard labour, and whipped.
- 22nd June, 1853—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.
- 4th August, 1853—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—1 month hard labour, and whipped.
- 29th Sept., 1853—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—14 days hard labour, and whipped.
- 26th Oct., 1853—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.
- 28th November, 1853—Suspected to be a robber—3 months or bail.
- 20th Feb., 1854—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.
- 11th April, 1854—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.
- 19th May, 1854—Stealing a handkerchief—3 months hard labour, and whipped.
- 15th August, 1854—Stealing a handkerchief—1 month hard labour, and whipped.
- 25th October, 1854—Suspected to be a robber—3 months or bail.
- 26th July, 1855—Stealing a handkerchief—3 months hard labour, and whipped.
- 25th April, 1855—Stealing a handkerchief—1 month hard labour, and whipped.
- 8th Oct., 1855—Suspected to be a robber—3 months or bail.
- 8th Feb., 1856—Suspected to be a robber—2 months hard labour, or bail.
- 24th April, 1856—Attempting to steal—1 month hard labour.
- 18th June—Stealing a pocket-handkerchief—7 days hard labour, and whipped.
- 5th August, 1856—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.
- 18th Dec., 1856—Suspected to be a robber—2 months or bail.
- 7th March 1857—Suspected to be a robber—1 month or bail.—41 times.
- Convicted before the Recorder, 17th April, 1857, attempting to steal a handkerchief—6 months and hard labour.

CATHERINE BRIEN, 14.

Convicted before the Magistrates,

- 12th September, 1851—Stealing a knife—1 month hard labour.
 16th March, 1852—Stealing an apron—1 week hard labour.
 15th June, 1852—Committing felony—1 month hard labour.
 21st July, 1852—Stealing a cap—1 month hard labour.
 Convicted before the Recorder, 31st December, 1852, for stealing a hydrometer. Sentence—4 months hard labour, and one week every second month in solitary.
 Convicted before the Recorder, 17th February, 1854, for stealing 3 leather boots. 4 days in solitary.
 Convicted before the Recorder, 7th April, 1854—stealing a boot—4 months hard labour, and one week each month in solitary confinement.
 Convicted at Spring Assizes, 1855—Stealing a pair of capes—twelve months, from committal, hard labour, and 7 days solitary every second month.
 Convicted before the Recorder, 4th April, 1856, for stealing a polka jacket. Imprisoned for 14 months, hard labour.

Let us now see the cost of these recommittals, in England, and judge of the cost in Ireland, and trace the young criminal down to his sentence as a convict.

First we take the evidence of our friend, the Rev. John Clay, for more than thirty-four years the chaplain of the Preston House of Correction; Mr. Clay is an authority of the very highest order, and has stated,—

“Looking to the criminal statistics published by Captain Willis, the Chief Constable of Manchester, and to the details which are given in the Liverpool calendars, and assuming that the ages of transports, generally, are represented in those returns, it would appear that of the 3,100 I have mentioned, 43 per cent. are under 21 years old—1,333; 45 per cent. are between twenty-one and thirty years of age—1,395; and twelve per cent., or 372, are above thirty years of age. Now, it is not taking too much for granted to say that criminals, sentenced to transportation before they reach thirty-one years of age, have commenced their criminal career at a time of life when they should have been learning a better way. But society has *ignored* their very existence. Let us see what society pays for its indifference. Offenders, generally, are not sentenced to transportation until they have appeared at the bar four or five times. I will, therefore, suppose the expense of between three and four prosecutions, at Assizes or Sessions, to be £50. The average imprisonment of each offender *before* transportation may be taken at three years, and the expense of it at £65; three years' probation in separate confinement at Parkhurst, or public works, £50; removal to the Colonies, &c., &c., £35; total, £200. So that when 3,000 sentences of transportation are passed in a year, we may consider them tantamount to a notification to the public that a last instalment of a sum exceeding half a million sterling is about to be called for! To be as precise as

the nature of this enquiry will allow, the 2,728 convicts under thirty-one years of age, to whom I have already alluded as having run the career of juvenile criminality, represent a cost *waste* of £545,600! But let it be remembered that the felony of this Kingdom—and whether juvenile and adult, it belongs to this question to consider the fact—is not maintained, while at large, for nothing. Having investigated, to a considerable extent, the rates of income derived by thieves from their practices, and having obtained estimates of the same thing from intelligent and experienced convicts themselves, I believe myself to be within the real truth, when I assume such income to be more than £100 a-year, for each thief! Well, then, allowing only two year's full practice to one of the dangerous class previous to his sentence of transportation, I do not know how the conclusion can be escaped that, in one way or another, the public—the easy, indifferent, callous public—has been, and is mulcted to the amount of more than a million sterling, by, and on account of, its criminals annually transported! But its criminals who are not transported—still living on their dishonest gains, or in our costly prisons! We must not forget them in our calculations of the cost of crime, though it will be sufficient for my present purpose merely to refer to them, and to say that I am convinced that their cost to the community in and out of prison amounts annually to some millions! This assertion may be somewhat startling: I will only state one fact in support of it. Some years ago a committee of inquiry into the annual depredations of the Liverpool thieves, stated the amount of those depredations at *seven hundred thousand pounds*! Need more be said on the economical part of this momentous question? Need I ask you to balance between the charge of training the young outcasts of the country to godly and industrious habits, and the waste of money, time, and souls, consequent upon our neglect of an undeniable Christian duty?"

This is the result of "cheap" management, but the late Mr. Rushton, the estimable police magistrate of Liverpool, stated, to a Committee of the House of Lords, in the year 1847, that 14 juvenile cases in Liverpool cost 100 guineas each besides the expence of transportation. Seventy-seven boys were placed in the Warwick Asylum at a cost of, for the whole, £1,026, and 41 were reclaimed. "So that," he continues, "if you divide the cost by the number reformed, it will be found that while on our system at Liverpool it has cost 100 guineas in each case, and that 10 out of 14 have been transported, it has only cost 25 guineas in the Asylum, where 41 out of 77 have been reformed." With these facts before him, Mr. Frederic Hill, wrote most truly:—"The expense of our present system is enormous. We commit and re-commit, each re-committal being a certain cause of increased future expense, as the culprit is but hardened in vice by contact with his fellows. From a return made to the House of Commons in February, 1852, on the motion

of Sir John Pakington, of the number of criminals not exceeding sixteen years of age, committed to prison in the years 1849 and 1850 we learn that in 1850, the total number of these juvenile offenders committed was 7070. Of these about three-tenths were under thirteen years of age; and of 757, under sixteen years of age, and remaining in prison on the first of November, 1851, 205 had been in prison once before, 90 twice, 49 three times, and 85 four times, or oftener; 45 were illegitimate, 329 had lost one parent, 103 were orphans, 327 were unable to read, 554 had no trade or occupation. Had these children been committed to some reformatory school, we might, we would, have been spared the increased expenditure on their re-committal, and they would have become good and virtuous rather than more determinedly vicious."

The late Mr. Sergeant Adams, however, has given some cases which clearly prove the necessity for the schools, and the absurdity of short imprisonments: and every man should ask himself, how many of the 12,238 juveniles, *not more than 16 years of age*, committed during the year 1853 (that in which the Sergeant wrote,) may not have been as woful cases as those two related by Sergeant Adams thus:—

"Thomas Miller, aged 8 years, was tried at Clerkenwell, at the August Sessions, 1845, for stealing boxes, and sentenced to be imprisoned for one calendar month, and once whipped. At the January Sessions, 1846, he was again tried at the Clerkenwell Sessions, for robbing a till, and enquiries then being made, it appeared that, in addition to the above mentioned trial, he had also been twice summarily convicted, and once tried at the Central Criminal Court, during the year 1846. He was in consequence sentenced to 7 years' transportation, but his sentence was commuted to 3 months' imprisonment. On March 14th, 1846, he was again convicted of larceny, before the Common Sergeant; and in the printed sessions cases it is stated that the prisoner had been in custody 8 or 10 times. He was again sentenced to transportation, but his sentence was on this occasion commuted to imprisonment for 2 years. He was discharged on May 13, 1848. In July 1848, he was summarily convicted, and sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment. From that period he has been lost sight of in the Middlesex prisons, until the 4th day of this month (June, 1852), when he was sentenced under the Larceny Act, to be whipped and imprisoned 2 days. *He is now only 12 years of age, and not more than 4 feet 2 inches in height.*"

"Edward Joghill, aged 10 years, has not been yet tried by a jury, but he has, *within the last 2 years, been 8 times summarily convicted*, viz.—

1847.

Feb. 13. For possession of 7 scarfs, &c. 2 months' impris.

May 10. Rogue and vagabond	1 months' impris.
July 10. Possession of a half-sovereign	1 "
Sept. 13. Simple larceny	1 day's impris. and whipped.
Sept. 27. Rogue and vagabond	2 months' impris.
Dec. 31. Simple larceny	1 months' impris. and whipped.

1848.

May 23. Ditto 1 "

1849.

April 15. Ditto 3 "

This return relates to the committals of this boy to *one prison only*."

Great as this expense is to the nation, another, and a very important item, touched upon by Mr. Clay, in the passage already quoted, is the cost inflicted on the public by the unreformed criminals, let loose from our ordinary prisons. Mr. Gardwood quotes, from the *City Mission Reports*, the case of a man who had been twenty years a pickpocket: he had during that period being twenty times in gaol, and had trained five hundred young thieves. In Mr. Clay's *Report* on the Preston House of Correction, for the year 1850, there is a very remarkable and important narrative of the depredations of a gang of fifteen pickpockets. The facts were revealed to Mr. Clay by one of the culprits named Flanagan, and the estimates given were verified by questioning the other members of the "pickpocket division." Mr. Clay writes:—

Estimate of the loss inflicted on the public, by the undermentioned pickpockets, &c., during their several careers:—

1. Richard Clarke, during a career of 6 years	£2820
2. John Clarke, "	5 500
3. Edward Clarke, "	3 1650
4. Ellen Clarke, (O'Neill) "	2½ 1550
5. John O'Neill, "	9 1450
6. Thomas O'Gar, "	6 300
7. James O'Brien, "	3½ 1400
8. Thomas M'Giverin, "	7 1900
9. Thomas Kelty, "	20 8000
10. John Flanagan, "	14 5800
11. John Thompson, "	5 1800
12. John Bohanna, "	6 1500
13. J. Shawe, "	3 600
14. W. Buckley, "	7 2100
15. Sarah Dickenson, "	3 630

 32,000

To give a more exact idea of the extent to which the public may be plundered by a *single hand*, I subjoin the particulars of such rob-

beries as Flanagan can remember to have committed. These particulars are arranged from Flanagan's MS., in the order of their dates. - In making out his list, F. was directed to enumerate those robberies only in which the value exceeded £10. He stated, however, that his robberies *under* £10 would far exceed in amount those *above* that sum. 'Oh, sir,' he said, 'when Macready would be acting at the Manchester Theatre, I could get three watches of a night, besides purses.'

1838 and 1839.

Value.	Where robbery committed.	From whom.
£20	Concert, Liverpool . .	A Gentleman.
15	Theatre, Liverpool . .	A gentleman.
11	Zoological Gardens . .	A lady.
30	Coach-office, Liverpool .	Proprietors.
46	Auction, Broughton-road .	A lady.
30	Auction, Cheetham-hill .	A lady.
15	Auction, Pendleton . .	A lady.
21	Manchester	A till from a liquor-vault.
50	Manchester	A till from a public-house.
11	Leek, Stafford	Shopkeeper.
85	Hanley Races	A gentleman.
49	Northallerton Fair . .	A drunken farmer.
12	Liverpool Packet . . .	Passenger.
18	Liverpool Packet . . .	Passenger.
30	Liverpool Packet . . .	Passenger.
45	Horncastle Fair	A lady.
17	Leeds Fair	A butcher.

1840 and 1841

10	Lincoln Fair	A gentleman.
14	Lincoln Fair	Captain of a boat.
10	Spalding Fair	A farmer.
11	Horncastle Fair	A maltster.
10	Liverpool Races	A gentleman.
16	Liverpool Races	A farmer.
17	Chester Races	A lady.
11	Manchester Races . . .	A lady.

1841 and 1842

10	Manchester Theatre . .	A lady.
70	Bury Fair	A cattle-dealer.
250	In the street at Manchester	An officer of the Highlanders.
15	Knutsford Races	A jockey.
30	Doncaster Races	A publican.
18	Nottingham Races . . .	A butcher.
14	Derby Races	Unknown.
13	Crowle, Lincoln	A publican's wife.
12	Caister, Lincoln	Farmer.
11	Market Raisin	Gentleman's servant.
60	Brigg Fair	Farmer's wife.
21	Louth, Lincolnshire . .	A coachman.

Thus far we have shown, from the best and truest sources, the only methods by which the Prison can be rendered really useful. We squander thousands in prosecution, but we will not spend hundreds in reformation, or in prison education, which will send the young criminal out into the world, able to exist by his own honest industry—an industry which he had learned in the separate cell, where likewise he learned that there was a God to reward and punish. He would be there removed from his vicious companions, and from the old haunts of crime, gaining strength to resist the temptations of former associates—for, as Mr. Plint observes—"The connexion of the young criminal with his class must be broken, ere scholastic instruction can be made to tell on his moral nature. Such instruction will fall upon him as powerless and futile as straw-darts on the scales of Leviathan, so long as the associations and the scenes of his daily domestic life, if domestic it may be called, bring daily more than counteraction."

This counteraction can only be produced by our completely abandoning all forms of short imprisonment: as Lord Brougham, writes:—"Short imprisonments are utterly useless. When the malefactor is aware that his sentence only dooms him to a few weeks, or even to two or three months of confinement, he never submits his mind to his lot, but ever looks forward to the termination of the present restraint. He looks only to the period of his liberation; and his mind is never in that frame which is absolutely indispensable to his conceiving new ideas, forming new plans, falling into new or long-abandoned habits of thinking and acting. There should, then, be no short imprisonment at all. There may, however, with great advantage, be provided *different degrees* of restraint, a *various* scale of indulgence, both as to diet, rest, exercise and amusement. Through these stages the convict should pass; and the last stage should end in his being suffered to work mainly for his own profit, and for amassing a fund to fit him out on his discharge. The lengthening of his time of confinement very considerably beyond the periods now assigned for punishment, would neither be harsh to the culprit, nor expensive to the State."

These are figures referring to England, and proving most patently the effects of short imprisonments—but we now turn to Ireland and we find that, according to the Inspectors-General of Prisons (not Convict but County and City Prisons) these short sentences are fully as destructive of all hope of reformation by imprisonment as in

England. We find that the Inspectors-General write strongly upon this subject, and they are bound to write strongly and indignantly when they know that so long ago as 1850, in the "Richmond Female Penitentiary at Grangegorman, *the almost incredible total of 2,178 committals was represented by only 26 individuals, one having been imprisoned not less than 121 times.*"

Now let us take the recommittals of juveniles in 1855, in Ireland.

RE-COMMITTALS OF JUVENILES.—1855.

	10 Years and under.		16 years and above 10.		Total, 1855.		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M. & F.
Re-committed once ..	24	13	438	119	462	132	594
„ twice, ..	4	5	226	56	230	61	291
„ thrice, ..	2	2	111	25	113	27	140
„ four times, and upwards,	6	19	227	99	233	118	351
	36	39	1002	299	1138	338	1376

Now let us look at the sentences of these Juveniles in 1855 :—

SENTENCES of JUVENILES for Short Terms of Imprisonment.

	Males.	Females.	Total.	No. of days of 24 hours represented.
1 Month and above 14 days, ..	1,657	373	2,030	56,840
14 Days and above 7, ...	1,386	411	1,797	25,158
7 Days and above 48 hours, ..	596	151	747	5,229
48 Hours, ...	210	35	245	490
24 Hours, ...	195	24	219	219
	4,044	994	5,038	87,936

It thus appears, that of the total number of Juveniles sentenced to ordinary terms of imprisonment, only 938 males, and 266 females, in all 1,204, were sentenced for longer periods than *one month* ; but that 4,044 males, and 994 females, in all 5,038, or upwards of *four-fifths* of the whole 6,262, were under sentences ranging from *twenty-four hours to one month* ; and that the average length of imprisonment after sentence, for *each* of these 5,038 Juveniles, taking the maximum of time mentioned under each heading, was only *seventeen days and ten hours*.

These are plain facts, plain to all; but to those who know the philosophy of Prison Discipline, they weakly place before us what Lord Brougham so powerfully expressed in his paper on "The Inefficiency of Simply Penal Legislation," read at the Bristol meeting of the National Reformatory Union, when he wrote :—" *There is nothing more certain than that first offences may, by proper treatment of the offenders, be also made last offences.*"

But how are we to face these evils. We have no act of Parliament to compel the Juvenile Criminal to remain at the school when sent there; it will be, as it used to be in England, that the boy will select the school, from which he has the chance of escape, in preference to the Gaol from which he cannot escape; and it will rest in the tact, judgment, and decision of the Superintendent and Staff to keep him steady and safe. Doubtless we shall have a Reformatory Act for Ireland before long, but still until we shall have it, our School Managers must learn "the use of difficulty;" and upon this subject we refer our readers to Appendix III., the eloquent and most admirable Charge of the Recorder of Birmingham, delivered after the passing of the English Reformatory Schools' Act.

To get the Act must be our first care, and we are happy to be able to place before our readers the draft of a bill which, we are informed, has received the sanction of most of those gentlemen of various religious persuasions who feel an interest in this important subject, viewed in any light, judged by the faith of the Christian, or the logic of the Economist.

By the reformation of the young offender the country will be relieved from the cost of repeated convictions; from the expense of his prison support; from the evil of his corrupting example, and from the loss which his habits of plundering inflict on the community. These are but the worldly considerations and arguments supporting this measure; but a holy, and grave, and paramount argument rings in the eternal wisdom of the Redeemer's warning—"as long as you did it not to one of these least, neither did you do it to me."

The Draft Bill to which we have referred is as follows; we may add, that it has been carefully revised, and its most important sections have been prepared by Mr. Sergeant Berwick, whose great experience enables him to judge how far the provisions of the English Reformatory Acts are adapted to meet the peculiar requirements of Ireland :—

DRAFT OF A BILL FOR THE BETTER CARE AND REFORMATION OF YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS IN IRELAND.

January, 1858.

FOR promoting the establishment and extension of Reformatory Schools for the better training of juvenile offenders in Ireland. Be it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by, and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

I. It shall and may be lawful for her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Ireland, upon application made to him by the Directors or Managers of any such Institution, to direct one of Her Majesty's Inspectors General of Prisons in Ireland, or such special Inspector of Reformatories as may be hereafter appointed, to examine and report to him upon its condition and regulations, and any such institution as shall appear to the satisfaction of the said Chief Secretary, and shall be certified under his hand and seal to be useful and efficient for its purpose, shall be held to be a Reformatory School under the provisions of this act. Provided always that it shall be lawful for any of Her Majesty's Inspectors General of prisons, or such other special Inspector of Reformatories as aforesaid, to visit from time to time any Reformatory School which shall have been so certified as aforesaid, and if upon the report of any such Inspector the said Chief Secretary shall think proper to withdraw his said certificate, and shall notify such withdrawal under his hand to the Directors or Managers of the said institution, the same shall forthwith cease to be a Reformatory School within the meaning of this act.

On application from Managers' Institution to the Chief Secretary, Inspector to report.

II. It shall be lawful for the Grand Jury of any County, County of a City or County of a Town, at any Assizes, and in the County of Dublin at the presenting term for said County, or for the council of any Borough having a separate Court of Sessions of the peace in Ireland, upon the application of the Directors or Managers of any Reformatory School for youthful offenders already established in whole or in part by voluntary contributions, or of the promoters of a Reformatory School intended to be so established, to present a sum of money in aid of such Reformatory School, or of the establishment thereof, to be raised off the said County or Borough, subject to such conditions as may be agreed upon between such Grand Jury or Council and such directors, managers, or promoters.

Power to Justices of a County or Council of Borough to grant money in aid of Reformatory Schools.

Money granted to be applied in purchase of site in building, and for like permanent objects.

III.—THE money so presented, or ordered to be raised under this Act, in aid of a reformatory school, shall be applicable to the following purposes, viz. : Towards defraying the expenses of purchasing the site of a school on its first establishment, or the site of any extension or new establishment for the purposes of a school already established, or the expenses of building or fitting up a school on its first establishment, or erecting, altering, or enlarging or fitting up any buildings for the extension or improvement of a school already established, and the Grand Jury or Council, as the case may be, shall provide for the application of such money accordingly.

No money to be granted to Schools already established unless certified. Plans to be approved by Chief Secretary.

IV.—PROVIDED that no money shall be presented or ordered to be raised as aforesaid under this Act, in aid of any reformatory school established at the time of the Grant, unless the Institution has been certified by the Chief Secretary as aforesaid, nor shall any money be paid under any such presentment or order, in aid of any school which shall have been so certified in case such certificate shall have been withdrawn ; and in every case where money is presented or ordered to be paid under this Act, the plan and particulars of the school intended to be established, or of the extension or new establishment for the purposes of a school already established (as the case may be) shall, before payment of money under the said presentment or order, be submitted to and approved of by the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Justices or Council may contract with the Managers for the reception of Offenders from their County or Borough.

V.—It shall be lawful for the Grand Jury of any county, county of a city, or county of a town, or for the Council of any borough as aforesaid, at a special meeting of such Council called for the purpose, to appoint and empower a Committee of such Grand Jury or Council to enter into an agreement with the Directors or Managers of any Reformatory School certified as aforesaid for the reception and keeping in such school from time to time, of offenders from such County or Borough sentenced to be detained in a Reformatory School in consideration of such periodical payments as may be agreed upon with such Managers or Directors, and such Grand Jury or Council shall present the payments of the money which may from time to time become payable under such agreement without any previous application to a Presentment Sessions.

Monies granted under this act. How to be raised.

VI.—All monies presented to be raised and paid under this Act by any Grand Jury or Council for the purchase of the site of a school, or any extension thereof or for the building and fitting up of a school, or for the extension or improvement of any buildings already erected, shall

be presented and raised in the same manner and shall be subject to the same conditions in all respects as monies to be presented and raised by the Grand Jury or Council respectively, for building or rebuilding or enlarging any gaol, bridewell, house of correction or other prison in Ireland under their management respectively, with like powers to the Lord Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland for the time being, if he or they shall think proper to cause like advances to be made out of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, on the faith of such presentment for the purposes therein named, to be in like manner raised, applied and repaid, and all monies presented to be raised and paid for the reception and keeping of such offenders in such school shall be presented and raised in the same manner in all respects and subject to the same conditions as money to be presented and raised by the Grand Jury of any such county, or by the Grand Jury or Council of any such borough as aforesaid, respectively, for defraying the ordinary current expenditure of their several gaols.

VII.—WHENEVER after the passing of this Act any person shall be convicted of any offence punishable by law before any Judge at assize or Judges sitting under a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, or before any court of Quarter Sessions, or before the Divisional Justices of the Dublin Metropolitan Police District, whose age shall not, in the opinion of such Judge or Court, exceed the age of *sixteen* years, then and in every such case it shall be lawful for the Judge or Court before or by whom such offender shall be so convicted, in addition to the sentence (if any) then and there passed as a punishment for his or her offence, to direct such offender to be sent, at the expiration of such sentence (if any) or forthwith, to some one of the aforesaid Reformatory schools to be named in such direction, the directors or managers of which shall be willing to receive such offender, and to be there detained for a period not less than two years and not exceeding five years, and such offender shall be liable to be detained pursuant to such direction, provided always that no such offender shall be liable or directed to be sent to any such Reformatory except to some one Reformatory under the exclusive management of persons of the same religious persuasion as that professed by the parents, step-parents, or guardians of such juvenile offender, and in all cases in which the religion of the parents, step-parents, or guardians of such juvenile offender is unknown, the said juvenile offender shall be considered as belonging to that religious persuasion in which he or she shall appear to have been baptised, or of which he or she shall profess to be a follower. Provided also that in case the court which shall order such offender to be so sent and detained as aforesaid shall think it right to sentence such offender to a previous term of imprisonment as a punishment for his or her offence, the same shall be directed to be carried out and spent in strict separation, pro-

Juvenile Offenders. How to be dealt with.

Juvenile Offenders to be sent only to Schools managed by persons of same religious belief as parents of such Juveniles.

vided also that the Chief Secretary may at any time order any such offender to be discharged from any such school.*

Power to Treasury to defray cost of maintenance at Reformatory School.

VIII.—It shall be lawful for the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, upon the representation of Her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Ireland, to defray out of any funds which shall be provided by Parliament for that purpose, either the whole cost of the care and maintenance of any Juvenile Offender so detained in any Reformatory School, as aforesaid, at such rate per head, as shall be determined by them, or such portion of such cost as shall be recommended by the said Chief Secretary for Ireland.

Abconding or refractory conduct at Reformatory School. How to be punished.

IX.—AND WHEREAS it is expedient that some provisions should be made for the punishment of any Juvenile Offender, so directed to be detained as aforesaid in any such Reformatory School, who shall abscond therefrom, or wilfully neglect or refuse to abide by, and conform to the rules thereof. Be it enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to and for any Justice of the Peace, or Magistrate, or Police Magistrate, acting in and for the County, City, Borough, Riding or Division, wherein the said offender shall actually be, at the time he or she shall so abscond, or neglect, or refuse, as aforesaid, upon the

* This Section as originally prepared, confined the application of the Bill to the cases of convictions at Assizes and Quarter Sessions of youthful offenders whose age should not exceed fourteen years, in conformity with the opinions expressed by the great body of the friends of the Reformatory Movement in Ireland. The Returns for 1856 and the preceding years afforded grounds to shew that there was a sufficient body of such offenders in Ireland for the full operation of the Reformatory system. Since the original preparation of this Bill, however, the general results of the Returns for 1857, not yet published, have been ascertained, and it will thereby appear that the whole body in Ireland, of Juvenile Delinquents under fifteen years of age, convicted at Assizes and Quarter Sessions for that year does not exceed fifty-nine, and this would at once demonstrate that the adherence to the original intention would leave the great mass of Juvenile Offenders beyond the reach of Reformatory influence. It has therefore been thought right to extend the age, as above, to sixteen years, and to add the cases of conviction before the Dublin Metropolitan Police Courts, to which, as being conducted by Judges of standing, taken from the bar, all acting in unison and under the eyes of the public, no fair objection could be made. How far this change will enlarge the numbers who are to be placed within reach of Reformatory action still remains to be seen, as the Returns for 1857 do not shew the numbers included within this enlarged basis; but should it appear that this is not sufficiently comprehensive it has been suggested by some of the friends of the Reformatory movement, that the Bill might be, without danger, extended to the cases of convictions for *simple larceny, under the Petty Sessions (Ireland) Act*, annexing the additional safeguard against any interference with the religious profession of the offender, that each offender shall be imprisoned for at least 14 days in the county gaol, and that a certificate shall be transmitted with each to the Reformatory in which such offender shall be directed to be confined, signed by the chaplains of the gaol, in which the religious profession to which such offender belongs shall be fully certified.

The following letter from the Recorder of Birmingham is particularly worthy of notice:—
January 13th, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR.—I have read and considered the Draft Bill. It appears to me well adapted, so far as I am competent to form an opinion, for successful working in Ireland.

On this side the Channel we should not like regulations quite so stringent with respect to identity of religious opinions between the young persons and their guardians, at the Reformatories, or their employers afterwards; but I am deeply impressed with the necessity of providing against the danger of collision on this most exciting topic in your Island. Let me observe, however, that although your susceptibilities on the religious question present some difficulties, yet I look forward to their stimulating a wholesome and not unkind rivalry; each party trying how it may best signalize the vital excellencies of reformatory treatment.

My hopes for Ireland have been greatly raised and strengthened by the munificent zeal of the inhabitants of Cork and their friends, who seem determined to secure for that enlightened city, the honor of inaugurating the reformation of Juvenile Offenders in your country.

I shall watch the progress of this establishment with deep interest, and shall always feel obliged for any information respecting it.

Believe me, dear Sir,
Very truly yours,

M. D. HILL.

proof thereof, made before him upon the oath of one credible Witness, by warrant under his hand and seal, to commit the party so offending, for every such offence to any gaol or house or correction for the said County, City, Borough, Riding or Division, with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding six calendar months, such period of imprisonment to be passed in strict separation, and such Offender shall, at the termination of such imprisonment, be transmitted to the same Reformatory to which he or she was originally sentenced, if the Directors or Managers shall be then willing to receive such Offender, there to complete the full term of his or her original sentence.*

* The Recorder of Birmingham writes to us thus:—

Absconding from a Reformatory School is an offence which differs widely in magnitude according to circumstances. If it happen within a short time after the arrival of the young offender, it may often be justly attributed to his want of belief in the disinterestedness of those who profess to have his welfare for their object, unused as he has been perhaps to witness any but selfish conduct among those with whom he has been brought up.

This distrust, combined with an incapacity to understand that he ought to be bound by any restraint which he has the power of casting off, leads not unfrequently to his absconding or deserting, without exactly knowing why or wherefore. At Stretton-on-Dunsmore, we always found that if the lads could be induced to stay for a month or so, the chances were strongly in favour of their staying permanently, and of their reformation being effected. At Stretton it must be remembered there was no legal right to bring them back if they chose to depart.

If, however, the case of an absconding offender is one which evinces an incapacity to be reclaimed by mild treatment, or a determination to resist the discipline of the Reformatory, there can be no doubt that his influence, whatever it may be, on his companions, will be most pernicious, and that it becomes imperative for their sake, and to preserve the moral tone of the establishment, that he should not return; and even if the incorrigible offender do not abscond he ought to forfeit his right to remain at the school. Mettray is armed with the power of sending back incorrigible *colons* to the prison from whence they came, to undergo the remainder of their sentence.

Of late years such is the admirable state of the *colonie*, the power has been very rarely used; sometimes a whole year elapses without giving rise to a single instance of this severity.

I think we cannot do better than act on the precedent of Mettray, with some variations which I will point out, and also the reasons which call for them.

The habit among judges, &c., of inflicting short imprisonment, is so inveterate, that I fear it would not seldom happen, that, having regard to the very light labors imposed in some prisons, a lad would deliberately prefer the Gaol to the Reformatory. This preference is displayed sometimes even at Mettray, where the length of imprisonment which the youth has to encounter is much greater than with us, extending, in certain cases, through the whole of his minority.

I should propose, therefore, that deserters, and youths pronounced incorrigible, should not only be returned to prison, in execution of their sentence, but that the deserter should be open to indictment for the specific offence of absconding. I should desire to put the

Contribution by Parents to the maintenance of Offenders in a Reformatory School. How to be enforced.

X.—In every case in which any Juvenile Offender shall be sentenced to be detained in a Reformatory School under this Act, the court by which he or she shall be so sentenced to be detained as aforesaid, shall direct the proper officer of the court to issue his certificate of said sentence, which shall be conclusive evidence thereof, and in every case of such sentence as aforesaid, the parent or step-parent, if of sufficient ability, shall be liable to contribute to his or her support and maintenance a sum not exceeding five shillings a week, and it shall be lawful for any Two Justices of the Peace, or any Stipendiary Magistrate sitting at Petty Sessions for the district in which the said parent or step-parent shall reside, or for any Divisional Police Magistrate in any City or Borough, in which such parent or step-parent shall reside, upon the complaint of any person authorized by her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Ireland, to take proceedings in that behalf, to summon the parent or step-parent, as the case may be, and on the hearing of such summons, whether the party summoned shall appear or not, to examine into his or her ability, to contribute to such offender's support or maintenance, and to make an order upon him or her for such weekly payment not exceeding 5s. per week, as shall seem reasonable during the whole or any part of the detention of such Juvenile Offender in such Reformatory School; such payment to be made at such times as by such order may be directed to the person so autho-

incorrigible under the same liability, but it would be difficult to turn *incorrigibility* into a specific offence, from its consisting of a great number of petty acts, and it is so foreign to English notions to make a person criminally answerable for a long series of acts, that I fear no law, which rendered such a proceeding necessary, would be found to work well in our courts.

Probably if it were found that youths rejected the boon of being sent to a Reformatory, Judges would see the necessity for imposing longer sentences than they now do.

With a few cells for separate confinement attached to the Reformatory, I should expect to find the number of those who were incorrigible, but who, nevertheless, did not abscond, would become very small indeed.

I would not make it imperative on the managers of a Reformatory to remit an absconding youth to prison, but would clothe them with authority to receive him back if they had not lost all hope of reclaiming him.

It is obvious that no Reformatory can work thoroughly well except under a system of gaol management which shall make the prison far less eligible, even to the most indolent, than the school. I believe that more labor will always be performed in a Reformatory than in a Prison, because the youth is governed by higher motives in the former than in the latter. Still the balance even in sordid minds may be turned in favor of the Reformatory by the harsher discipline of the Prison, not, however, made painful for the mere sake of pain, but because a severer discipline is required to produce reformation in the instance of an obdurate mind, than where the spirit is tractable.

rized to take proceedings as aforesaid, or to such person as the Chief Secretary for Ireland may from time to time appoint to receive the same, and by him to be accounted for and paid as the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury may direct.*

* The following Circular from the Rector of Wicken, our esteemed friend the Rev. H. J. BARTON, will show how the money is recovered under the 20 & 21 Vic., c. 55, in England.

REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

SIR—I am desired by the Committee of the Reformatory School respectfully to urge their request that you will, in all cases, as far as possible, insist on some payment being made by Parents and Step-parents of Boys sent to the School.

By a recent Act (20 & 21 Vict., c. 55), the mode of proceeding with regard to contributions is twofold:—

1st. When a Juvenile Offender is sentenced by Justices at *Petty Sessions*, such Justices at the time of passing sentence, or within fourteen days, may summons the Parent or Step-parent, and, after examining into the ability of such Parent or Step-parent, may make an order for payment of such weekly sum (not exceeding 5s.), as shall seem reasonable during the whole or any part of the detention.* And when such sentence shall be passed at any *Court of Assize or Quarter Sessions*, such court shall direct any officer of the court to certify the same to the next meeting of Justices in *Petty Sessions*, for the District or Town from which such Offender shall have been convicted, so that the order may be made in the same manner as above.

2nd. In case no such order shall have been made, it shall be lawful, at any time during the detention, for any two Justices, having jurisdiction in the District where the Parent or Step-parent of such Offender resides, on the complaint of any person authorised by one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to take proceedings, and to make an order as above stated. There is also power given by the said Act to remit, reduce, or increase the payment, and to enforce the same.

It has been suggested that, as a general rule, a penny in the shilling of the amount of wages would be a fair payment up to 25s. a week, and above that sum twopence in the shilling, except in cases of large young families, when the amount, of course, would be less and in some cases altogether remitted.

I am also desired to suggest that it would be highly conducive to the best interest of the school, if Magistrates would, in almost all cases, commit juvenile offenders for not less than four years—more especially as the period can be shortened according to circumstances, by applying to the Secretary of State.

It is of the utmost importance that full information should be given to the Committee, where practicable, in regard to the Offender's previous conduct, and the character of the Parents or Step-parents; and that, generally speaking, Boys should not be sent to a Reformatory upon a first conviction, or for trifling offences. It has been found that in such cases a short imprisonment, even for one day, with a whipping, is attended with the best possible effects, and that Boys so treated are seldom brought up for a second offence.

By the Act above referred to power is given to the Managers of any Reformatory previous to the discharge of any Juvenile Offender, to place such Offender on Trial, with some proper person. And any Offender who shall during such time of Trial, abscond from

* This order should be made payable to the Rev. Sydney Turner, Her Majesty's Inspector of Prisons and Reformatories, 15, Parliament Street, or to such person as shall be duly authorized by him to receive the same.

Power to remit, reduce, or increase the weekly payments. Payment not to exceed five shillings weekly.

XI. The parent, or step-parent, or the person authorised by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to take proceedings as aforesaid, may, at any time, apply to any two justices of the peace sitting at petty sessions for the district in which such parent, or step-parent resides, or before any divisional police magistrate for any city or borough in which such parent or step-parent resides or in which such Reformatory is situate, for an order to diminish the weekly sum, payable by said parent under such order as aforesaid, or to increase it to an amount not exceeding five shillings per week, and the justices or stipendiary or divisional police magistrate, as aforesaid, on proof that the said parent or step-parent, or the said person so authorised to take proceedings as aforesaid, have given to each other, as the case may be, not less than one week's notice, in writing, of the intended application, and of the time and place of hearing the same, shall make full inquiry into the matter, and into the then circumstances and ability of such parent or step-parent, and may diminish or increase the amount of the weekly sum payable by such parent as they think fit, or may release him from such payment altogether, such order to be without prejudice to any future order which on any further enquiry into the circumstances and ability of the said parent or step-parent may appear to be just and reasonable.

Provisions in case of default in payment by parents.

XII. In case default be made for the space of fourteen days in payment of any sum of money which may have become payable by such parent or step-parent, under any such order, such sum of money shall, in every such case, be levied upon the goods and chattels of the defendant by distress and sale thereof, and if it shall appear to the said justices on confession of the defendant or otherwise, or if it shall be returned to the warrant of distress in any such case that no sufficient goods of the party against whom such warrant shall have been issued can be found, it shall be lawful to the justices or magistrate to whom

such person, shall be held to have absconded from the School, and shall be liable to such penalties as are in that case made and provided.

By the 17 & 18 Vict. c. 81, these penalties are, committal to a Gaol or House of Correction with or without hard labour, for any period not exceeding three calendar months; and a power to recommit to the Reformatory School, as for a first offence, for the full period of five years.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

HENRY J. BARTON,
Hon. Sec.

To the Chairman of the Petty Sessions of

such return is made, or for any other justice of the peace for the same county, riding, division, liberty, city, borough, or place, by his warrant as aforesaid, to commit the defendant to the House of Correction, or common gaol, for any term not exceeding three calendar months, unless the sum to be paid and all costs and charges of the distress and of the commitment and conveying of the defendant to prison (the amount thereof being ascertained and stated in such commitment) shall be sooner paid.

XIII. WHEREAS it is expedient to make further provision for the due care and protection of Juvenile Offenders discharged from Reformatory Schools, it shall be lawful for the managers of any Reformatory School, previous to making application for the discharge of any Juvenile Offender committed to such school, to place such offender on trial with some person to be named in the license hereinafter mentioned, who shall be willing to receive and take charge of, and qualified to provide for and take care of such offender, and to grant to such offender a license under their hands, or the hand of any one of them appointed for that purpose, to reside with such person for any term not exceeding twelve months, unless sooner called upon by the said managers to return to the said school, and to require such offender to return to the said school at any time during the same; and such managers shall bring back such offender to the said School at the expiration of the said term, provided that such offender shall not have been previously discharged from the school by order of the Chief Secretary for Ireland as aforesaid, and any offender who shall abscond from such person during such term, or shall refuse to return to the Reformatory School at the end of such term or before the end of the time, when so required, shall be held to have absconded from the school, and shall be liable to the penalties in that case made and provided. Provided always that no such offender shall be so placed out before the expiration of one half of the term of detention to which he was originally sentenced.*

Provision for
care of Offenders
when discharged
from Reformatory
Schools.

* To Rev. Mr. Barton we are indebted for these Forms, as used in Northamptonshire :—

REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

DEAR SIR—A Boy of the name of _____ who has been in the School for _____ is so much improved as to encourage the Committee to hope that he will behave well if allowed to go out on trial.

He would go in the first instance for 30 days, which may be renewed from time to time under the provisions of 20, 21 Vict. c. 25, until his final discharge. If his conduct is satisfactory, he may be bound apprentice either to a farmer or a tradesman; and if after being so bound he is guilty of misconduct before completing his sixteenth year, he may be recommitted and received again into the School.

Penalty for
harbouring any
young person ab-
sconding from
a Reformatory
School.

XIV.—ANY person who directly or indirectly, withdraws any young person from any such Reformatory School or Institution, as aforesaid, to which he or she has been so sent, or induces him or her to abscond therefrom, or who, knowing any young person to have been withdrawn or to have absconded from any such School or Institution, as aforesaid, shall harbour or conceal, or assist in concealing, such young person, or prevent him or her from returning to such School or Institution, shall be liable for any such offence to a penalty not exceeding Five Pounds, to be recovered and enforced by summary conviction in the same manner and subject to the same provisions and orders and under the same powers as any penal or other sum may be enforced by summary conviction under the Petty Sessions Ireland Act, 1851.

The Committee earnestly request that you will have the goodness to make enquiry for a situation for him with some respectable farmer or tradesman, as the case may be, and if possible within such easy distance as may enable you to see him occasionally, and report his conduct to the Committee.

We beg to remain, dear Sir,
Yours, faithfully,

SOUTHAMPTON, Chairman.
ALWYNE COMPTON, } Hon. Secs.
HENRY J. BARTON, }

Particulars respecting—

Age
Parent's name and residence.
Has been in the School since
Previous Employment,
Height, weight, and general description.
Conduct in School.
Amount of Instruction
Disposition.
For what kind of Employment suited.
Remarks.

REFORMATORY SCHOOL.

CERTIFICATE OF LEAVE.

This is to certify that _____ now under sentence of detention in this Reformatory, is this day placed on Licence with _____ of _____ pursuant to the provisions of the Statute 20 & 21 Vict., chap. 55, to remain and continue with the said _____ until the _____ day of _____ next, unless previously required by me to return to the School.

XV.—It shall and may be lawful for Her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Ireland, if he shall think fit to do so, to remove any such youthful offender from one Reformatory School to another; provided always that such removal shall not increase the period for which such offender was sentenced to remain in a Reformatory School—and that the same shall only be to some Reformatory, under the management of persons of the same Religious Profession as that to which he or she might have been originally committed.

XVI —This Act shall not extend to England or Scotland.

THIS Bill has had the most careful supervision, again and again repeated, from those in England and Ireland, who, from the study of the Reformatory Principle, and from the close examination of Reformatory Establishments in England, on the Continent, and in America, are best able to express an opinion upon the provisions of any legislative measure calculated to make the Reformatories of Ireland adapted to the peculiar requirements of the country, and calculated likewise to meet the wishes, honestly entertained, of every political party, and of each religious denomination. That is, whilst carrying out fully and completely all the sound and well considered principles distinguishing the Reformatory movement, care has been taken that there shall be no opening to jobbery in the expenditure of money, public or private, that there shall be no chance of proselytism on the part of any of the religious denominations into which Ireland is divided.

This Bill is framed upon the provisions of the 17th and 18th Victoria, chapter 86, and the 20th and 21st of Victoria, chapter 55. It secures that children shall be sent to Reformatories managed by persons of their own religious belief. It makes provision for proper inspection of schools. It directs that there shall be "no waste of human suffering," and that children shall have, should they merit it, tickets of leave before the expiration of their sentences, and provides that they shall be sent out to the care of worthy persons selected by managers of the child's own faith.

It wisely, in the commencement of such a movement, confines the power of committal to a Reformatory to Judges at Assizes, and Justices at Quarter Sessions, and to the Divisional Justices in Dublin; and it enables the ratepayers to raise funds for Reformatory institutions, should they feel that their action is advantageous. The State is empowered to defray the cost of the young criminals' support. In England this sum is seven shillings per head per week. In Ireland five shillings per head per week would be amply sufficient; indeed, Mr. Baker, of Hardwicke Court, once told us that he thought a Reformatory in England which could not support its boys at five shillings per head, must "have a screw loose somewhere!" Full authority is given to the Chief Secretary to remove the young offenders from particular schools whenever it may be found necessary; and, above all, the great principle of parental responsibility is declared.

Parental responsibility, however, must be, in any Bill, one of the chief and most important points. Without this responsibility, no security can be given to the friends of the Reformatory movement that the objects of the schools may not be abused. The late Recorder of Doncaster, Mr. Hall, in his most admirable pamphlet, *Mettray*, tells us that he is "sceptical as to the existence of this refinement of wicked forethought in the breasts of parents," which would incite them to make their children vicious, that they might thus become the juveniles of the Penal School, and be no longer a burthen to those who should be their guardians and nurturers; yet any of the books will prove the blackness and foulness of parental wickedness in these kingdoms. Mr. Hall himself states, on the authority of the *Report* of M. de Persigny, that in some of the schools (*not* in *Mettray*) many parents have given up their children in the hope of, themselves, "deriving a sometimes criminal benefit from the improvement in the capacities of their children through educational treatment." He adds—"The French Government have met this by detaining for the full term all young *détenus* whose families would be likely to

make this sort of profit of their children's criminality." And Mr. Hall, writing of this parental crime, is of opinion, in which we most unhesitatingly join, that, "in his country it would be checked by the proposed plan of making the parents liable to contribute to the maintenance of their children in the place of education."*

That the French, as a people, are less impressed with the idea of parental responsibility than ourselves, is admitted; and their Foundling Hospitals, and other institutions in which children are reared, even during the lives of the parents, openly and confessedly, and with the sanction of the Government, gives colour to the fact, were such colour necessary. We have never known a Frenchman who could—we have never read the work of a French author which did—acknowledge the theory of parental responsibility. Hence it is that the Minister of the Interior, from first to last, in *Report* of 1854, does not suggest parental responsibility as the best means of checking the further increase of that "population croissante," of which he so much complains. He does, it is true, recommend that these Reformatories should be more carefully watched and inspected. He does not recommend that they should be abolished. His chief remedies consists in beaureauism, government surveillance, and attaching the schools to religious institutions; and he indulges in the hope that, as these juveniles grow into youths, the pressure of their numbers upon the funds and resources of the schools may be lessened by drafting a considerable portion of the whole into various branches of the military service. M. de Persigny never contemplates the adoption of the true remedy—parental responsibility. He knew—at least he had before him—the same evidence which enabled Mr. Hall to tell us that, since the rule of detaining for long periods juveniles whose parents were suspected of having *qualified* them for the school, in the hope of afterwards profiting by the instruction which they might receive, "there has been a sensible increase in the proportion of cases in which parents, in the time of judgment being pronounced, came forward and proposed themselves to take charge of their children, instead of letting them go to the Reformatory Institution."† But the Minister contents himself with the old French expedient of reporters, inspectors, and other officials—forgetful or ignorant of the fact that the fault was in the management, and not in the principle—

* See Mr. Hall's Lecture, "Mettray," p.p. 54, 55.

† Ibid, p. 34, Note b.

that the weakness was in defective law, not in the discipline of the institutions. That England is exposed to these evils, arising from the non-recognition by the Legislature of complete parental responsibility, and which have brought upon France all the chief embarrassments incident to an increasing population of child criminals, has been already proved. But upon this point, before we introduce the important evidence of Mr. Recorder Hill, of Miss Carpenter, and others, given before the Committee of 1852, on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, we would here, as preparatory, insert the opinions expressed by the Rev. Mr. Clay, in his speech delivered at the Birmingham Conference of 1853. He said, and his evidence is valuable as that of one who has been the most important officer of a large gaol for more than thirty-four years:—

“The prison with which I am connected is the prison which receives offenders from the whole of that division of the county of Lancaster, containing little less than 500,000 inhabitants; and it is in my power to say that during the last six months not more than fifty-three juvenile offenders have been committed to gaol for infractions of the law. But here is the point to which I am addressing myself. Out of these fifty-three sent to prison, not fewer than forty-four came from homes and families in which the fathers and mothers had it in their power to provide effectually for the physical and educational wants of their children, as well as for their nurture in the fear of the Lord. It is a fact that out of these fifty-three children so committed, there were no fewer than forty-four whose family earnings exceeded thirty shillings per week. In some instances the earnings of parents and children—which should go into one common purse belonging to that home—in some cases the earnings amounted to fifty shillings per week; in other cases to twenty-five shillings per week; and in others to not less than five pounds weekly. Need I tell you any more in urging the absolute necessity of making these profligate, careless, and neglectful parents provide for the education necessary to restore their erring children? I could show you instances of this extraordinary neglect, combined, often, with extraordinary brutality. It is known to several persons, Members of Parliament, here present, from the evidence brought before them, that men whose earnings were about thirty shillings per week frequently spend the greater part in purchasing intoxicating drinks and in debauchery. These men come home, and treat their children and their wives with a violence which I cannot describe. A man of this sort went home, inflated with drink, took hold of his children, and threw them into the canal. I could hardly believe the statement when made by one of those children, but I ascertained beyond all doubt that it was literally true. One of those children, who was driven into repeated crime by this infamous father, was at last sentenced to transportation, but happily is now under the care of the Rev. Sydney Turner, at that admirable institution at Red Hill. The younger

brother of that unfortunate child will, I hope, be placed, within a very short time, under the care of Miss Carpenter, at Kingswood. It was only last week that two children were committed for the first time, charged with a very trifling offence. They told me that their father kept two cows, the milk from which he sold; that he was well employed, and that his earnings were sufficient to maintain his family in great comfort. And these two boys—owing to the deplorable strike that has taken place in my town—were actually turned out of doors by their father. They were told, in plain terms, if they could nor bring anything in, they should not come there. Upon a certain occasion, when addressing my unfortunate prisoners in the chapel, I dwelt upon the great question of parental responsibility. One of my hearers sent for me next day to complain that, although he had done his best for his child, he was afraid he would turn out bad. He said he had done all he could; he had even turned him out of doors, but he was no better!"*

Mr. Clay remarks, that although this parent had a knowledge of what the moral conduct of a child should be, he proved by his threat of turning the boy out of doors that he had no idea of PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY. If, however, a Reformatory Institution had been established in Preston, upon the principle of Mettray, Red Hill, or, alas! that we should write it, that which, after thirty years of admitted utility, was *closed* at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, the father would have been entitled to send his son to that institution upon paying a certain sum for his support. Establishments of this class are, amongst others, those for which the youthful Offenders' Act provides; had this Act been earlier Law, Mr. Clay would never have been driven to deplore the hopeless impotency for good which the despairing father evinced, when expressing a determination to cast his child upon that "stony-hearted step-mother"—the street.

The testimony of Mr. Pearson, of Mr. Recorder Hill, of Miss Carpenter, and Mr. Thomson, is fully with us upon the subject of Parental Responsibility; it is in evidence, founded upon practical experience, and far above that knowledge which is derived only through "the spectacles of books." Every man who knows the history of the movement should be acquainted with these theories; from their complete adoption must the success of the Reformatory Institutions spring; from the ignorance of them does the increase of juvenile committals arise in France—from the ignorance of them have vast charges been entailed upon these Kingdoms; from the unwillingness of the legislature to acknowledge Parental Respon-

* See "Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference on Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive and Reformatory Schools, Held at Birmingham, December 20th, 1853." pp. 75-76.

sibility has Mr. Frederic Hill been forced to write—"The expence of our present system is enormous, we commit and recommit, each recommittal being a certain cause of increased future expence, as the culprit is but hardened in vice by contact with his fellows. From a return made to the House of Commons in 1852, on the motion of Sir John Pakington, of the number of criminals not exceeding 16 years of age committed to prison in the years 1849 and 1850, we learn that in 1850 the total number of these juvenile offenders was 7,070. Of these about three-tenths were under 13 years of age; and of 757, under 16 years of age, and remaining in prison on the 1st November, 1851, 205 had been imprisoned once before, 90 twice, 49 three times, and 85 four times or oftener; 45 were illegitimate, 329 had lost one parent, 103 were orphans, 327 were unable to read, 554 had no trade or occupation. Had these children been committed to some Reformatory School, we might, we would, have been spared the increased expenditure on their committal, and they would have become good and virtuous rather than more determinedly vicious." Without this Parental Responsibility the movement in France or England must become a failure in its conclusion, as it would be a blunder in its inception.

We are not contending that poor parents should rear up their children as if they were the offspring of a higher class in the community—God knows the children of the poor are not reared, they are, as Charles Lamb said, "dragged up; and if, from the foul and reeking slum of the city lane some poor human soul should be snatched and placed before the Magistrate to appal him by ignorance and squalor, we would not visit the crimes of that child upon the child, but upon the parents—and sad as it may be to tell, yet such is the truth—hundreds of children are yearly brought before the Magistrates and Judges who are in this wretched condition, because their parents, for their own vicious ends, teach, encourage, and desire that their children should continue in these sinful or criminal courses.

We have stated that children, both whose parents are living, are frequently arrested by the Police, and we have recorded this fact as it proves that natural affection is often unknown amongst this class, whilst every evil passion and habit is fostered for the advantage of a parent, vicious, base, yet fully able, if compelled by law, to support those children. That there are parents wicked enough to trade upon the crime of their children, nay, to compel them to steal, or starve is well, and fully proved—as, likewise, that these parents

under the recent state of our law could escape without punishment and whilst fully able to support their children, these children, when in prison, became a burthen to the country. Such is now the case in Ireland. Miss Carpenter, when examined before the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, in 1852, expressed her opinion, that although very few parents of criminal juveniles were of character sufficiently trusted to be able to furnish satisfactory recognizances for the good conduct of their offspring, yet she stated the parent would very frequently be able, if compelled, to pay towards the maintenance of his children. "Among the cases that I have known, there have been very few, where it has been absolute poverty which has been the cause of crime. I received a paper from the Rev. Mr. Clay, of Preston Gaol, last summer, giving me the particulars of all the juvenile criminals in the gaol, in the month of August, and I was perfectly startled to find that in all cases but one, the family was in the receipt of two or three, or even more pounds a week, in wages."*

The late Mr. G. A. A'Beckett, the Magistrate of the Southwark Police Court, was of opinion that parents should be held liable for the support of their children, who might be sent to prison—the more so, because in "many cases the delinquency of children is caused, not simply by the neglect of proper training, but by the actual instigation of the parents themselves." Mr. A'Beckett also stated, that a strong disposition prevails on the part of parents to get rid of their vicious children by having them placed in asylums or prisons—but when asked if they will pay for the maintenance of the child they generally say they cannot afford to do so, although from enquiry it has been found, that they were fully competent, if compelled by law. He referred to a case in which a woman, having a son not twelve years old, had married a second time. This boy was brought before Mr. A'Beckett, charged by his own sister, his mother, and his father-in-law, with stealing some money, placed by them in an open desk in an open room, and within the boy's reach, although they knew he had been a thief during the four preceding years. The three elder members of the family were most anxious that the boy should be sent to trial for stealing the money, and were extremely annoyed, when Mr. A'Beckett, deeming the evidence insufficient,

* See Miss Carpenter's evidence before the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, Q. 978.

refused to commit him. The father expressed a wish that the boy might be placed in an asylum but when asked what he could pay for his support there, replied, nothing. Yet Mr. A'Beckett discovered that this man was a glove-maker, with constant employment for himself, his wife and daughter-in-law, who were well dressed; and in the window of their house, the magistrate saw a notice, "Additional Hands Wanted." The father-in-law refused to admit the boy, on his return from the Police Office, and through Mr. A'Beckett's interposition he was received into the work-house.*

Mr. Recorder Hill, from his great experience in criminal courts, whether as Counsel or as Judge, has had most indisputable means of forming opinions most worthy of the deepest and closest attention. He stated to the Committee, that he would endeavour to make the parent accountable for the support of the child whilst in prison; and when asked if he considered that the parent should be compelled to support his children in the School when two, or more, had become criminal, he replied that he would so compel him; because, in all probability, the greater the number of children becoming vicious, the greater would be the neglect or misconduct of the parents; and if the matter were left to the discretion of the magistrate he would not of course, direct the parent to perform impossibilities, and yet the parent could be made to feel that if he forgot the duties of his state, society should not be burthened by the maintenance of those whom he is bound to guide, and teach, and foster. So strongly, indeed, is Mr. Hill impressed with the results to be realized by a law of Parental Responsibility, that when asked if he would expect a parent to pay £24 a year for three children in a Reformatory School, he made this emphatic declaration—"I know an instance at Bristol of a man who is earning most excellent wages as a skilled workman, a painter, by which he would be able to bear that expence, if you could bring a sufficient compulsion of law upon him to do it; but I will candidly confess that *that* would be the difficulty of the case; still I think it is so important to force from the parent all that you can obtain for the purpose of making him contribute to the subsistence of his child, that I, for my own part, would put a machinery in operation to effect this object, although it should absorb all the receipts. *I mean*

* See Mr. A'Beckett's evidence before the Committee, Q. Q. 2078, 2080, 2081.

*to say that I would incur as much expense to get 2s. a week from a parent who had neglected his child, as would cost 2s. on the enforcement.”**

By the Act passed in 1854, which, although “fathered” by Lord Palmerston and Mr. Fitzroy, owed its introduction, and more than its introduction, to Mr. Adderley, parents are now compelled to contribute to the support of their criminal offspring, and thus one step is taken towards checking the evil of which Mr. Hill complained, when he stated to the Committee that the law, as it was in 1852, operated, in many cases, to enable a parent, when his child could not be made to contribute to the support of the family, to relieve himself from the maintenance of the child, by permitting, or inciting it to crime.†

The evidence of Mr. John Ball, who was, when examined, a Poor Law Commissioner for Ireland, was completely in support of PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY. He considered that full power should be given to the Magistrates to compel the parent, by civil process, to support his child in prison, or in the School—and he was desirous that the sum necessary for this purpose should be recoverable by as summary a mode as that now employed in cases of desertion. Mr. Ball was, he stated, induced to advance these opinions in support of PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY, and Reformatories, from his knowledge of the good effects of work-house schools, where the number of children was not so great as to prevent the master from devoting a portion of his time to each of his pupils. These, it is true, were but unfair examples of what the Reformatory School, properly understood, can accomplish; yet it was stated by Mr. Ball and by Mr. Senior, that of 65 boys sent from the Dangan Workhouse school, 31 had been traced, and of all these a satisfactory account had been obtained, and they were earning good wages. Of 300 who had been discharged from the Ballinrobe Workhouse, the greater number were fully employed, and only 30 had returned upon the Union. Of the boys who had been taught trades, 16 tailors, 6 bakers, and 1 shoemaker, readily obtained situations; whilst in the Union of Westport, a Union receiving assistance from the Rate in Aid, during the nine months

* See Mr. Hill's evidence before the Committee, Q.Q. 538, 539, 540, 541, 542.

† See his evidence, Q. 543.

from September 1851, to June 1852, 60 young women and 20 young men had been taken from the workhouse and employed as servants. From these, and other facts, Mr. Ball was satisfied that Reformatory Schools were required, and would be found of the very highest advantage in Ireland. To carry out these advantages, he was of opinion that the magistrates should have power to commit criminal or neglected children to prison for more lengthened periods than the law allows, and that the imprisonment should be spent, not in the Gaol where it becomes injurious, but in the Reformatory where it is of the first and most proved advantage.* Mr. Ball would also give the magistrate's power to commit the child until he had arrived at a certain age, unless his parents could prove their ability and willingness to rear him in honest courses for the future; or until they could give guarantees and securities from third parties for this willingness and ability.

As we shall, however, afterwards find, these are the exceptional cases, as the Workhouse is generally calculated, equally with the gaol, to render the boy, if innocent depraved, and if vicious, only the more hardened. By the Reformatory School, supported in its working by the enactment of PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY, can this amendment alone be secured. Without the latter ingredient half the benefit of the system would be jeopardized. As Mr. Hill most truly said (when requested, by the Committee of 1852, to state if he considered Parental Responsibility, of first importance)—“ I consider it highly advisable, I do not consider it essential, and if some competent authority should say to me, ‘ you shall have a Reformatory School, but I will not consent to this principle of charging the parents,’ I would accept the Reformatory School, although I should think the system sadly mutilated for want of that limb.”

To those who are aware of the great principles of the Reformatory Movement it may seem unnecessary to dwell upon this point of Parental Responsibility, but it appears, unfortunately, that in these Kingdoms the persons who understand the question are, however influential in position and intellect, very few in number. If further proof of this fact were necessary, we need only refer to Mr. Adderley's Bill, introduced in June 1854, by Lord Palmerston and Mr.

* See Mr. Ball's evidence before the Committee, Q. Q. 3880, 3888, 3889, 3897, 3898, 3904, 3906, 3907.

Fitzroy. The Birmingham Conferences of 1851 and 1853 had shown what the real merit of the principle was ; Prize Essays and Judge's Charges had given evidence of the estimation in which the principle was held ; the Report and Evidence of the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles of 1852 had, one might suppose, exhausted all the knowledge obtainable on the subject, yet Mr. Adderley's Bill was grudgingly passed, let it be remembered, merely as an experiment.

But, it will be said, admitting all that we have stated to be true, where will you, in Ireland, be able to obtain any contribution from the parents of juvenile offenders towards their support in the Reformatory ? To this we answer, give the power. If the money cannot be obtained, no harm is done ; if no power of suing were given in the Act, nothing could be obtained from parents, even should any be able to pay. But we by no means admit that the parents are unable to pay. In many cases we are quite satisfied that an active, able, Irish inspector, knowing the people thoroughly, could (as the Rev. Sydney Turner does in England) discover very large ability to pay, covered by great evident poverty, and much concealed roguery.

How, it may be asked, should a Reformatory be worked ? Through the kindness of Mr. T. B. Ll. Baker, of Hardwicke Court, Gloucester, we are enabled to answer. He writes as follows referring to himself and Mr. Bengough :—

“ In March, 1852, we commenced with three boys from a distant part of England. All had been frequently previously convicted ; all were in weak health ; none of them could handle a spade. From time to time we added another and another, as we found that we had gained some influence over those already in hand ; but, as we were uncertain what our increase would be, we could only for the first year undertake the cultivation of one acre, the produce of which, of course, assisted but little in the diminution of our expenses. Last winter, however, though several of our boys were scarcely up to hard work, we ventured on six acres. Our land—an extremely stiff blue clay, which had never been even deeply ploughed—was hard for small and light boys to dig—much harder, of course, than it is ever likely ever to be again ; but our six acres were well worked, and our crops of this year bear good testimony to the effects of spade husbandry. We have now taken ten acres in hand, and probably should have done wisely had we taken more. Next year we hope to increase it considerably.

In the last spring, as our appeal to the county was liberally answered, we increased our buildings, which now consist of a cottage for the bailiff (not being fond of long names, we prefer the term bailiff—meaning him to whom something is given in charge—to that of superintendent) and his family. We have two rooms for the

schoolmaster, and we have school room and bed room for twenty boys. We have a carpenter's shop, pigsties for at present sixteen pigs, stalls for three cows, and we are commencing some more pigsties and a barn. But, should any one come to visit us, they must not hope to see a range of buildings of a high class of architecture. The dwellings of the bailiff, the schoolmaster, and the boys are of the cheapest and plainest style of labourers' cottages; the carpenter's shop, pigsties, and cowhouses, and the future barn, are built by the bailiff and the boys of the refuse slabs of the saw mills, patched together as they can. They answer the required purpose as sheltering the cows, pigs, &c., and we wish not to have more. We feel most strongly that though it is of great importance that children who have erred should have an opportunity of recovering themselves, yet feel equally that it would be a fatal injustice that those children who have unhappily fallen into sin should be placed into a position which those who have been honest cannot attain to; and we think ourselves fortunate in having found a bailiff who appears to agree with us that converting unfortunate boys into good labourers is of more importance than the exciting the admiration of a casual visitor.

The whole of our buildings cost about £250, and they are of such a construction that, should the school be given up, they would be at any time convertible into labourers' cottages, which would bring as good an interest as labourers' cottages usually command.

The other expenses—including furniture, master's salaries, maintenance, clothing, and, in fact, every cost for 18 months—amount to about £400; but on going over the stock with a valuer, whose strict honesty I can depend upon, the 3 cows and 16 pigs were valued at selling price at £36 18s.; the crops then on the ground, besides what had been consumed, at £77; and furniture and sundries, at £57 3s. 6d.; making a total stock in hand of £171 1s. 6d.; and thereby reducing the cost to £230 for the 18 months, or a little more than £11 per head total expense for the 12 months. This, we allow, appears high at first sight, but when we consider that it includes the expenses of the inexperience and consequent alterations of our first start, and also that in our first year we cropped only one acre, and in our second year only six, and that some labour and time has been expended in building our sheds, deep digging (for the first time) our land, draining some part of it (all done by the bailiff and the boys), and in generally preparing our land and ourselves for future labour, we may hope for the future our expenses will be materially diminished.

Annexed is the balance-sheet for the two years; the managers making up any deficiencies in the subscriptions. There is a very small balance left in hand.

Da.	£	s.	d.	Ca.	£	s.	d.
Salary.....	47	1	0	Subscriptions.....	112	5	4
Food.....	229	0	2½	Paid for boys.....	28	17	0
Clothing.....	59	11	7½	Committee and Ma-			
Furniture — includ-				nagers.....	509	0	0
ing Work done by				Farm Produce.....	9	17	11½
the Carpenter at							
Hardwicke Court,							
estimated at £3...	69	17	3½				
Sundries — includ-							
ing Fuel, Light,							
Washing, &c.....	109	19	9½				
Farm — including							
value of manure ta-							
ken to, labour, &c.	142	17	8				
Balance in hand....	1	12	8				
	£660	0	3½		£660	0	3½

The sleeping room for twenty boys allows only a space of about three feet by six, for each, leaving a narrow passage down the centre of the room—little more than just room for their hammocks, on each of which is a straw-stuffed bed, a pair of sheets, a blanket, and a counterpane.

The School and day room will only just accommodate the same number; and the only other buildings (except the wooden cattle sheds, &c., erected by the bailiff and boys) are a cottage for the bailiff and his family, two small rooms for the master, all communicating with the day room and dormitory of the boys, a small dairy, and the two cells alluded to before.

The dietary consists of skim-milk, bread (about ten ounces at each meal, of which it forms the main part), vegetables, rice, cheese, soup, meat in small quantities three times a week (about four ounces, cooked, to each boy), and occasionally about half-a-pint of common cider, and a little tea and butter on Sundays.

The School dress is a suit of chord, the jacket replaced on working days by a short smock of duck, worn over the sleeve waistcoat.

The day's work, except during the darkest months of winter, when it is rather shorter, begins at half-past six, half an hour being allowed for rising, making beds, &c., and ends at five, two hours and a quarter being deducted for meals and morning prayers. The main employment is digging (for which the spade is found generally, though not so easy as the fork, the most thoroughly efficient implement), and other ordinary agricultural labour. Some of the boys are employed in feeding, &c., the three cows and the pigs, or in work about the house, assisting in the cooking or other ways. One who knew a little of that trade before he came, is occasionally employed as a tailor; and all are taught, as far as may be, the making of common rough baskets, and knitting common worsted stockings.

To encourage those who are inclined to work well, and to secure general good conduct, a scale of rewards has been adopted (on the plan pursued at the Philanthropic Society's Farm School, at Red Hill,) not exceeding in the highest instance, sixpence a week, and subject to deductions for infraction of any of the School rules: the amount so earned being put to the boy's credit, or paid in *goods*, or *additional luxuries at meals*. The degree of their diligence is measured by the bailiff, as it has been found difficult, as yet, to organize an efficient system of piece-working, owing partly to the ignorance in using their tools shown when they first come.

To show the amount of work which they are capable of performing, annexed is a return of lands cropped in the last two years, from Michaelmas, 1852. It should be first remarked that, at that period, less than one acre of the whole quantity had ever been dug at all; the rest, a stiff blue clay, had never been even deeply ploughed, and was very foul; and that autumn, from its excessive wetness, was exceedingly unfavourable for working any land at all. In that first season, the number of boys in the School varied from nine to twelve; with their help the bailiff put in and harvested the following crops:—

	A.	R.	P.		
Beans.....	1	0	1	Produce.....	25 Bushels.
Wheat.....	1	3	9½	"	58 "
Cabbage.....	0	3	37	"	2280 Plants
Swedes.....	0	0	15	"	4½ Tons.
Parsnips				"	½ "
Potatoes and Turnips	0	2	28	"	3½ Bags.
Mangold Wurzel....	0	2	12½	"	½ Ton.
Leaving Fallow } dug over... .. }	0	3	17	"	nil.
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6 0 0					

In the present season, since Michaelmas, 1853, the efficient number has been about fifteen; with their help he has or will be able to crop with—

	A.	R.	P.
Wheat.....	2	3	37½
Beans.....	3	0	0
Swedes.....	1	0	0
Potatoes.....	0	0	37
Cabbages.....	0	3	0
Mangold Wurzel....	0	3	17
Italian Rye Grass.....	0	1	37
Leaving Fallow.....	0	3	31½

besides having drained a considerable quantity at a depth of four feet.

This system of training fits the boys, as it is intended to do, for useful labourers on a farm. This is what the managers now hope to make of them, their design being to bind them to careful farmers for

a term of years, receiving them back into the School if they do not give satisfaction upon trial. They are generally fit to go out, if present experience can be relied on, at the end of eighteen months or two years. In a few instances at that time, or perhaps earlier, they might be safely allowed to return to their friends, who, though they had abandoned them before, are sometimes willing and ready to receive and provide for them, when they see the change which a residence in the School has worked upon them. But in general this seems unadvisable; and the power which the managers insist upon having of disposing entirely of the boys, even to the point of sending them if necessary to the Colonies (as they at first contemplated, before labour became so valuable as it is now) operates, even if not carried into effect, as a very salutary check on the desire both of parents and children for admission into the School.

The quantity of land required we find to be about half an acre (of stiff clay) to a boy, but after it has been well dug for some years it will become lighter, and they can do more.

Our staff consists of Mr. Bengough and myself as managers. He lives 12 miles from the school; I about one. He comes and spends a few days with me now and then (alas! very rarely). I, when I have an hour or two to spare (very rarely also), go over and look at the boys working, and have a chat with one or another. I should think that I devote on an average four hours a week to looking on and chatting. Such are our arduous labours.

The bailiff is a farmer used to superintending workpeople, who does not treat the boys as a warder would do, according to strict rule, for any deviation from which he is liable to be complained of to the Visiting Magistrates, exacting a certain amount of work, and weighing out a certain amount of food; but he treats them exactly as experience has taught him to treat his own workpeople, or his own children, exacting what labour he sees that each can do, and giving to each what food he finds to be necessary to keep him in hard-working condition. We certainly are fortunate in our bailiff. He has a mild gentle manner, with undeniable firmness. He will readily give us his opinion, which is usually worth having; but he will strictly obey our orders; and, above all, his heart is in it. A great part of the ease of our success is perhaps to be attributed to our finding so good a bailiff. But in these days, when farming cannot be carried on without a large capital, there is many a man to be found with good plain education, good practical knowledge, and good feeling, but with too small a capital to farm.

The next person is the schoolmaster, and this I confess is a difficult office to fill. We can find many schoolmasters who will take the entire command of a school, and will cram their pupils so as to gain the approbation of the most fastidious examiner. But to find a man who will teach for two hours and a half per day—so short a time that he will never be able to make them great scholars, fit to make a show of; who can in fact believe and feel that the converting the pests of society into good Christians is as useful and as honourable an occupation as that of giving ploughboys a correct knowledge of the position of the antarctic circle; who has in fact not merely a

clever head but a good heart, *and that heart in this work*, is as yet a difficult person to find. Still I believe that ere long the demand will create a supply. Many a lad in our training schools is unable to pass the high examination required, and not obtaining a certificate of *sufficient learning*, is disqualified for taking charge of a national school. Yet many of these may have courage, coolness, discipline, and a heart in the right place, and though they have failed in their first intention, yet, in such a line as ours, they may possibly make not less useful, not less honoured men than others who have taken a first-class certificate.

In addition to the bailiff and schoolmaster we have also lately taken a labourer at 1s. per week above labourer's wages, to work and superintend one of the gangs. He in all probability will in fact cost us nothing, as he will earn his wages on the land; and with 36 boys with no fence round them two superintendents are scarcely enough."

These extracts are most useful, as they shew what the cost can really be made, and the concluding observations, referring to the School-master, are of the very chiefest importance, and should be kept constantly in mind by all who may, in Ireland, hereafter have the guidance of Reformatory Institutions. The Chaplain and the School-master are *the* officers of Reformatories; they make or mar the success of the whole system; and where men possessing the great and noble qualities, so truthfully and earnestly indicated by Mr. Baker, are secured as chaplains or as school-masters, they should be respected as men whose callings, high though they be, are yet rendered worthy still greater esteem by the possession of all those qualities which constitute perfection in their respective avocations. In fixing the payment of such men they should be looked upon not as officers of a Reformatory, but as benefactors to the commonwealth; as men who save money for the State, and, taking a higher range of thought, save souls for heaven—awakening in each "City Arab" and "Home Heathen" the "energy and spirit of a MAN."

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Equally needed with Reformatory Schools in Ireland, are those admirable Industrial Schools of which we have such excellent models in Scotland. Through the kindness of our friend, Mr. Alfred Hill, we are enabled to place the entire history of the rise and progress of these Schools in Scotland and England before the reader. May we hope that when the reader sees a little idleragged child, with want in his cheeks, and intelligence in his eyes, he will think of Sheriff Watson; and possibly in Cork we may yet find it as difficult to procure an idle child as it is now impossible to discover one in Aberdeen.

APPENDIX I.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Abstract of "Train up a child in the way he should go." A paper on the Industrial Schools of Scotland and Dunlop's Act, communicated to the Bristol meeting of the National Reformatory Union in 1856.

The object of Industrial Schools is to dry up the principal source of the criminal class by well training the neglected children wandering about the streets of our large towns. These children *must* live somehow. There are four courses with regard to them which we may adopt. 1 Leaving them alone to grow up thieves and robbers. 2 Prosecuting and imprisoning them, which usually has the effect of quickening their progress in wickedness. 3 Putting them into reformatories, a course far better than the preceding, but still a costly one, and which cannot usually be adopted until the children have commenced their depredations. 4 Taking them in their early childhood, training them to industry and good conduct, and so preventing the necessity of pursuing either of the former courses.

The latter proceeding is by far the cheapest and best in every point of view, since it saves the expense of prosecuting and imprisoning the children; and what is still more important, by preventing them from becoming criminals, protects the community from the losses and evils they would inflict upon it.

The first Industrial Feeding School was begun by Sheriff Watson at Aberdeen in the year 1841 to provide for the neglected children of that town, who were then very frequently committed to gaol for petty offences.

Children found begging were brought to the Schools where they were set to such remunerative Industrial employments as could be found. These were netting, teasing horse hair, &c. &c. for the boys; knitting, sewing, scouring, and cooking, &c., in the establishment for the girls. A portion of the day was employed in religious and intellectual instruction. Three meals a day of cheap and simple but nourishing food, such as brown bread, porridge, milk and Scotch broth, were afforded to the children, who were allowed at night to return to their parents. When the children were old enough and otherwise

qualified, situations as shop-boys, servant girls, &c. were obtained for them, and thus they were put in the way of gaining an honest livelihood.

Other schools were afterwards established on the same principle. Most of the destitute children were thus provided for.

There still remained, however, the more determined beggars and petty thieves, many of whom could not be induced to remain at the Schools. To provide for these another establishment was set up. Hither children charged before the magistrates with vagrancy were sent, the charges being *adjourned*. The case of each child was inquired into, and if he were found to be a proper object he was sent to one of the Industrial Schools, where if he remained quietly, he heard nothing more of the charge against him; if on the contrary he did not come regularly to school the original charge was proceeded with.

By this means Aberdeen was almost cleared of young vagrants and criminals as the following account of committals to the gaol will prove.

Children under 12 years of age committed to the Aberdeen Prisons.

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Committals.</i>	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Committals.</i>
1841	61	1847	27
1842 ...	30	1848	19
1843 ..	33	1849 ...	16
1844 ...	41	1850	22
1845	49	1851 ...	8
1846	28		

The increase in 1843 was coincident with a restriction in the admissions to the Schools necessitated by a temporary falling off which took place in the subscriptions.

The Committals of children for crime, (exclusive of vagrancy) to the Aberdeen Prisons, was, during six years, as follows:—*

<i>Years.</i>	<i>Males.</i>	<i>Females.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1849—50 ...	11	5	16
1850—51 ...	14	8	22
1851—52 ...	6	2	8
1852—53 ...	23	1	24
1853—54	24	1	25
1854—55 ..	47	2	49

* The returns do not distinguish the sexes of children, committed for vagrancy.

The great discrepancy between the numbers of boys and girls committed during the last three years of the table is striking, and affords perhaps the most instructive lesson which can be learned from the Aberdeen Schools. During those years the trade of Aberdeen was much depressed, owing to which the contributions to the school funds greatly fell off, and consequently the committee of gentlemen who managed the boys' schools felt it necessary to largely restrict the admission. The committee of ladies on the other hand who managed the girls' schools, with that resource so often shewn by their sex, managed not only to keep the girls' schools as full as before, but even to increase the number of inmates, so that they were double the number of the boys; now since the experience of Aberdeen, and other towns shows that destitute boys are quite as numerous as destitute girls, it follows that a large number of boys must have been unprovided for; accordingly we find them in prison just as was the case before the opening of the schools.

The example of Aberdeen in establishing Industrial Feeding Schools, was followed by all the larger towns of Scotland, and with a similar result in diminishing the commitments to gaol, greater or smaller accordingly as the system was more or less thoroughly carried out.

One very important result has been obtained, viz:—that after each school had been for some years in existence, the difficulty of getting suitable employment for the inmates, who were fit to leave, ceased, and the demand by employers for the children exceeded the supply. This result is not confined to Scotland, but as far as I know has everywhere been obtained by well managed Industrial Schools.

One want, however, was generally felt, viz:—the power of detaining the children who from their own restlessness, or from the influence of bad parents, &c., could not be induced to remain in the schools. Among the children sent to every school, there was an important minority of this class, as the yearly reports testify. At last, in 1854, Mr. Dunlop succeeded in passing into law a bill (17 and 18 Vic., c. 74,) which (as amended by some subsequent acts) has supplied the want. Under this act, children found begging or wandering about without proper guardianship, may be sent by a sheriff or magistrate to an industrial school, (certified by the secretary of state), there to be kept as long as is necessary for his proper training. The child's parent, or the parish on which he has

a claim, may be ordered to pay (not more than five shillings a week) for his maintenance.

This act has worked very well in places such as Glasgow, where it has been vigorously put in force. It has much diminished the number of youthful vagrants and criminals.

One very important effect of these Industrial Schools is, that after a school has been in existence some years the number of inmates has *lessened*, owing to the exhaustion of the class from which they came. This has been the case generally where the system has been well carried out, as in Dundee and Glasgow. A complete answer is therefore afforded to the objection, that institutions of this kind tend to increase pauperism; instead of increasing, they *diminish* both pauperism and crime.

Parliament has this session passed the "Industrial Schools' Act," 1857, 20 and 21 Vic., c. 48, for England. This is pretty much like Dunlop's Act, with the important exception, that the power of ordering the PARISH to pay for the children's maintenance was struck out, and thus the security for adequate funds is lost. It is much to be feared that this defect will seriously cripple the working of the Act, and the English parishes also lose the valuable stimulus to the caring for their unfriended children, which is afforded by Dunlop's Act to the Scotch Parishes. Should, however, this want seriously impair the working of the Act, Parliament, it is to be presumed, will supply the deficiency.

The cost of conducting these schools is a very important consideration. It varies much in different schools in Scotland, and in the same school at different times, depending in great measure on the prices of provisions.

The cost of diet seems to vary from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 7*d.* per head, per week* (£2 3*s.* 4*d.* to £4 2*s.* 4*d.* per head per annum,) and the whole cost, (including rent, salaries, &c.,) from £7 to £11 per head per annum. The number among whom the total cost is divided is not the whole number of children on the school roll, but the average daily attendance which in a feeding school is usually about 90 per cent of those on the roll.

* It should be remarked, that presents of vegetables with oatmeal, &c., are frequently made to Industrial schools, which of course are not included in the cost.

APPENDIX II.

A paper on the Industrial Schools' Act, 1857 (20 and 21 Vic., c. 48), by Alfred Hill. Read at the First Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science.

INTRODUCTION.

It having been suggested to me that a paper of a practical character upon the Industrial Schools' Act of the past session, might not be altogether without utility, I have ventured to intrude upon your notice.

I had the honour last year to read before the Bristol meeting of the National Reformatory Union, a paper on the Industrial Schools of Scotland, and the working of Dunlop's Act in that country. I therein set forth the improvements in the Scottish towns which had resulted from their Industrial Schools in the diminution of crime and mendicancy, and showed how the good effects of these schools had been enhanced by the conferring upon the authorities a power of compelling the attendance at them of a class of children who could not be retained there by other means. I venture to suggest that a similar law should be introduced into England.

As is usually the case, the same idea occurred to several persons at the same time. About the end of last year Sir Stafford Northcote, the Law Amendment Society, and the Birmingham Educational Association became anxious that a bill should be introduced into Parliament to provide means in England similar to those which have been found so efficacious in Scotland for rescuing children from an impending life of crime and misery. At the request of Sir Stafford Northcote a committee of the Law Amendment Society undertook the task of preparing a bill, they decided upon its scope and main provisions (which were substantially the same as the Scotch Acts) and entrusted the actual draftsmanship to my friend Mr. Montague Ainsbie, and myself. The bill when it became law differed very materially from the original draft; it will not perhaps be out of place, therefore, to state briefly the provisions of the latter.

Power was given to the Secretary of State to examine any Industrial Feeding School, and if satisfied with it to grant to it a certificate after which children might be committed to it.

Any child found begging or guilty of vagrancy might be brought before the magistrates who were empowered to summon his parents and the relieving officer of the union in which he was found, and to require security to the extent of £5 to be

given for the child's good behaviour, and in default of security to order the child to be sent to any Industrial School the managers of which might be willing to receive him, and to make an order on the Guardians of the Union to pay three shillings or less per week to the school for the child's maintenance. Power was given to the magistrates, on the application of the Guardians, to summon the child's parent, and order him to repay to the Guardians the weekly stipend or part of it. Religious freedom was secured by a clause enabling the parent, on paying the expenses, to have the child removed to any other certified school, which he may prefer, as in the Reformatory Act. The requisite powers were given for the recovery of absconding children, and the punishment of persons encouraging or harbouring them.

There then was proposed the foundation of a complete system by which, had it been introduced, the reformation of the large class of children who have not yet fallen into crime, but who are in imminent danger of it, might in course of time have been effected. For these children the expensive machinery of a Reformatory is needless. The very name *Reformatory* implies that the inmates are those who have already gone astray, and who have to be brought back into the path, of rectitude, a laborious and difficult operation. An Industrial School, on the other hand, being intended for young children who merely need training in the right way to prevent their entering upon the wrong one, can be supported at a cost so small, that it would have been covered by the payments from the unions with the addition of the grants made by the Privy Council, and such subscriptions as might with fair activity be raised in any town. The enforcement of the important principle of parental responsibility, moreover, would have been placed in the hands of those most able and likely to carry it vigorously into effect, namely, the Local Poor Law Authorities. Schools would soon have sprung up in most of our populous neighbourhoods, and the great work of drying up the sources of crime, be begun in earnest.

The Bill having been carefully settled by the Committee, with the valuable aid of the late lamented member for Leeds, Mr. Robert Hall, was brought into Parliament by Sir Stafford Northcote at the opening of the session in February. It was very favourably received, and would probably have soon passed into law had it not been stopped by the dissolution.

Sir Stafford Northcote (unfortunately for the cause of social

improvement) not being returned to the new Parliament, the Bill was committed to the able guardianship of Mr. Adderley, who introduced it at the beginning of the session. It was again well received, being supported by several petitions, among others from the Board of Guardians and the Clergy of this town, Birmingham. Shortly, however, some Boards of Guardians in Yorkshire taking fright at the clauses empowering payments to be ordered out of the poor's rate, which they fancied might entail serious burdens—had they taken the trouble to inquire the result of experience in Scotland they would have found that there was no cause of alarm—sent deputations to a member of the Government, and raised so much opposition, that the promoters of the Bill found it impossible to carry the measure without striking out the obnoxious clauses. Thus was lost a most important part of the Bill, the lack of which may in some towns prevent its benefits from being attained. Another change was the introduction of a clause enabling the child's parent to authorise any minister of his denomination to enter the school periodically to give religious instruction to the child. Whether Industrial Schools will generally consent to receive children on these terms remains to be seen. The provision is in the teeth of the principle on which such institutions are based, namely to afford to the children an *industrial, moral and religious training*, such as they would receive in a well ordered family. This object can hardly be attained where the master's influence is interfered with by the access of persons over whom he has no control, to the children under his care. The great desideratum of religious liberty is amply provided for by the clause which empowers the parent to choose the school to which his child shall be sent, it being equally competent to all denominations to establish schools of their own. This security has been considered sufficient in the far more coercive Reformatory Acts.* The practical effect of the clause in question, it is to be feared, will be, in many cases, to enable parents, who desire to enjoy the fruits of their children's mendicancy, to prevent under pretence of religious scruples.

* It may be observed here, that in cases where the working of the Industrial Schools' Act is thus obstructed, there is nothing to prevent the Justices from committing the child under the Reformatory Acts. The parallel provision in the Reformatory Act of the past session applies only to Reformatories which have been aided by County or Borough funds, and which are therefore analogous to public prisons.

Such extreme regard for the religious scruples, real or pretended, of persons who allow their children to be beggars and vagrants is difficult to account for.

The promoters, of course, greatly regretted the necessity of submitting to these changes, (as well as to others of less importance), but thought it better to accept them than throw up the Bill, since experience proves that in this country the most beneficial changes can rarely be effected, except by small steps.

Should these provisions seriously hinder the working of the law, Parliament will doubtless see fit to repeal them.

Having thus sketched the progress of the Industrial Schools' Bill, I shall in the following pages give a short practical exposition of the Act, as it has become law, and the mode of putting it in force.

The Industrial Schools' Act, 1857 ; (20 and 21 Vic., cap. 48).

1. *The certifying of Schools.*—The managers* of any school in which Industrial training is provided and where children are fed as well as taught, may apply to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education for a certificate. The Committee of Council are authorised to have the school inspected, and if satisfied with it to grant it a certificate, upon which the school will become a certified Industrial school within the Act.† The school is to be inspected and reported upon annually, and if the Committee of Council are dissatisfied with its condition they may withdraw their certificate, and upon notice in writing of such withdrawal being given to the Managers, the school ceases to be a certified school.‡

No School can be certified both under this act, and the Reformatory acts.§

The Committee of Council is to publish in the Gazette, notice of the granting and withdrawal of every certificate, and the production of a copy of the Gazette containing the notice, will be sufficient evidence that a school is certified or has had its certificate withdrawn. || The production of an attested copy of the certificate is also sufficient evidence.¶

2. *Children, how sent to school.*—A school having been established and certified, and the managers having declared their

* For interpretation of "Managers" see section 2.

† Sect. 3. ‡ Sect. 4. § Sect. 3. || Sect. 23. ¶ Sect. 22.

willingness to receive inmates, instructions should be given to the Police, to apprehend children who are within the Act, i.e., those who infringe the general Vagrant Act, or any local Act, by begging or other vagrancy.

When any such child is brought before the magistrates* they have the option instead of convicting and sentencing him to imprisonment, &c., under those Acts, to send him (unless his parent (e), guardian or nearest adult relative can be immediately found), to a certified Industrial School for any period not exceeding one week, inquiries must then be instituted, and notice given (f) to the parent, guardian, &c., (if any can be found) or to the person with whom the child is residing, or was last known to be residing, of the circumstances under which he has been taken into custody, and that the matter will be inquired into at the time and place mentioned in the notice, (h).

When that time arrives (i) the magistrates (j) may enquire into the matter, and if they think fit, discharge the child altogether, or deliver him to his parent, guardian, &c., on the latter giving an assurance in writing (k) that he will be responsible for the good behaviour of the child for any period not exceeding twelve months; but if no such assurance is given, then the magistrates may order (l) the child to be sent to a certified Industrial School for such time as they may think necessary for his education and training (m). If, however, there is in the county, (n) or in any adjoining county a certified Industrial School conducted on the principle of the religious persuasion to which the parents of the child belong, the managers of which are willing to receive the child, he must

* The word "Justices" is defined to mean, "any two Justices acting together, or any one person who by 11 and 12 "Vic., c. 43, ss. 43 and 44, (Jervis's Act), is authorised "to do alone whatsoever is authorised by that act, to be done by any two or more Justices of the Peace." [i.e. a Stipendiary Magistrate, or London Alderman] Industrial Schools' Act, sect. 2.

(e) see interpretation of "Parent," sect. 2.

(f) as per form A.

(h) sect. 5—(i) sect 6, (j) not necessarily those who gave the notice.

(k) Form B.—(l) Form C.—(m) the child, however, cannot be kept in the school against his will, after he is 15 years old, s. 14. (n) the word "county" is defined to include "any city, borough, riding, or division of a county, having a separate Commission of the Peace."

be sent to that school (o). In every case a duplicate of the order should be made and sent to the managers of the school, (o, l).

3. *Parental Responsibility*.—Where a parent or guardian, &c., has given an assurance as above mentioned, and the child is brought up again on a similar charge during the period for which the parent, &c., has become responsible, the magistrates may inflict a fine upon the latter not exceeding forty shillings, provided it is proved that the last offence has taken place through the neglect of the parent, (p).

On complaint of the managers of any school to which a child has been sent, any justices of the county or borough in which the school is situate, or in which the parent is residing, may (q) summon the parent, (r) and examine into his circumstances, and in their discretion may order him to pay a weekly sum not exceeding three shillings, until the child attains the age of fifteen years, or is otherwise lawfully discharged. If the parent makes default of payment for fourteen days, proceedings can be taken against him as for the recovery of penalties or forfeitures under this Act as described below (s).

Either the managers of the school or the parent, may apply to any justice of the county or borough in which the school is situate, or in which the parent is residing, to have the weekly payment lowered or raised, and provided the party making the application prove that he has given one week's notice in writing, to the other party of the intended application, and of the time and place appointed for hearing it, the justices must make full inquiry into the matter, and may in their discretion diminish or increase (s. 1) the weekly sum payable by the parent, or release him from it altogether, (s. 2).

4. *Children in Schools*.

The duplicate of the Magistrate's order, which the managers of the School will receive with the child, is a sufficient warrant

(o.) (o, l.) sect. 6.

(p) sect. 7, as no particular procedure is laid down for the recovery of this fine, it must be proceeded for, under the general procedure provided for by Jervis's Act, (11 and 12 Vic., c. 43).

(q, r) "Parent" is defined to include any person legally liable to maintain a child, and also any person upon whom an order of affiliation has been made and not quashed, sect. 2.

(s) sect. 15, and sect. 19.

(s. 1) Forms I and K. (s. 2) sect. 16.

for his detention (t) until he attains the age of fifteen (u) or is otherwise lawfully discharged.

A book must be kept in every Industrial School (to which access may be had at all reasonable hours) wherein the religious denomination of the child when admitted is be entered, and upon the representation of the parent, guardian, &c. a minister of the religious persuasion of the child is entitled to enter the School at such hours of the day as the managers appoint to give him religious aid and instruction. (v) If the managers think it expedient to allow any child to sleep at the house of his parent or of any trust-worthy person, they may do so, but they must feed him as if he lodged in the school.

The time during which a child is detained in a School under this act does not count to make him unremoveable as a pauper under 9 & 10 Vic. c. 66. (w)

5. *Children unlawfully leaving School.*

Any child (whether lodging in the School or not) (x) who absconds from it or otherwise neglects to attend, may be ordered, by any justice of the county or borough wherein it is situate or in which the child is retaken, to be sent back and detained until he reaches the age of fifteen or for any shorter period (y); and any person who withdraws the child from the School or aids him to abscond or knowingly harbours him, is liable to a penalty of two pounds to be recovered before two Justices as provided by Jervis's Act (11 & 12 Vict. c. 43.) (z)

6. *Children, how discharged from School and removed from one School to another.*

When a child has been sent, or ordered to be sent, to a School, if his parent or guardian, &c. objects to the School, and proposes another, and proves that the managers of the latter are willing to receive the child and (in case the objection is on other than religious grounds) pays, or finds good security

(t). sect. 11—(u) sect. 14.

(v) As before observed, in cases where it is thought that this clause will prove an obstacle to the child's admission into an Industrial School, there is nothing to prevent the Justices from committing him under the Reformatory Acts, since there is no such provision as respects Reformatory Schools unless in case of any accepting aid from a county or borough, see 17 & 18 Vic. c. 86, s. 2 and 20 & 21 Vic. c. 55 s. 6.

(w) Section 8. (x) Section 17.

(y) Section 18. (z) Section 19.

to pay any expenses caused by the objection, any Justice of the county or borough where the child was taken into custody, must order (a.a) the child to be sent to the School proposed by the parent. (a.b.)

On the application of the parent or the managers of a school, any Justices of the County or Borough where the school is situate, or where the parent resides, if satisfied that a suitable employment in life has been found for the child, or that there is other good cause, may order his discharge before the expiration of the period for which he has been sent, (a.c.,) or may order him to be removed from one school to another: (a.d.) (a.e.) The justices may also discharge the child on security being found for his good behaviour in such amount as they may determine, but they may decline to receive security where it has been previously offered for the child and rejected or forfeited, (a.f.)

On any child attaining the age of fifteen he is at once at liberty to leave the School (a.g.)

Miscellaneous.—A power is given to Boards of Guardians (to contract with the consent of of the Poor Law Board) for the maintenance of pauper children at certified Industrial Schools (a.h.)

The leaving of any notice required by the act at the last known place of abode of the person to whom it is addressed is a sufficient service of it (a.i.)

Provision is made that the production of orders for the detention of children and for other matters, shall be evidence without proof of the signatures to the documents or of the identity of the persons mentioned therein, (a.j.)

Forms are provided for the various documents required, which, however, are not to be void for want of form (a.k.)

The act does not extend to Ireland or Scotland (a.l.)

Conclusion.—It will be seen that, notwithstanding some defects and blemishes which the bill has received (in common with most others) during its passage through Parliament, it has laid down two important principles.

(a.a) Form D. (a.b) Section 9.

(a.c) Form E. (a.d) Form F. (a.e) Section 12. (a.f) Section 13. (a.g) Section 14.

(a.b) Section 21. (a.i) Section 20. (a.j) Section 22. (a.k) Section 24. (a.l) Section 25.

First.—That when the natural guardians of children neglect their parental duties towards them, the state has a right to step in and see those duties performed ; and

Secondly.—That neglectful parents should be compelled to bear the expense of their children's training and maintenance.

Now that these two great principles are established, we need not fear that any fault of detail will long be permitted to obstruct the great work of snatching our youthful brethren from their downward course, and training them to be virtuous and useful citizens.

APPENDIX III.

Mr. Recorder Hill's Charge on the Reformatory Schools' Act of 1854.

GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY—

One of the duties of our local courts in early times was to promulgate new statutes to the people collected in these assemblies ; and prior to the invention of printing, such a usage, it will be conceded, was founded on imperative necessity ; unless the laws were to remain altogether, what in truth they have too much remained, a sealed book to the body of the nation. Customs, when harmless, are often valuable possessions ; and may frequently be turned to good account, even when the causes from which their origin is derived have passed away. But the usage of which I am speaking, to be made practicable in the present age, must be greatly qualified. Every Session of Parliament produces a whole volume of public Statutes of general operation ; to say nothing of the huge mass of Local and Private Acts. We are driven then to a narrow selection ; and probably you will agree with me that our choice ought to rest upon such only, as call into action some new principle affecting large classes of our fellow subjects. And perhaps you will further agree with me in thinking that if the changes which have been thus wrought in the law touch the administration of Criminal Justice, they will possess an additional claim to our attention in this place. In exercising the duty of selection

no particular regard can be had to that fleeting excitement indicated by the multiplicity of speeches or the warmth of debate, which may have ushered the new measure into the world. For while questions of temporary interest, but of no real moment, often absorb attention both in and out of Parliament, the Legislature not infrequently passes Acts with little discussion in either House, and with less observation by the public, whose effects on society are nevertheless as deep and as permanent, as the jarings which fill the columns of the newspaper are trifling and evanescent.

Lasting and progressive will I trust be the action of the Statute entitled the Youthful Offenders' Act, to which I now respectfully invite your attention. For many years, as some, if not all of you, can testify of your own knowledge, the doctrine that Reformatory Treatment of criminals ought to be substituted for Retributive Punishment, was impressed on the public mind, and latterly, by the aid of the public itself, it has been urged on the attention of the Government and of the Legislature.

Neither the fact of such a pressure, nor the arguments by which it was justified, need be dwelt upon in this town, which has been chosen as the scene of two most important Conferences, of whose debates and resolutions the Statute which I hold in my hand may justly be considered the fruit.

After many struggles and disappointments, and much delay, this all-important principle, so far as it applies to the young, has at length obtained the solemn recognition of the greatest Legislature on earth ; and is henceforward withdrawn from the troubled regions of controversy to take its place among established and undeniable truths. And so far as relief can be given by the provisions of an Act of Parliament, Judges and Magistrates are now relieved from the odious necessity of exposing children to treatment at once revolting to humanity and condemned by experience, as inevitably leading to consequences the very opposite of those which its administrators had vainly contemplated.

Gentlemen, it is not an easy thing to fix upon that class of the community which ought most to rejoice over this revolution. The mind naturally turns first to the poor children themselves, the objects of the new enactment. But, if language did not fail me, I would ask to speak for the Ministers of Justice, and I would attempt to convey to your minds a due appreciation of

the boon conferred upon us in our release from the odious task of inflicting pain to be followed not by good but by evil. What, Gentlemen, is the waste of gold, or of precious stones, or of any earthly wealth, compared to the waste of human suffering? If it savour of presumption for erring man deliberately and by Law to inflict pain upon his brother, (as it assuredly would have done had it not been justified by absolute necessity) how awful is the duty cast upon him to look well to the consequences of such infliction, and to abstain from any unprofitable exercise of this fearful prerogative, as he would abstain from self destruction! Can we then, who preside in Courts like this, be too grateful that we are no longer to be the agents of these absurd and cruel visitations?

Nor, Gentlemen, while congratulating myself upon what has been gained, can I repress the desire to look upon the position we have reached, more as an earnest of further progress than as a place of rest. Providence has endowed children with a potent influence upon our sympathies, but as they advance to manhood the talisman drops from their hands. As then public opinion is more easily won over when approached by sentiment than by reason, it was wise on the part of the philanthropist to put into the front of the battle the cause of the young, and to keep back that of the adult until vantage ground had been secured. That the treatment of children must differ from the treatment of men is obvious, whether the children and the men are at large, or under legal coercion. But as regards the propriety of applying the same principles of punishment to each class, no valid distinction between the two can be established. The solid foundation on which the claims of the young to Reformatory Treatment must be based, is that it has been proved to be advantageous not merely to Youthful Offenders, but to the community at large—not to a part only, but to the whole. Yet this ground being once conceded to the young it will be found, on examination, to support the claims of the adult to similar treatment.

That greater difficulties will have to be surmounted, and that the incurable will constitute a larger proportion in the latter class, than in the former, may be admitted. Yet these admissions can safely be made without at all disturbing the general conclusion; which is, that as to both classes Reformatory Discipline ought to be regarded as the rule, leaving the exceptions to be dealt with as best they may. But the claim of the adult

portion of the offending classes even upon our sympathy, will be strongly felt by all whose charity can be awakened by reflection, and is not altogether dependent on outward impressions or instinctive impulse. The little outcast of tender years standing at a Criminal Bar, over which he can scarcely lift his eyes, becomes upon the instant, and without time given for thought, the object of our compassion. But suppose years to pass away, suppose him still to remain the creature of ignorance and abandonment; all this time will evil habit be doing its work, slowly but surely reducing him to a slavery hopeless of redemption. Let us now suppose the period of life to have arrived, when appetites and passions which had slumbered through his adolescence, awake to urge him on to his ruin with a force which his unhappy training has deprived him of all power to resist, even if the desire for better things should still survive. Is such a being, I ask you, Gentlemen, less an object of commiseration to the thoughtful Christian than the neglected child? If pity in minds well regulated, has relation rather to the depth of the misery which calls it forth, than to the aspect winning or repulsive which that misery may chance to wear, the neglected and ill-trained man has even a stronger claim on our consideration than belongs to his younger competitor. And if, as it has now been solemnly admitted, the community is bound to take charge of the child with the intent to reform him, can it be relieved from that responsibility by permitting him to remain in his vicious courses until he grows up a man? Surely if by our indifference we have sinned against the youth, so far from expiating our offence, we double it, if we persist in our apathy until he is unature in years as well as in crime. I ask you then, Gentlemen, to give your aid in this good work. Let us, like our brave countrymen and allies, having seized one position, use it to complete our conquest over the whole fortress of error.

The next great principle established by this Act, is that the State, while it assumes as it ought to assume, the parentage of the child neglected or perverted by those who have brought him into existence, has a right, and is called upon by duty, to prevent the father and the mother from creating for themselves a benefit out of their own misconduct. To this end the Act invests the Court which consigns the child to a Reformatory Institution, with authority to impose a weekly payment, for its sustenance, on every parent able to contribute to its

maintenance. Doubtless, in many instances, this authority will be inoperative, by reason of the poverty which the parents may have brought on themselves by indulging in vice and indolence; or which may have fallen upon them by some calamity for which they are not responsible. But no pains must be spared to prevent the parent from throwing off a burden imposed upon him by every law, human and divine, under any pretence, however specious.

The third great principle sanctioned by the Legislature in this Act, is that of voluntary guardianship. In various parts of this country, as in others, earnest and benevolent men and women have already taken upon themselves the duty, hitherto neglected by the State, of reforming juvenile offenders. They began, and they persevered in this noble enterprise, under circumstances of all but insuperable difficulty. Their control over their young wards not being recognized by law, they have had to depend upon their power over the hearts of such of these poor, ill-trained, wayward, and rebellious children and youths, as they could persuade to remain under their care and guidance; and when we consider that the end in view is to change the aspirations and the habits of the pupil; to make him hate that which he has loved, and love that which he has hated; to induce him to submit to wholesome control, instead of indulging the caprices of an unbridled will; to become laborious where he had been indolent; and to abstain from all gratifications inconsistent with his position, and consequently not merely from those condemned by religion and morality, but also from such as are too expensive for his narrow means and expectations, or dangerous from their tendency to dissipate his attention from the imperative duty of learning the art of self-support—we shall feel that these faithful guardians imposed upon themselves a labour which demands for its endurance a philanthropy the purest and the deepest—one perpetually to be urged forward and solaced by Christian zeal and Christian hope.

Remember, Gentlemen, when you estimate their toils, that neglect and ill-usage has sealed up, as it were, all inlets to the confidence and affections of those outcasts; that proffered generosity would excite suspicion; and that the objects of this high benevolence would at first be engaged in casting about to discover sinister motives, hidden, as they believed, under such a display of compassion. True it is that this coldness, after a time, thaws under the genial warmth of kindness, which the

young person finds, by experience, has no motive except the desire for his good. But the conduct of this experiment is not the work of a day; and it has been consequently found that the hard problem to be solved is, how to retain the recipient of the benefits of good training, until he can be convinced that he is under treatment which has his welfare for its object, unadulterated with any taint of selfish interests. That examples, without number, can be adduced, both at home and abroad, in which these distressing impediments, even under their most aggravated forms, have been surmounted, is now an indisputable fact; but that the proportion of failures would have been far less, had a power of legal detention been conferred on the managers of private Reformatories, cannot be doubted; and this power, by the provisions of the Act under review, they will now possess.

Let me, however, pause for a moment, to explain why I do not consider the absence of such power up to the present time as altogether a misfortune. And I am of this opinion, because the absence of coercive authority concentrated the aims of experimentalists endowed with the richest gifts, intellectual and spiritual, upon forcing a passage to the human heart, even in its most hardened state; and of bringing vicious habits and the mutinous will under subjection, with no weapons but those furnished by faith, by charity, and by good sense. The efficiency of these weapons has thus been manifested to an incredulous world, too prone to fly to coercion as the sole expedient; whereas we have now abundant proof that it should only be called into action as a last resort, and even then employed with reluctance and reserve. And no doubt caution and forbearance will be requisite hereafter, lest too much reliance should be placed on the legal control which the Act supplies. The walls of the gaol have not only kept the bodies of prisoners in durance, but have had a somewhat analogous effect on the intellects of gaolers; confining them within the narrow routine of a discipline whose only resources are pain of body or of mind. As Reformatories will not be surrounded by walls, the reliance on force never can approach the degree to which it has attained in prisons; but should force ever come to be regarded as a substitute for an alliance with the will and the affections of the patient, sound cures will cease to be wrought. For as the discipline of the Reformatory is of no avail unless it fructifies into good conduct in the after life of the ward,

when its restraints and artificial motives are withdrawn, so the object of the conductors must continue to be, first, to make the ward or patient desire to do right, and then to give him habits of industry and self-government which will enable him to act up to his convictions.

And this brings me to the last, but, in a practical sense, the most important topic of my charge. The Legislature has now placed Reformatory Schools established by voluntary societies among the recognized Institutions of our country, and is ready to bear the expense of the board and instruction of the inmates; or at least so much of that cost as cannot be exacted from the parents. In furnishing us with these provisions, it has offered us most important facilities to the multiplication of such establishments. And this is all that can be done without infringing on the voluntary principle, which is widely kept sacred from intrusion.

It will depend, then, upon those who are duly impressed with the obligation which our Christian brotherhood with the poor outcast imposes upon us, whether this noble statute, which breathes the very spirit of our holy religion, shall operate as widely as the necessity for its application is spread; or whether, by our supineness or by our quailing before the difficulties which always beset a new enterprise, the Act shall remain a dead letter, proving against us that we are of those who know their duty, but fail in performing it; who set at nought the denunciations which hang over the servant that "knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will."

Gentlemen, I have done. I am in no frame of mind to dwell on the few spots which fell upon the Bill in its passage through the Houses of Parliament. These blemishes are not of its essence, nor can they obscure its beauty; and believe me, many an eye which has long and anxiously watched for this auspicious dawn, will be too much dimmed by emotion, even to discern them. Let me then, in the words of Milton, express my confidence that

"the ethereal mould
Incapable of stain, will soon expel
Her mischief, and purge off the baser part
Victorious."——

APPENDIX IV.

To the Editor of the Philanthropist.

The following letter from our friend Mr. Barwick Baker, of Hardwicke Court, is worthy of notice :—

DEAR SIR.—On December 18th I received a letter asking me to give you my ideas on the progress of Reformatory Schools during the past year, and the prospects we now have of the future advancement of the work ; and all this to be in time for your January number, when I am much engaged, besides having my boys home from Eton.

It must be a very rough sketch ; but such as it may be you shall have it if you like it.

It is indeed curious to look back to the slow but steady progress of the system, from its commencement by the Philanthropic Society about 1790, struggling on, benefiting a small number of individuals, but too small to produce any general effect on society, and prevented from following out the plan proposed by its first founders, of a rural and agricultural school, by the increase of the town which clasped it round and prevented its expansion. Then, in 1830, poor Captain Brenton, with very small means, but with a stout and true heart, having established his school at Hackney Wick, showed us what might be done, with little means, by a rough agricultural labour system ; and, having fought hard against all difficulties, with the aid of the energetic Miss Murray, and under the patronage of the Princess Victoria, had, in 1840, gained the attention of the country—large subscriptions were provided—ministers were prepared with a bill for its encouragement—when suddenly an utterly unfounded but violent popular cry was raised against it ; poor Brenton died, the whole affair was broken up, and further progress appeared for long to be hopeless. Still, however, the fire lived.

The Philanthropic continued its steady labours, though on a small scale ; and at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, in Warwickshire, a small, good, practical Reformatory—little known, indeed, to the world—relieved Birmingham of many who must otherwise have swelled the ranks of the regular criminals, and only died with its energetic manager, the Rev. Townshend Powell, just before the Act of Vict. 17th and 18th, which would have assisted it and restored it to full vigour.

But, meantime, in 1849, the Rev. Sydney Turner, having been appointed chaplain to the Philanthropic School, conceived

and executed the design of transferring the site of his exertions from the crowded streets of the Surrey portion of London to the open hills of Reigate, and thus in fact restoring the system to that which the benevolent founders had originally contemplated.

A few years more and public attention became again awake to the pressing need for such schools. In 1852, Hardwicke, near Gloucester, Kingswood, near Bristol, the Home in the East, London, and Stoke, near Droitwich, was commenced. In 1853, Saltley (Birmingham) and Newcastle-on-Tyne opened their schools. In 1854, the Red Lodge (Bristol), and a school at Birmingham, both for girls, appeared, and one for boys in Cumberland.

In 1855, Leicestershire, Devon, Hants, Norfolk, Berks, Hammersmith (for Roman Catholics), West Yorkshire, and Cheshire, all had schools in action. In 1856, Northamptonshire, Liverpool (The Akbar), North and East Yorkshire, Suffolk, Mount St. Bernard (for Roman Catholics), Worcestershire, Allesley (near Birmingham, for girls), the Yorkshire Roman Catholic Reformatory, the Warwick and the Wilts—all were certified; while in 1857, *two* girls' Reformatories, have been opened in Liverpool, while those for boys, in Essex, Dorset, Bedfordshire, and Lancashire, I think have all been certified. Staffordshire, Glamorgan, Herts, and Monmouthshire, if not certified, are nearly ready; and the Newcastle Reformatory is in course of removal to the neighbourhood of Morpeth, where it is to be so increased in size as to receive all the boys of Durham and Northumberland, in addition to their former numbers.

Now if you take this list, with a map of England (that from a last month's Bradshaw will serve the turn well), and put a large ink-spot on the sites of the schools, you will see that they are pretty evenly spread over England. There remain, I think, no counties unprovided, except Kent and Sussex in the south, and Notts, Derby, and Lincoln, in the centre, and perhaps one for North Wales.* Kent, Sussex, and Notts have all raised subscriptions to pay other schools to take their boys, and I have just received a letter from a Derbyshire magistrate saying that there the subject is to be brought

* Some smaller Counties remain, but too small to require schools. Berks can take Bucks and Oxon, and have room to spare. Devon can clear Cornwall, &c.

forward at the ensuing sessions. Thus we may say that all the counties of England, and many of the town, are provided with Schools. I understand that Sheffield, Leeds, Hull, and Manchester are building schools; and—not by any means least, though certainly last—Middlesex, having had for nearly three years all the facilities which a special act of parliament could give—*has begun to build.*

So far as the mere work of establishing Reformatories, then, we have little of prospect before us, because the work is nearly all done. But we must remember that the establishing Reformatories is but a small *means* to our work; the real work is *the diminution of crime.* How, then, do our means work towards our end? If I bring my own county forward as an example, it is only because from the accidental priority of commencement, our county has been of course, the first to feel the benefit. For a time the impression made could hardly be statistically determined, though *I* could see a great difference between the determined young thieves who came at first and the lighter and more manageable cases whom we afterwards received. But after a time of gradual slight diminution, when we had caught the last of the old gang, the numbers of convictions in Cheltenham suddenly dropped from near fifty to fourteen per annum, while the second convictions (of more real consequence than the first) have dropped from eighteen to three. This would not be sufficient to prove a general rule; but in Norfolk Mr. Wright says that he finds a great diminution; in Liverpool I hear reports of the same; in Bristol the committals in 1855 and 1856 were 220, while in 1857 the number will hardly come up to 70. In Birmingham from Michaelmas, 1855, to Michaelmas, 1856, there were twenty-five boys sent to Reformatories out of 259 committals. From Michaelmas, 1856, to Michaelmas, 1857, fifty-four boys were sent, out of 239 convictions. Now, if nearly one quarter of the total number are sent to Reformatories, and if such cases as are fit for the purpose are selected (and those who know the excellent stipendiary magistrate will believe that they are so), the number which has diminished this year, is likely to diminish in a greater degree next year. Now, the point to be aimed at is, as I believe, the reception into the Reformatories of nearly every second conviction. Where this can be attained, I hold that it is nearly impossible for any boy to grow up in habitual crime.

In what I am about to say of *my own fancies* you will pro-

bably set me down as wildly visionary. I believe I have often been reckoned so before, and therefore am used to it; but wild as my visions have been, the facts have hitherto out-run them.

I believe that within two years—if magistrates will only hold to the system now *generally*, but by no means *universally*, adopted, of reserving Reformatories for serious cases—(as a general rule for second committals)—and not filling them with those who from childish thoughtlessness have committed some petty theft—if it be fully understood and rigidly held to that boys are not to be sent to us to be maintained by the state in order to save the parish—nor even from mere pity, “because the parents are very poor, and it would be a charity to relieve them at the national expense;” if, I say, Reformatories be restricted to boys who are really entering into what we may call regular crime, I have little doubt that within two years all the county Reformatories will have done their work, and will find that crime is checked, and can be kept in check, without receiving more than probably one third of their full number. They will then be able to assist any of the large towns that may need their help, and I believe that then we may all join in one attack on the juvenile crime of the metropolis, which I strongly suspect we shall then find to be (as the crime of most towns has been proved) an apparent giant, that, when fairly met and grappled with, turns into something like a dwarf. I am the more inclined to this opinion because, though I know little of the numbers of Middlesex, I find by the judicial statistics that the total commitments are little more than three times those of Surrey. Of the latter county a Surrey magistrate has procured me some details, and I find that the total convictions of boys under 16 were, last year, 939; of these 433 have been once or oftener previously convicted; 252 twice, and 149 three times. Now, were every boy, even on his fourth conviction, sent to a Reformatory, so that *there should not be a four times convicted boy left at large*, I have little doubt that a year or two would *check* the crime so as to allow a school of 150 to receive third or even second convictions.

Now if Middlesex afford three times the amount of boys that Surrey will furnish, a Reformatory for 600 would be sufficient *in time* to meet the wants of the whole metropolitan district, though, doubtless, the reception of a larger number would do the work more quickly. With the schools now ex-

isting, is such a task hopeless? But when those which are now prudently small, because they are young, shall have felt their strength and increased their size, and when Middlesex shall have finished its own school and got it to work, and altered its act so as to allow them to receive boys up to 16 years old, we may indeed hope that a strong effect may ere long be produced even on the juvenile crime of the metropolis.

Still we must remember that we have work a-head yet untouched or only attempted in a few noble experiments. Boys will begin crime at fifteen (though far fewer than those who begin earlier), and ere they are twice convicted will be past our reach. The present law—which says that a boy of fifteen can be reformed, but that a boy of sixteen cannot—will, I trust, be altered. That law has never visited No. 19 New-road, or it would confess its own absurdity. The *opportunity of reformation* which the law gives to all under sixteen *must* ere long be given to those above that age, and if it please God to forward His own good work as He has hitherto done, the gratitude of the nation will in good time be due to Lord Carnarvon, Lord Brougham, and Lord Derby, who, last session, joined, and I trust may this year succeed in carrying their measure.

I remain, dear sir, faithfully yours,

J. H. BAKER.

Hardwicke Court, Gloucester, Dec. 22, 1857.

[Mr. Baker does not appear to know that the "*Surrey Society for Employment and Reformation of Discharged Prisoners*" was established in 1824, and has been carried on very successfully to the present time.—Ed.]

APPENDIX V.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN IRELAND.

It must have been evident to the reader, that Mr. Alfred Hill's paper printed in Appendices II. and III., was full of suggestions most important to all in Ireland, who are interested in that industrial movement which takes for its motto, Prevention is better than Cure. It must, however, be kept clearly in mind, that in any Industrial Schools' Bill intended to be useful to Ireland, we must clearly and distinctly secure that the children shall be sent to schools managed by persons of the same religious creed as their parents, and that no option, or selection of the school, shall be given to parents or guardians. To frame a Bill for Ireland on other terms than these, would be but to give a legislative help to Proselytism, and would make the Bill a thing to be suspected and reprobated by every man acquainted with the wishes and requirements of the people of this country.

The following letter, addressed to us by a lady whose ability is only equalled by her zeal, and whose charity, active charity, is only surpassed by her experience, is of the vastest importance just now. We recommend it to the closest attention of every reader.

My dear Sir,

You have asked me to give you an account of my own experience of Industrial training in the South of Ireland. I comply willingly, but I feel the impossibility of giving you even a faint sketch of the interesting and important facts presented to me while employed for two years by day, and I may almost add by night, in this work of love. I shall try to select what may interest you; but I warn you that the subject would fill a large volume, were I to detail the one-half of what rushes to my thoughts when even the name of Industrial School is mentioned. I might inflict on you whole essays on Reformatories, on Prisons, on Emigration, on Poor Law Unions, on Magdalen Asylums, and last, though not least, on Industrial Schools. I do believe, that had the latter been in proper operation, nearly all the other Institutions would have been in such a minority as to render them of little importance to the community, instead of being, as they now are, the different imposthumes grown on what might have otherwise been a sound and healthy body. *Enfin*, my own dear Industrial Schools!—my remedy for all and every evil, not sent by God, but permitted by him to punish men's neglect of seeing after His own poor. Why do I insist on this truth, but because girls have come into my Schools from all the Asylums and Institutions I have mentioned, and while conversing with them, and listening to their sad tales, and trying to remedy their condition and restore them to their place in society, I learned the defects of the

various systems referred to. I have found the Industrial School a resource and remedy for all, and therefore I have given my life to the advancement of the cause.

It was not at first my own seeking so to employ myself. On my return to Cork in the latter part of 1850, I placed my only child at School, and looked about to know where I was to give my leisure hours. Just at that time a lady who was wishing to begin an Industrial School, but could not give her time to it, being engaged in business, begged I would assist. I hesitated, as I felt more inclination to help a little Infant School that appeared to have few to look after it. However, at the request of the Right Rev. Dr. Delany, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, I accepted the invitation, and associated myself with a few ladies to commence the work. We were presented with £50 by a Catholic Clergyman, and we began by teaching plain work. Children and grown girls flocked in to us at once. We were helped for a time by many friends sending us plain work, but as few were able to finish it well, we could not give the greater number any but coarse material to learn on, which, as you may suppose, was very poorly paid. After a few months, when we had trained a number of good workers, we found with regret our funds fast failing, and no supply of regular work secured. What was to be done? One of our children who was extremely poor, and whose sight was very bad, seemed so distressed by the plain work, that a patroness suggested having her taught to make cabbage nets. She succeeded so well, that silk was given her to make a hair net; and this being perfectly done, the patroness already alluded to as engaged in a fancy trade, gave us an order for a few dozen of nets, and recommended us to put several girls to work at them. We did so with success, and the order was soon completed. We then bought silk, and made up some on our own account, which I took to several shops and offered at a low price. At first we found it very difficult to get sale for them. I sometimes think over these first struggles, when I would call with my little bundle of nets at the counter of some of the monster establishments, and could scarcely obtain even the civility of having them looked at. However, I kept on dunning and calling, as any poor struggling industrious widow might do; by degrees I coaxed an order, for I pleaded hard, having always before my eyes and in my heart seventy half-starved eager faces looking up as I entered the School, calling out, "have you any work for us to day?" When I returned with a small order, the joy expressed used to repay me for all the anxiety and vexation of spirit endured.

All was not fair sailing. Sometimes the work was found imperfect, or the price was cut down; and I should bear all, and should still ask and gratefully accept work. We crept on for a little while, until our children became expert, and produced really perfect work. Then soon after the fashion of wearing nets became general, and when one of my nieces arrived from Dublin one day, with a crotchet net of a new description, I took it off in triumph, caused a dozen to be made, took them to a shop, and got orders for several dozens. The tide turned suddenly in our favour. One day the head of one of the establishments, seeing a mohair net made by one of our children, and

finding that we could produce a dozen of them for exactly the same price his buyer had paid for *one* in London, he was at once convinced of the profit to be made by fostering home manufacture. The next mohair nets were made and sent to London, instead of bringing any from thence. Meanwhile, I had gained over some of the young men in the different departments of the monster houses to take new patterns with them to England. They did so, and returned with such large orders as induced their principals to become exporters, instead of importers. From that time success crowned us. Yellow crotchet nets were made by us for Germany. Hundreds of dozens were sent weekly to England and America. In fine, we were obliged ourselves to look for help; and forthwith shared our orders with the schools of the North Presentation and South Presentation Convents of Cork, and sent on to Kinsale, Blarney, Mallow, and Middleton, where there were struggling Industrial Schools, in which this species of work had not been taught, or, indeed, any kind of work carried on in connection with houses of business. All were now at work. It was a glorious sight to see joy and comfort increasing daily, where nothing but helpless misery had previously existed. In our own school, at this time, we were paying £20 a-week.

But, in the midst of this success, I found my health and strength giving way. The labour was continuous, and the anxiety unceasing, and I was alone in the struggle after the first few months of plain work. The few patronesses had gone to the London Exhibition, and when returned, did not resume their functions, from a variety of causes. The principal excuse given me was, that it had become too serious and anxious a business, and that they could not promise serious help, as their time could not be altogether given up to it. This was a sad blow. But there was no time to fret; and, in spite of all, I was obliged still to hold on. The work was there, and the joy of having it to give to the poor people gave me energy equal to the occasion. However, the good Bishop, finding the responsibility becoming too great for any one individual, encouraged me to ask the assistance of the Sisters of Mercy, adding, at the same time, that he feared they had already too many calls on their exertions. I went to the convent, and made my case so evident that the good Superioress consented to accept the charge of the school, provided that I remained helping until they had learned to conduct it in a business-like way. This I willingly did; and the Sisters were not long in becoming perfect.

Having succeeded so far, and finding my mind considerably relieved, by having this weight of anxiety removed, I was free to turn my attention elsewhere, and without much delay opened a new branch, about a mile farther off, in a populous but very distressed district. I was in the habit of attending to teach catechism in the parish church, and on Sunday I gave notice that a new school would be opened in the neighbourhood. One hundred and fifty girls, between the ages of fifteen and five-and-twenty presented themselves the next morning. I desired each girl who had earned money by work before that day, to hold up her hand. Only four did so—and they had been selling apples! My plan for having them taught without the ex-

pense of a mistress, was, that of taking ten of the best workers from the school given to the good sisters. I divided the children among them, and gave each teacher the first perfect dozen of nets made by her pupils. This arrangement gave ample satisfaction, and there was no lack of attention on the part of mistress or pupils.

It would be too long to detail all that followed the success of these schools. Instead of hunting for orders, travellers began to arrive in search of our work. The prices were kept up, and carefully watched by rival establishments. Orders came faster than we could execute them, and I refer you to Mr. Maguire's account of the National Exhibition in Cork, for particulars of the other branches of industry, which followed this first success. You are anxious to hear the details of this commencement, and indeed if I could remember and particularize all the difficulties which beset the work, it would render the narrative instructive, inasmuch as it would teach the possibility of surmounting obstacles when met with a firm and hopeful will. There was no capital to carry on all this: the work had to be finished and brought in before I could pay the weekly wages, and this added not a little to my care. We blundered sadly in our first trading efforts—wasted materials—gave ourselves useless trouble. And then we were long before learning to use, or finding means to procure proper implements. I was obliged myself to search on the roads for large stones, approaching the shape of a head, and to collect them in little heaps, to be taken up by a carrier as he passed on other business; and then to hang each net with one of the stones in it to shape and dry, because we were not able to purchase saucers, which were procured later, and added not a little to the prosperity of the Sisters' school, by enabling them to finish the work with greater facility and nicety. Innumerable badly made nets had to be paid for, and the loss in the weight of silk provided by the manufacturer, to be made good. Volumes might be added of my blunders from ignorance and inexperience. But the very small profit on each dozen, and the quantity worked up covered all waste and loss, and enabled us to get on without debt.

Perhaps it is well here to mention another great difficulty, which, in my efforts to overcome it, was productive of new blessings. We were sometimes overwhelmed with orders: not having capital in hand to lay in a stock of silk, we were often obliged to wait for the return of the buyer of the establishment for which we worked, from England. In these cases the delay of a day was severely felt by the workers. The manufacturers did not then understand the necessity of keeping hands employed, and judge what a blow it was to me sometimes when calling for my order, to be told coolly that the buyer waited for the silk to fall in price before laying in a stock. What was I to do? I thought I might fall back on shirt making, now that the traders began to understand what organized labour might produce to them of profit. I proposed to get gentlemen's shirt fronts or "Tommies" made up. I was answered by the assertion that it could not be done at all in Ireland—the articles could not be washed, and they should be sent to Glasgow to be boxed! But a little trouble conquered these difficulties. The Sisters of Charity undertook to have the

washing done in their Magdalen Asylum, and after much trouble I prevailed on a poor woman, who earned a wretched subsistence by making bandboxes, to try her hand on a flat box. The prejudice against trying a new thing being got over, she set to work in earnest—took several apprentices to make what had hitherto been imported, for nets, fronts, and other fancy articles, and before long had opened a branch for her own trade in Limerick, and put by money in the Savings' Bank. It is scarcely needful to say, that obstacles being thus removed, the export shirt trade commenced, and I went on all the more hopefully, knowing that the children's bread was no longer altogether dependant on the failure or partial interruption of one branch of trade.

I will not add the history of polka jackets, netted mitts, and fine crotchet, all which branches of trade followed in succession. I shall content myself with telling you, that one day while passing through a monster house, with my children carrying home the work, one of the young men asked me could I get him a Macassar made the same as a pattern he gave me. He could get, he thought, orders for such in England. We did so: and it will give you an idea of the rapid progress of the Industrial movement in the South, when I tell you that the same enterprising and intelligent buyer is now become a partner in the concern, and has the entire management of the Crotchet department.—In that department alone thirteen thousand pounds were paid last year! And remember, this was only one of the monster establishments. I could tell you of another of the same establishments, the head of which gave us every encouragement, and organized the reception of work from all parts of Ireland, having appointed travellers for that business alone. Many an hour has he passed discussing with me all the possible means of securing a market and employment for the Schools. I believe it is only common justice to mention the name of Mr. Fitzgibbon, late Mayor of Cork, and proprietor of the Queen's Old Castle Company. Mr. Arnott, has also helped in every possible manner as proprietor and great exporter from Cork to America. He has likewise been always ready, with ample generosity, to assist with money every charitable enterprise. But Mr. Fitzgibbon I believe to have been the real benefactor to the Industrial Movement. He commenced many branches hitherto but faintly developed; he gave what to him was more than money—his time and all his well-known energy. I cannot avoid making known what I alone had the opportunity of testing: for if it be true that I was mainly instrumental in developing the movement in the South, it is quite certain that I could not have succeeded but for the assistance and encouragement he gave me, at a time when it was all but gone, for want of extending the market.

But why lay such stress on the mere machinery of the business, when you are most interested in its fruits? Am I to begin a history of all the interesting cases which I met with, and of the good done by these Schools? Later, perhaps, such a chapter might be written with advantage, but it would be impossible to crush it into the limits of a letter. I must conclude with a few remarks on the subject of what you are now hoping to find realized at no distant period—the adaptation of an Industrial Schools' Bill for Ireland. I

address you as one who represents to my mind, that body of earnest thinkers and zealous workers, who devote their energies to the consideration of the means best fitted to improve the condition of the ignorant and innocent, as well as thoroughly to reform those who may be classed with the criminal and unfortunate. You have won the right of a hearing : and I speak boldly to you, knowing that if anything acquired by me, in the way of experience, may be of value to those interested in the cause, you will know how to adopt it, and make it useful to your fellow workers. I pray you by all the good you hope to see realised, to use your influence, and look well to the details and practical working out of your all important object. Let care be taken that this part be not given over to mere theorists. Of all other projects, one which combines trade with training, must not be lightly confided to hands, or heads, or even hearts, however clever, intelligent, and even trust-worthy, if not endued also with real experience, acquired by voluntary working in favour of the poor. Let there be no place-giving, no experimental heads of departments, or money will be squandered, and disgust and disappointment excited in the minds of earnest and anxious well-wishers. Let the end be well considered before a commencement be made : for, believe me, if the system be not well arranged from the starting post, it will be very difficult to mend it once it is set in motion. Any failure would be fatal, throwing back the condition of education and Reformatories into hopeless and helpless decrepitude. If the Industrial part be well watched, the others will fall naturally into their right places. I give you a few hints out of many kept back. I feel too anxious, and know too many details, to trust my pen in its fullest exercise.

In the first place, as regards Reformatories :—You may learn already how the business was only half prepared when arrangements had been neglected for organising Institutions into which the new reformed girls could be received, and in which they should be certain to obtain means of support by honest work, until such a time as the influence of the Ladies Patronesses, supposed as a matter of course, to be connected with these Institutions, or the intercourse between similar establishments, in distant parts of the kingdom, should afford facilities for permanently settling them.

The work of reformatories I might almost say (being an Irish-woman) should have begun by this important *end*; for all was liable to be lost by having it in doubt what was to be done with your reformed female. I have before expressed my opinion that Industrial Schools should have been first provided at any expense. Much trouble would have been saved. Imagine the resource which a poor reformed girl would find in an Industrial School ! She would fall in imperceptibly with the rest—the children would never need to know where she came from—like any other friendless girl or real orphan she would come in to earn her bread—and with the rest would listen to the story read, or the instruction given by the kind lady visitors. Add to this the opportunity given her of gaining the affection of the children, forming new ties in the world, feeling at the same time her crushed spirit, and very often gentle nature, aided and encouraged by the atmosphere of home care and love all around her. Probably

she would choose the family of one of the children to lodge with while attending the school, and thus be saved. You may remember that not long since I received into the little Industrial School I am now endeavouring to keep afloat, and which had then a laundry attached to it, no less than five reformatory girls. They eat, worked, slept in company with ten respectable girls who had never been tainted with crime; their secret was kept; they ranked with the rest; and now they are gone without having been once reproached with the past. Even now the care of the house is entrusted to a girl who did not even pass through a Reformatory—she came straight to me from prison, and for the sake of her sister whom I took from Golden Bridge, and after some months provided with a most respectable situation, I gave her shelter at once. She does odd jobs for some of the ladies interested in our struggling establishment; and although her situation in life is not just yet what might be called prosperous, she has at least a home, and enjoys a good character from the fact of belonging to St. Joseph's.

As for the preservative class, the necessity of Industrial Schools for such is just as evident to any one who gives thought for a moment to the subject. For a single example I go back to my Cork experience. My brother persuaded the Board of Poor Law Guardians, of which he was a member, to get an embroidery mistress into the Union School for a few months. When the children knew enough of the work I took out six at a time, and kept them altogether in the Industrial School until I was sure they could earn their own support. I then let them look for their own lodging, and continued to give them work from the School. They got on so well, that they soon began to bring out of the terrible poorhouse their relations and friends. After some weeks one family of three girls brought out their mother and a cousin, and supported them. If you look into Mr. Maguire's book, page 221, you will see that eighty girls were brought out of the Union through the operation of the Industrial Schools. I did not receive into St. Mary's more than twenty externs, and twenty interns of that number. I should have told you by the way, that I had established a home for orphan girls, in which they were supported in a great measure by their own earnings. The remaining forty went to the Sisters of Mercy, and other Industrial Schools already in operation.

Again, I wish to say a word with regard to the necessity of attaching a body of lady patronesses to every Industrial School. In every instance which has come under my notice, I have found great help given by this class when working in a friendly spirit with those more responsible for the management of the school. The lady visitors can carry out the plans of the managers, and perfect their work. They can follow the children to their homes, extending the salutary influence of school training, and help to keep unbroken the sacredness of home ties, in cases where the growing independence of the child, and, perhaps, the unworthiness of the parent, might otherwise lead to disunion. They can occasionally give employment out of the usual school routine—can do immense good by visiting in time of sickness, and, above all, can give incalculable aid by procuring situations for girls sufficiently prepared to fill them.

Lastly, it is my firm conviction that, to carry out and make perfect a system of industrial training, the appointment of Lady Organisers is most essential. I say this, not alone on the principle that women can and ought to do woman's work—a principle at last begun to be fully recognised—but because I really do not see how otherwise the work can be efficiently done, or the mutual and necessary connection of the various Industrial Schools be secured. There are innumerable details into which men cannot enter without neglect of other duties, and a far greater number in which women are, by nature and education, best fitted to take part. Just think for a moment, in the case of Convent Schools, how much could be effected, and how easy all necessary arrangements could be made, by the nomination of ladies, who would be received by the Sisters without the slightest misgiving of intrusion—who would bring to them the views and wishes of men of business and heads of establishments, and thus secure the secular aid so necessary for the business-like conduct of industrial education. You may tell me, perhaps, that it would not be easy to find many ladies whose previous training and turn of thought would fit them for such a responsible duty; but, while there are any found ready to commence, we may be sure that the demand will be met by a supply; and, if those first charged are capable of fulfilling conscientiously their trust, there is nothing to prevent their training others to succeed them. We need not go out of Ireland for instances of what women can do in the way of organising, or seek farther for proofs of the ease and success with which they can fill very responsible positions. The appointment of Lady Organisers by the Board of National Education shows how much may be trusted to the tact and judgment of educated women; and one has only to observe the order, propriety, and, I may say, perfect arrangement of the Newgate Prison, in which the porter is the only male official, to recognise the influence of refined and conscientious women upon even the most miserable and degraded of their own sex.

But it is really time to have done. Probably this somewhat incoherent statement may not satisfy you; and I am more than tempted to believe that you will hesitate before you ask a lady to write you a letter again. That there should be much irregularity in the mode of giving my views and opinions is not surprising, for I began to address you this evening, and have never taken pen off paper for a moment. Without, however, concluding that I would much improve in this instance by taking more time, I have only to hope that, as you have often heard me express similar sentiments, and know well to what it is I trust for the safety and well-being of the children of Ireland, you will fully understand what, at your request, I have endeavoured to embody.

With most earnest wishes for the happy completion of the work we have all so much at heart,

I am, dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

E. W.

Richmond, January 4th, 1858.

CHARGE,
DELIVERED TO THE GRAND JURY

AT THE

Hilary Sessions, held at Kilmainham, in January, 1858,

BY THE CHAIRMAN,

THOMAS O'HAGAN, ESQ. Q.C.

MR. FOREMAN, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE GRAND JURY—

I am happy to be enabled to congratulate you on the condition of your County, as indicated by the calendar. The cases are few and of a trivial character. Not one of them requires observation or instruction from me, and they will occupy you for a very brief period.

I am happy, also, to observe, from returns contained in an most judicious and able report of the Inspector-General of Prisons, Mr. C. Connellan, with a copy of which I have been favoured, that the average annual criminality of Dublin is small, in relation to the number of its inhabitants, and the opportunities and temptations to breaches of the law which exist in a metropolitan county. And, small as it is, it is gradually diminishing. On the 2nd of November, 1854, the persons in custody at Kilmainham, numbered 178; on the second of November, 1855, they were 136: on the 2nd of November, 1856, they were 128; and on the 2nd of November, 1857, they had been reduced to 108. This is a very gratifying state of things, and very creditable to the Magistracy and the People.

I trust that the improvement will continue and increase, from the progress of intelligence and the growth of habits of industry and order, combined with a firm and impartial administration of justice. But, to the fulfilment of this hope, it is essential that these agencies should receive assistance

and not obstruction from our prison arrangements, and I regret to be obliged to say, that the county gaol is insufficient in accommodation, and most imperfect in construction. It does not afford the means of that essential classification, or separation, without which it must fail to accomplish its most important purposes. The untried adults are all confined together:—the females are divided merely into two classes—one, of old offenders and vagrants, and the other, of women and girls of all conditions, ages, and degrees of guilt:—whilst the juvenile prisoners, tried and untried, are associated without any attempt at discrimination.

The result of imprisonment, in the absence of the separate system and without the completest classification, must necessarily be, that no wholesome influence can be expected to operate on the unhappy persons who are brought into contaminating contact. The place of punishment,—which society and its government are bound by every principle of justice, every sentiment of humanity, and every dictate of self-interest to make a place of reformation,—propagates the wickedness which it ought to extinguish, and becomes a nuisance to the community it is designed to protect.

The man who has stained a life of probity by one offence is doomed to the closest intercourse, for months or years, with hardened criminals, whose existence has been a continued outrage on divine and human laws, and whose delight it is to make him as base and abandoned as themselves. The young girl, tempted by occasion or driven by necessity to the commission of some petty theft, herds with the vilest of her sex, who are lost to shame and virtue. The little orphan, whose nature may be pure and good, though he has fallen into crime from the loss of honest parents or the pressure of cruel want, is sent to a prison, which is to him merely a school of corruption, and which he leaves a confirmed and accomplished reprobate.

These are terrible mischiefs. The very statement of them is shocking to the moral sense and the common feeling of mankind. Yet, they are inevitable, in every gaol which has not space and machinery for the classification or the separate moral training of its inmates. They are mischiefs which, notwithstanding their magnitude, may be easily avoided by a wise liberality and a moderate carefulness, on the part of those who have cast on them the grave responsibility of dealing with the criminal classes; and their continuance in Ireland, at this period of advancing civilization and ripe experience, is disgraceful to the country.

I have no reason to suppose, that, in the gaol of Kilmainham, the prisoners have not been cared for, according to the means and appliances supplied to the officials, with a proper regard to the fulfilment of their important duties; but it is plain, that those means and appliances have been grievously insufficient, and that discipline cannot possibly have been maintained, or evil communication prevented, or moral improvement promoted, as they ought to have been. The great majority of the gaols of Ireland are still extremely defective: but I believe that one of the worst is the gaol of its metropolitan county. I am, therefore, rejoiced to learn that the Grand Jury at the last Presenting Term, with a wise and humane regard at once to the interests of the prisoners and the community, adopted the following resolutions:—

1. "That the Grand Jury is fully of opinion that an extension and improvement of the county gaol is absolutely necessary in order to increase the separate accommodation."

2. "That, it being desirable as a primary move to decide whether or not the principle of the separate system be adopted in Kilmainham, it is therefore the opinion of this Jury that that system should be adopted with such modification as may be considered beneficial and in keeping with the principle proposed to be carried out."

I take leave, most earnestly, to express my concurrence with the views of the Grand Jury, and to urge their recommendation on the attention of the rate payers. Any one who has observed the working and results of the separate system in the few Irish prisons in which it has been carried out, e.g. in the prison at Belfast, will appreciate the great advantages of which its adoption must be productive. It has, already, in some respects, been modified. Prisoners have been allowed to exercise in the presence of each other, and to meet together in masses for public worship. And, in so far as such changes may be made consistently with the great objects of the system—the avoidance of injurious intercourse and the evil example and demoralising influences which have prevailed in associated prisons—they are most desirable. But the principle should be maintained, as sound and salutary.

I trust that, for the honor of their County and their own real advantage, the rate payers of Dublin will entertain favourably and in a liberal spirit the proposal of the Grand Jury. They will so entertain it, I have no doubt, from a high sense of duty to the general community and to the unhappy criminals whose welfare, here and hereafter, may, for generations to come, be affected by their decision in the matter. And they will remember, in deliberating upon it, that their interest and their duty are identical, for every arrangement which tends to promote reformation and diminish crime, tends also, directly and permanently, to the saving of expense, and the decrease of local and general taxation. Economy in the administration of the public funds is necessary and praiseworthy, but that economy which forbids the due and effective operation of penal jurisprudence in the detection and repression of guilt, defeats its own object, and, in the end, entails far greater expenditure than would, at first, have been necessary to check the progress of resistance to the laws. The spoliation of property, the creation and maintenance of an or-

ganised criminal class, and the heavy cost of repeated convictions and imprisonments,—as numerous as they are unavailing to prevent relapse into immoral courses,—are amongst the penalties which society incurs, by neglecting to adopt the most efficient means for the prevention and punishment of offences.

In the result, therefore, a large liberality, wisely exercised, under such circumstances as I am now considering, will be the truest prudence: and a present outlay will be overpaid by lasting benefits.

The contemplated changes will not involve a great advance of money. The Board of Superintendence have selected three plans from many furnished, in pursuance of advertisements, by competent architects, and of these I anxiously anticipate that one may be adopted by the rate payers and at once proceeded with. I have made these observations from a strong sense of the clear necessity of improvement in the gaol of Kilmainham; with the belief, that my office imposes upon me the duty of promoting it to the utmost of my power; and in the hope that the expression of my opinion may tend in some degree to induce the making of it, promptly and efficiently.

In connexion with the subject to which I have adverted, I think it right to allude to another of even more general importance.

Three years ago, addressing another Grand Jury in another county, I endeavoured to invite attention to a matter which had not then been much considered in Ireland—the establishment of institutions for the reformation of Juvenile Offenders. All thoughtful men, who have been concerned in the administration of the criminal law, have been long impressed with the conviction, that such institutions are essential for the prevention and repression of crime. They exhaust the sources from which it springs.

The child is father to the man,

and the training of the young, who have only begun to err, in the principles of virtue, affords the best security against the increase of adult criminals.

This truth has been widely recognised by other nations; and, for many years, it has been practically applied throughout the world, in numerous Reformatories, which have produced incalculable public and individual blessings, wherever they have been put in action. France,—which for nearly half a century has legally recognised the distinction between the crime of the boy and the man,—led the way in the labour of beneficence, promoting it, at once, by the earnest devotion of private persons and the liberal patronage of the State.—Belgium, Holland, Germany, Hungary, and America have all pursued it with success; and England and Scotland are emulating their example.

No experiment of our time has been more completely successful. No effort of Christian philanthropy, in any age, has been more blessed in its results. Whatever may be the difficulties of restoring adult convicts to the ways of virtue,—and we may fairly boast that Ireland is, at this moment, giving to the world the clearest proof that even they may be reformed, and the wisest lessons as to the means by which their reformation may be accomplished,—it is thoroughly established, that the young offender needs only watchful care and judicious training to become permanently virtuous and benefit the community, to which, without them, he must have been a curse.

In the great establishment, at Mettray, which has furnished a model for all such institutions, ninety per cent. of the children have actually been redeemed from vice. Some of them have risen to high places in the public service of France, and multitudes are scattered through her plains and cities, pursuing honorable industry, and discharging worthily every function of good citizens and Christian men. In Belgium, I found the operation of such schools so admirable, that the community, which at first felt a natural prejudice against their inmates,

and declined to give employment to children once degraded by crime, now recognises them as capable of working a perfect moral change. Masters and mistresses compete for the service of the boys and girls whom they educate, and the demand is permanently greater than the supply. In England, similar effects have been largely produced, and are becoming daily still more developed and satisfactory. And whilst all this is achieved with signal advantage to the peace and order of society, that advantage is attained with an actual pecuniary gain. It is ascertained, that the reformation of the criminal child costs less than his punishment. His maintenance in the gaol is more expensive than his maintenance in the Reformatory. He passes from the one, only to return to it again and again—growing in wickedness as he grows in years, a perpetual burthen to the public :—he passes from the other, a self dependent, self-supporting citizen. He passes from the one, to spend his wretched life in spoiling the property of his honest neighbours :—he passes from the other, to aid in increasing it by his industry and advance the common weal.

This is not the place or the time to offer detailed proofs of my assertions ; but they are established by a clear induction of indisputable facts, and I might urge others of equal force on your attention, if I desired to trespass long upon it. It is not very creditable to Ireland that we should have delayed, so long, the commencement of so good a work. We need it as much as any other country ; and we have peculiar facilities for carrying it out effectively, in our freedom, to a great extent, from the hardened, hereditary vice which exists in more prosperous lands, and in the plastic nature of our people, their grateful appreciation of kindly treatment, and their susceptibility to the restraining and exalting influences of religion.

It is especially necessary, at present, that we should exert ourselves to supply the want, as criminals of every class must here-

after be permanently retained amongst us ; and we have the strongest interest in endeavouring to accomplish, by preventive efforts for their amendment—whilst they are still young and capable of receiving good impressions—that diminution of their number which can no longer be effected by their removal to penal colonies, if they become confirmed in vice.

I have observed, with great satisfaction, that the public mind has, at last, been awakened, in some measure, to the necessity of planting amongst us Reformatory Schools. The people of the county and city of Cork have begun the undertaking for themselves with an energy, earnestness and munificent liberality, which do them the highest honor. I trust that other Irish communities will be roused to a generous imitation of their example, and that the metropolitan county and city will take the place which becomes them in this movement of charity and mercy.

For the effectual working of Juvenile Reformatories—to authorise the detention of their inmates, and afford assistance to the voluntary endeavours of private persons,—the intervention of Parliament is necessary. Accordingly, there has already been legislation for England and Scotland : and I observe that immediate legislation is promised for Ireland, also. I trust that it will be carefully considered and shaped to meet our peculiar circumstances and supply our peculiar wants. It ought not to follow, servilely, the model of the English act, although that act affirms excellent principles and establishes judicious arrangements. I hold it a grave question, whether Irish Reformatories should be altogether formed at the expense and conducted under the control of government, or originated and managed by individuals, singly or in combination, with the help which government is plainly bound, as, I believe, it is very willing, to afford them ? But, assuming that the English precedent will be adopted, and that these institutions must be created amongst us by local benevolence,—and public feeling is

favourable to that course of policy,—I think there are some considerations worthy the attention of those who may be charged with the responsibility of introducing any measure for the regulation of them.

In connexion with the remarks I have made to you, as to the importance of classifying prisoners or submitting them to the discipline of the separate system, and the want of machinery for that purpose in our Irish gaols, I observe that the provision of the English act which requires the reformatory process to commence by an ordinary incarceration of the young offender for fourteen days should receive, at least, most serious modification before it be applied to Ireland—The contaminating intercourse which I have lamented unavoidably prevails in the great majority of our prisons. In very few of them has complete separation been effected: in a few more, imperfect separation is possible, but the far greater number are without the means of preventing evil example and association. This is the statement of the Inspectors-General:—

“Of the forty two gaols, under our supervision, it appears that there are only *four*, in which ‘complete separation’ is enforced—viz., those of the counties Antrim, Armagh, Kilkenny, and Louth.

‘Partial separation,’ is carried out in *seven*—viz., those of Carlow, Richmond Bridewell in the County of Dublin, King’s County, Limerick County, Queen’s County, Roscommon, and Westmeath; but a reference to the column in which it is recorded will show to what a small minority of the inmates it is extended. We would further observe that this category, as well as that of ‘approximative separation,’ is found to co-exist with a very imperfect observance of the classification prescribed by the Prisons’ Act; no less than *thirty* gaols being defective in this particular with regard to either males or females, but especially as to the latter, although prisoners of this sex are peculiarly susceptible of the evils derived from almost unrestricted intercourse.

“In *four* of our gaols no school exists, and in only *three* are regularly trained schoolmistresses appointed, while in no less than *twenty*, or *nearly one-half of the whole number*, the duty of teaching the male prisoners is abandoned to turnkeys, who are selected without consideration of their aptitude for tuition.”

In such a state of things, any imprisonment must generally tend to demoralise a child; and the arrangement is surely absurd and mischievous, which compels a course of reformation to be begun by a briefer course of preliminary corruption. If it be necessary, as it may often be, to subject the young offender to penal confinement, in the first instance, he should endure it, not in an associated prison, such as the Inspectors-General describe, without machinery for moral or mental training, but in a prison conducted on the separate system, in which he will be protected from bad companionship and put in the way of well-doing. This may easily be accomplished. As many cellular establishments as may be necessary, with qualified managers, can be devoted to the reception of the young, who may be drafted thence to Reformatories on the expiration of their periods of punishment, at least without injury to any capacities for good which belong to them. Such a provision, or some provision of the kind, should, certainly, be made by any Irish measure dealing with this question, which may recognise the necessity of preliminary penal infliction.

Again,—regard being had to the total want of Reformatory Institutions amongst us, the difficulties which may be encountered in supplying them, if they are to be worked, as in England, by voluntary effort, and the recognized necessity of beginning them, in general, on a small scale in order to their ultimate and permanent success,—I think that the jurisdiction to be created by an Irish Act, should be exercised, at least in the first instance, only by the Judges of Assize, and the Magistrates assembled at Quarter Sessions, in the graver cases with which they are there empowered to deal, and in relation to

offenders of tender years—not exceeding perhaps, the age of fourteen. All the available machinery for the reformation of the young, will, probably, for a considerable time, be inadequate even to supply the means for the efficient exercise of such a jurisdiction, and the extension of it, at present, would produce inconvenience and embarrassment, in many ways.

The force of this observation will be more apparent, when we remember the poverty which still prevails in Ireland, and the risk we may encounter of finding boys and girls disposed to prefer the Reformatory to the Workhouse, and parents and poor law officials inclined to relieve themselves of the burthen of children, by transferring them to institutions in which they will receive care, maintenance and instruction. The experience of other countries proves that the risk is to be dreaded; and we must beware lest such illegitimate use be made of these institutions, to the defeat of their real purpose. The principle of Parental Responsibility adopted by the English act,—which compels the father to support his son, according to his means, and so to relieve the public from the expense created by his own neglect of duty to his offspring,—tends to prevent such a mischief, wherever it can be enforced. That principle is sound, and must not be abandoned. But it should be perfectly understood, that, in the vast majority of cases, it cannot be practically applied in Ireland. Few, indeed, of the fathers or mothers of our juvenile offenders could be obliged to contribute anything to their support; and we are thus deprived of an important safe-guard, against the overcrowding of Reformatories by persons whom they ought not to receive.

It seems to me, therefore, that the jurisdiction of our criminal tribunals, in this regard, should be confined within the limits and exercised under the conditions to which I have adverted.

In addition to these considerations, another will, I trust, be kept in view by the framers of any bill which may be introduced. For the reformation of criminal children, the influence of Reli-

gion, brought to bear with unbroken power on each individual mind and heart, is absolutely indispensable. And experience has proved that it cannot be so exerted successfully, as to such children, in institutions receiving inmates of different creeds. This is the universal conviction of all who have had to do with the management of Reformatories in the various countries of Europe. I have visited very many of them : I have interrogated the wisest and best of their directors ; and I believe that a perfect identity of sentiment, on this subject, prevails between the chiefs of the establishments at Red Hill and at Hammersmith, at Mettray and at Saint Foix, at Langdorf and at Ruysselede—between the Catholic Sisters of Charity and the Protestant Deaconesses of Prussia, Switzerland and France. Everywhere, the holy work of reformation is wrought, if wrought at all, by the devotion of men and women who give their hearts to it, gathering together the children entrusted to their care in little circles—creating amongst them, as far as may be possible, the humanizing relations which family and home establish for their happier brethren,—and striving, according to the individual character of each, to discipline him in morality and industry. And all who have been so engaged in toiling for the redemption of these little ones, combine to affirm, that the divine agency of Religion, undisturbed by controversy or the possibility of conflicts of opinion—pervading and purifying the habitual thoughts and the daily life,—is essential to the success of their noble mission. Therefore, with a wise regard to the teachings of experience, the circumstances of our position, and the constitution of our humanity itself, it behoves us to take care, that the principle to which I have adverted be frankly accepted and honestly enforced by any measure designed for the moral reform of the young criminals of Ireland. And this principle we should all, of every denomination, unite to assert, in no narrow spirit of sectarianism, but with a true regard to the real interests of society, and the temporal and eternal

well-being of the perishing creatures whom we desire to save. It is well understood in other countries, and its practical adoption produces no inconvenience. At Mettray, all the colonists are Roman Catholics; yet the President of the colony, the good Comte de Gasparin, is a Protestant. The Protestant criminal children of France have a separate colony at Saint Foix, near Bourdeaux, conducted admirably by M. le Pasteur Martin, a worthy colaborer of the great Catholic founder of Mettray—M. de Metz—who abandoned a high judicial position to spend himself in the service of the orphan and the outcast,—enriching the State with useful citizens and winning many souls to Heaven. There is no feeling of antagonism, of any kind, between those admirable institutions. Each works apart, for its own people, with its own peculiar influences and in its own appointed sphere—and their separate action produces the highest benefits to the general community. There can be no good reason, why similar institutions in Ireland may not be fruitful in similar results—and this, without any disturbance of the action of the National system of Education, dealing with the untainted children of the poor, who reside in the homes of their parents, and are very different, in their position and necessities, from the proper subjects of reformatory discipline.

I have taken advantage of the time and opportunity afforded by the lightness of your duties, to submit to you, and through you, to the county, these observations on a matter which seems to me of much public moment, and has often given anxious engagement to my mind. I thank you for the attention you have bestowed upon them, and I trust they may not be without result.

†

At Hilary Sessions, held at Kilmainham, on the 4th January, 1858, the following Resolutions were unanimously adopted by the assembled Magistrates :—

SIR EDWARD KENNEDY, BART., in the Chair.

Moved by Alexander Parker, Esq., J.P. : seconded by J. Lentaigne, Esq., J.P. :—

RESOLVED—That the warm thanks of the Magistrates of the County are due and hereby tendered to our respected Chairman, Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., for his admirable Address on the subject of the enlargement of the Gaol, with a view to the classification of Prisoners, and the establishment of Juvenile Reformatories, and that he be requested to permit it to be published and circulated.

Moved by G. Godfrey Place, Esq., J.P. ; seconded by Frederick Stokes, Esq., J.P. :—

RESOLVED—That the Secretary of the Grand Jury be requested to have 500 copies printed, and to have these Resolutions inserted in the Papers.

(Signed)

C. E. KENNEDY, BART., J.P., CHAIRMAN.
E. WARDE DREWE, COL., J.P.
ALEXANDER PARKER, J.P.
JOHN LENTAIGNE, J.P.
THOMAS DRURY, J.P.
ROBERT CHAMBERS, J.P.
J. M. BURKE, J.P.
FREDERICK STOKES, J.P.
WILLIAM FLOOD, J.P.
J. W. MACKAY, J.P.
GEORGE GODFREY PLACE, J.P.

The following Resolution was adopted by the Grand Jury:

RESOLVED—That the Quarter Sessions Grand Jury of the County of Dublin, assembled on the 4th day of January, 1858, in the Court House at Kilmainham—

Having heard the very able Address of the Chairman, (Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C.) are unanimously of opinion, that that Address be printed and circulated throughout the County of Dublin.

For self and fellow Jurors,

EDMOND LAWLESS,
FOREMAN.

Grand Jury Room,
4th January, 1858.

A more full and complete exposition of the true principles upon which a Reformatory School Bill for Ireland should be framed, than that so very eloquently declared by Mr. O'Hagan, it would be impossible to discover. More than three years ago he addressed his Grand Jury at Longford, of which county he was then the Chairman, in very nearly the same terms; but as the public mind had not, at that time, been directed to a consideration of the subject, no result followed. Now, however, matters are very much changed, and in the following Charge, delivered by Mr. Sergeant Berwick to his Grand Jury at Cork, we are happy to discover that a perfect unanimity of sentiment and opinion exists between him and Mr. O'Hagan.

Mr. Sergeant Berwick has been for many years a strenuous advocate of Reformatory training in Ireland, and much valuable information is contained in his evidence, given before the Committee of the House of Commons, on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE ADDRESS
DELIVERED BY MR. SERGEANT BERWICK
BEFORE THE COUNTY GRAND JURY AT CORK.

Comprising Wm. Warren, Esq., Foreman, and Lucas Babington, Newenham Delacour, Richard Harris, Clayton Love, Thomas Warren, Henry Hall, Francis Lindesay, Frederick Lyons, J. P. Maynard, W. P. Robinson, Daniel L. Sandiford, Edward Casey, Joseph England, William Hayes, John P. Charleton, Hatton R. Conron, John Danckert, W. Roberts, R. Martin, Knockmore ; Andrew Savage, W. Perrott, Wm. Connell, Esquires.

Gentlemen—The calendar that is before me contains but sixteen cases for trial—one of which is entered a second time—so that in point of fact, there are but fifteen cases ; four of these are for common assault, and therefore I may say to you that it is a gratifying circumstance at the end of three months, having gone through the winter, (which is the most critical period of the year) that your large district affords but nine cases even for investigation. I have also to tell you that I have received a return this day to show that this state of things is general through the county. There are but 201 persons now in gaol for this large county, which is equal to six other counties of Ireland, of whom nine are for revenue and military offences, seventy summary convictions by the magistrates at Petty Session, and, therefore, there remain but 122 now in custody for trial, or who are suffering punishment for the past. Gentlemen, I have not only to congratulate you on the state of the calendar, but to tell you there is not a case on the book that requires a single observation from myself. You will dispose of your business in a very short time and enable me to discharge you in

an hour or two. Before we separate, however, I wish to bring once more before you, and through you before the public attention, the subject of our reformatory for young criminals on which I have more than once already addressed you, and on which the co-operation and aid of those interested in its successful establishment in this county is now immediately and especially required.

I do not intend to occupy a moment of your time by repeating any of the observations heretofore used by me to enlist public attention and sympathy in that cause. You are all aware that a society of zealous and devoted men has undertaken to conduct a Juvenile Reformatory for the criminals of this county and city, and that a number of benevolent individuals among you have proved their interest in the subject by the munificence of their subscriptions for its establishment. The noble manner in which the appeal to the reason and good feeling of the people of your county and city has been responded to calls for, as it deserves, the highest praise. It has placed this county in the proud position of being the first in Ireland to give practical proof of its sincerity in and devotion to the cause of criminal reformation, and to exhibit a determination that Ireland shall no longer be behind the other countries of Europe in such a work of religion and charity. Your example has already called forth a similar spirit in the county of Dublin, where I see that its excellent chairman has successfully called upon that county to imitate the example set by the county of Cork. Our Reformatory is, however, at present purely voluntary, dependent wholly on the private exertions and limited resources of its benevolent and zealous founders. To give full efficacy and extended operation to our exertions, it is essentially necessary to obtain the sanction and aid of the Legislature. Let it not be supposed that I mean to say that, even with our limited powers, we might not and will not be able to do much good, but the complete development and success of our object can only be achieved

by the increased powers, and pecuniary aid to be obtained by an act of Parliament. In England and Scotland the reformatory system has, for some years past, been fostered and developed by the aid of acts of Parliament suited to the peculiar circumstances of each country. Two years ago, an abortive attempt was made to pass an act for Ireland. It was considered by some to be objectionable, and the want of union caused thereby produced its defeat. I believe that the government is honestly anxious to grant such a measure as the Irish members shall unite in thinking suited to our wants and wishes. It was with the view of producing unanimity on the subject that I have so urgently pressed on this county to take the initiative by the establishment of a voluntary institution on the principles approved of, and sanctioned by, the good and wise of all parties, which might then be referred to as the pattern of what was considered best suited to the wants and wishes of this country, and which thus might form a basis for the united action of our friends in Parliament. I hope and believe that the principles on which our Reformatory is established, have secured the approbation of all good and temperate men of all classes and creeds.

To shew you the necessity for legislative assistance, I may tell you that until an act of parliament for Ireland be obtained, the only criminals that can be admitted within our Reformatory, are such of those sentenced to penal servitude, as the Secretary of State may choose to entrust to our care; and such other criminals as may be inclined by voluntary arrangement, sanctioned by the magistrates, to adopt the Reformatory in place of being consigned to gaol. For the former class alone can we receive any assistance from the state. The latter must be sustained wholly from our own resources, and these can never be expected to go through a satisfactory probationary training, inasmuch as their stay within the walls of our Reformatory, will be too much dependent on their own inclination. It is, therefore, our duty to make a great exertion to place this

country at once on the footing of England and Scotland, by procuring, in the next session of Parliament, the powers and aid of a reformatory act. With this view I have, through the assistance of the most enthusiastic and talented advocate in Ireland of the reformatory system, my friend, Mr. Patrick Joseph Murray, who has long devoted his time, talents, and fortune to the cause, a draft bill ready prepared, to be laid before Parliament, which appears to embody the principles, and to be free from the objections of the advocates of reformatories in Ireland. I have also had the great pleasure and benefit of a correspondence on the subject with the member for Clonmel, Mr. Bagwell, who is thoroughly devoted to, and determined to take an active part in, what he truly calls "this holy cause." I believe there is not any one of the members whom this county and its boroughs send to Parliament, who will not, if they believe we are ourselves united, aid us by their voice and vote. To remove all possible objection, the proposed bill has been prepared on the model, and in most parts, in the very words of the English law in its present amended state. There are but two points in which the English law has been departed from, and the alterations in these points have been adopted, because they appear, in the present state of Ireland, to be essential to the fair working and success of the experiment.

The first of these is the adoption of the principle that "no criminal shall be sent to any Reformatory, which shall not be under the management of the members of the peculiar creed to which the criminal belongs." That is to say, Protestants to an establishment conducted by Protestants, and Roman Catholics to one conducted by Roman Catholics. On this subject I have had communication with enlightened philanthropists—both Protestants and Roman Catholics—and all agree in thinking this principle to be essential to success, and that an attempt to unite the two creeds in one Reformatory would ensure failure, even if a measure to that effect could be carried through par-

liament. It is to be ever borne in mind, that it is not by secular or industrial education alone that we hope to achieve success in reforming the hardened hearts of criminals, and leading, from the paths of vice to those of virtue, the untutored minds of the poor outcasts of society, who have never had the precept and example of a virtuous father, or the training of a christian mother. It is only by placing them in daily and hourly communication with those whose zeal for religion and devotion to God have led them to consecrate their lives to his service, and to work upon the conscience of the criminal by instilling into his mind the doctrines of religion. Now, many such may be found both in the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches of Ireland, but no one can doubt that any attempt to unite them in the religious training of the inmates of a reformatory, would ensure failure by making the reformatory the arena for polemical controversy. It must be recollected that the object of a reformatory is not to convert the criminals to any particular form of religious worship, but simply to make them good members of society, honest, moral, industrious, and well-conducted, and no one can doubt that this can be best effected by leaving each to the training of members of that particular creed to which he professes to belong.

The second distinction between the English law and that proposed for Ireland is, the limiting for the present the power to commit to Reformatory schools to the Courts of Assize and Quarter Sessions. Experience has proved that success in such institutions depends mainly on commencing with limited numbers, and a judicious selection of the inmates or colonists. And it has been considered, bearing in mind the conflicting views entertained on this subject, that if at first the power of committing to Reformatories were given to magistrates at Petty Sessions for every offence cognizable before that court, presided over by a single magistrate, frequently changing from day to day, subject to the caprice of each individual, in remote

parts of the country, where no adequate information could be obtained, or fixed principle pursued, open to the solicitation of bad or careless parents, and the temptation offered to Poor Law officials to get rid of local burthens, the number of committals made, and the want of uniformity in the selection, might seriously embarrass the proper working of the experiment. Hereafter, when the system has been tried and found successful, the power of committal may be extended to a wider circle, but for the present the measure is cleared from every ground of opposition, and the friends of the system will be combined in its support by limiting it to courts acting on some fixed principle, capable of receiving more full information and free from the suspicion of any local or sinister influence. In all other respects the proposed measure is substantially in conformity with the law as now administered in England.

I have thought it right to call attention to this subject here, the only place from which I can legitimately press it on the consideration of the public. It is a matter in which we are all deeply interested. In this court of criminal justice you and I are assembled here to administer the law for the repression of crime; we have hitherto tried to do so by punishment of the criminal when the offence has been committed. Experience has taught us how inadequate is the cure, so long as the mind of the criminal remains unconverted. If we can attain our object by the reformation of the young mind, when just entering on the career of crime, and thus cut off the source of crime, we shall have done a nobler work, and proved what has been often said, that prevention is better than cure. We can all lend a hand in our own particular sphere to attain this end. The task we have undertaken is no ignoble or easy work. Like all the great and real businesses of life it will be attended with labour, with difficulties and discouragement, and can only be effected by the union of zeal, prudence and perseverance. But, unlike the ordinary pursuits and ob-

jects of this world, and of time, in which both success and failure are fleeting and unimportant, success in this work, if only attended with the reformation of one sinner that repenteth, will, we are told, be watched with interest and hailed with joy even by the Hosts of Heaven, while failure will be accompanied with the bitter reflection, that we have fallen short in the service and in the work of God.

Subjoined is the Resolution of the Cork Sessions Grand Jury on the Reformatory :—

The Grand Jury assembled at the Quarter Sessions held in Cork, on the 11th day of January, 1858, have heard with much pleasure the address of Sergeant Berwick, Assistant Barrister for the District, in reference to Juvenile Criminal Reformation. They quite agree with his views on the subject, and they respectfully request of him to use his influence with Government in obtaining an Act of Parliament for Ireland, authorizing the Judges of Assize and Assistant Barristers to send juvenile offenders, convicted of crime, to Reformatories established for the benevolent and valuable purpose, thereby placing them under such religious and moral training as would induce them to abandon crime and become useful members of society. It is quite manifest, committals to Gaol have an opposite tendency, and that young criminals are there brought in contact with old offenders hardened in crime. With a view of practically working such institutions in a country where parties differ on religious subjects, it is essential that Reformatories for Roman Catholic

should be separate and distinct from those established for Protestant criminals, as it would not be reasonable to compel either party to submit to religious instruction contrary to their convictions.

For Self and Fellows,

W. B. WARREN, Foreman.

Grand Jury Room, Cork, 11th Jan., 1858.

QUARTERLY RECORD OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORMATORY AND RAGGED SCHOOLS, AND OF THE IMPROVEMENT OF PRISON DISCIPLINE.

In our last Record we stated, with feelings of the deepest satisfaction, that at length Ireland is about to establish a Reformatory supported by voluntary aid, and managed by free agency. As might be expected, this Reformatory is a Catholic one, the vast majority of our criminals coming from that religion, owing to the fact, that the vast majority of our population are of the Catholic Faith.

The Reformatory will be under the patronage of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, and will be managed by the Brothers of the Presentation, or in plainer terms the Christian Brothers, some of whom, appointed to the Reformatory, have been sent for instruction in the peculiar, and by no means easy management of young criminals, to Mount St. Bernard's and the Hammersmith Reformatories.

We beg attention to the following documents, and also to our paper in the present number entitled—*Reformatory Schools for Dublin.*

Prospectus of a Reformatory, or Home Agricultural Colony, for Juvenile Criminals for the County and City of Cork.

For several years such an Institution has been contemplated in Cork. It has been advocated by the press, recommended to Parliament, urged from the Bench, agitated by the zealous, and desired by the benevolent of all parties. The want of it has produced much of what is most offensive in our streets, and most degraded in our criminal calendar. To be without any such Institution in our great city and county, is, in a financial point of view, a mistake—in a charitable point of view, a crying evil—and in a moral point of view, a serious responsibility.

What has been so long talked of and so much needed is about to be done. A Reformatory is at length to be established in Cork.

A few facts taken from the criminal statistics of our city and county for the year just elapsed will best illustrate both the character of the Institution and the need of it. In considering these facts it will be borne in mind that they are not rhetorical exaggerations but plain and measured statements, which those who choose can test; that they occurred not long ago, but are happening now; and that they relate not to strangers in foreign lands, but to the hapless little ones of our own community, at our own doors, for whom we are, in the order of Providence, and in the order of society, to the full amount of our abilities, accountable.

From the 1st of September, 1856, to the 1st of September, 1857,

no fewer than one hundred and seventy-eight children of both sexes, under the age of sixteen years, were committed to the Gaol of the city of Cork. Their punishment proved so ineffectual, that ninety or more than half the entire number, were re-committed.* Some were re-committed eight times, some nine, ten, thirteen, fourteen, twenty and thirty times; and one, not ill-looking lad, forty two times. The daily average number of children in this Gaol, even under its present excellent management, is about fourteen. Of these, some are what the police, with a sad quaintness, call "old offenders"—"old" enough in vice, indeed, but very young in years—hardened, sturdy, lost—the "Arabs of the city"—their hands literally against everybody, everybody's hand against them—with fingers nimble in larceny, with backs scarred by the lash, with strange, weird little faces, in which the smile of childhood mingles with the scowl of depravity, with minds in which only one learning has been stored—how to thieve. But the greater part of them belong to quite another class. Technically, these are criminals—in reality they are not so, or can scarcely be so called. They are orphans, or children of drunken parents who neglected them, or of bad parents who taught them to beg and steal, as we were taught to pray and read; or of parents whose union was sin; and whose offspring are their curse and ignominy.† Victims of bad example, or ill-culture—not knowing right from wrong, or only half knowing it—committed for offences, which, in them at least, were venial crimes, or for vagrancy or begging, which, however proper to repress, cannot be considered crimes at all—these children need, not to be punished, but simply to be taught. They are objects of pity, not of vengeance. They are victims to be rescued, patients to be cured. And of all conceivable places, a common Gaol, however well conducted, is for them the most inappropriate and the most destructive.‡

In the county prison the juvenile calendar (as might be expected, in the one great depot of crime, for a territory larger than some continental principalities) is as heavy as in the city. From the 1st of September, 1856, to the 1st of September, 1857, one hundred and eighty-four children were committed. Of these, fifty-six were re-committed. Seventy-six were committed for felony, fifty-six for misdemeanors, and not less than fifty-two for simple vagrancy or begging. The most remarkable thing is, that they are generally

* All these re-committals were not, however, in the same year. This observation applies also to the re-committals to the County Gaol.

† Mr. Clay, of Preston, shows, by statistics, that seventy-five per cent of juvenile crime may be directly traced to bad parents.

‡ It is scarcely necessary to observe that no imputation whatever is intended on the managers of our gaols. On the contrary, both are as mere places of punishment, admirably conducted. In both, the efforts of classification and industrial employment are worthy of praise. To the governors of both Institutions the promoters of the present undertaking are indebted for valuable co-operation.

country children, brought from a distance of sometimes eighty, or even a hundred miles. Some, when their period of imprisonment is over, and their prison associations confirmed, are let loose on our city streets, without a friend save these they have made inside, or a shilling but what these "friends" can teach them to get by theft, or earn by prostitution. Mr. Serjeant Berwick, the learned and humane Assistant-Barrister of the East Riding, by whom attention has been for years impressively called to this matter, gives some touching instances of this in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on criminal and destitute children of 1853. A girl was sent to Cork Gaol from a distance of nearly one hundred miles for a month's imprisonment. Her offence was "malicious injury to a turnip field," which turned out to have been the eating a turnip pulled in a Workhouse garden. On her discharge from the Gaol in Cork, she begged for food in the streets. Not getting it she broke windows that she might not starve. She was again committed to Gaol. On her liberation she fell away utterly, and became a prostitute. "I have frequently," says this good magistrate, "tried children for serious offences who were so small that the turnkeys in the dock were obliged to hold them up in order that I might see them; and in no case have I not found that the child was brought to that state of crime by committal for a month for begging in the society of experienced juvenile offenders. I tried one child last October for two distinct cases of housebreaking. I was obliged to have the child lifted up that I might see him. It turned out that he had been taken up in the far part of the West Riding for begging, sent for a month to Gaol, and came out an experienced housebreaker." (Parliamentary Report on Criminal and Destitute Children, 1853, p. 342.) Mr. Berwick relates some other striking cases in which, with benevolent ingenuity, he had traced the career of such outcasts; but it is not necessary to enter into them. It does not need even experience to tell what will become of a boy or girl fresh from prison, ranging uncontrolled, unfriended, and untaught through our streets. It is of these that our adult criminal population is, to a great extent created; for comparatively few become criminals in mature life. These children are, in fact, the *matériel* of our public criminality—the plastic prepared, well-adapted stuff with which society supplies the Devil, to be manufactured into all shapes of shame and villany. The girls, in many instances, are ruined, and become in their turn, causes of ruin to others. Corrupted and corrupting, sinning and luring, these whom a little care at the right time might have made the innocent and happy mothers of humble homes, become the plagues of society. The boys scarcely fare better. They cannot spend a week of this idle, friendless, town-roving life without, as an acute writer observes, "forming dangerous associations, or being entrapped by some veteran rogue who, conscious of his own notoriety, eagerly enlists, with affected kindness or exaggerated menace, an unknown instrument for his purpose. Children too, accomplish petty thefts with ease and with frequent impunity; they pass unnoticed by the busy, or if detected, are treated with indulgence. Success gradually emboldens; they become proud of their skill, form combinations

amongst themselves, and grow ambitious to surpass each other in their daily contributions to the hoard of a common guide and pretended benefactor." And so these hapless ones go on, in a true "rogue's progress," giving employment to our detectives, police, prosecutors, justices, juries, magistrates, and gaolers, until at length, perhaps, some foul felony detected, we take our *protégé* and support, that we may punish him for years or for life; and thus society has done its best and its worst (and paid vast sums for the doing of it*) to the poor little half-instructed and almost innocent child, whom it once caught stealing a turnip, or begging a potato.

Such is the actual state of things as it is and has been. It would be an important step that we should all distinctly understand that it is so, and that so it must continue as long as we neglect the measures of reformation and prevention, which are taken in most civilised communities, and while we tolerate the barbarous, obvious, and enormous evil of punishing juvenile offenders, without making any systematic effort to instruct or reclaim them.

It is believed that the time has come for the adoption of such measures, and the making of such an effort; and it is proposed to form here, as has been done with such admirable results elsewhere, an institution which will help to stay the current of the mischief, which will save many, at least, of our wretched little ones from a fate more dreadful than any that Indian atrocity has devised; which will anticipate the justice of punishing the matured felon, by the mercy of succouring the outcast child; and in the words of the parliamentary report—"Convert into virtuous, honest, and industrious citizens, miserable beings, who, under our present system, have nothing before them but a hapless career of wickedness and crime."

Any one who has followed us thus far, will eagerly ask can this be done? If so, no effort is too great, no expenditure too large to achieve it.

IT CAN BE DONE. There is now no room for doubt upon the subject. Nor is even a great effort necessary, or a large expenditure. Its practicability might have been easily shown even if the experiment had not been tried. A great and just thinker has said, "It is never impossible to reclaim a child." But the conclusive proof is the fact that it has been done, and is doing, with signal success elsewhere. The "Reformatory Movement" is a feature of the age. It has got quite a literature of its own. It has almost become a branch of legislation, and a department of political economy. Great statesmen have laboured for it, from Henry Brougham to Pius IX. Great hearts have been given to it, from Mary Carpenter's to M. de Metz. There are now more than sixty Reformatories in Great Britain. In France, beside the establishment at Mettray, near Tours, which is the exem-

* It is not generally understood that criminals are enormously expensive. One family in Liverpool cost the community nearly £10,000. Each child in a Reformatory costs the country about £15 a year; if at large he would probably cost £150 a year; that is ten times as much, not to take into account the almost illimitable expensiveness and contagiousness of crime.

plar of the best operation of the system, and has seven hundred inmates, there are few departments without one such Institution, and some have as many as six. They exist in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Prussia, and Austria. They are numerous in the United States of America. We learn from the admirable work which has recently thrown light on the Institutions in Rome, that they have long existed there, and that the present Pontiff has such peculiar zeal for the work, and is so impressed with its urgent necessity, that he has actually established another out of his own private fortune, and devoted the profits of three vineyards to its support. ("Rome and its Rulers," p. 223). The results of these Institutions vary, of course, according to the manner in which they are conducted. But all tend to show the singular success which attends well-directed exertion in this department. Boys who will yield nothing to severity, yield everything to kindness. It seldom happens that less than seventy per cent. are reformed. At Mettray, the average has recently reached ninety-seven per cent. At Mount St. Bernard's they had not lost even one up to the last report. In fine, if the concurrent testimony of argument, and of facts, can be said to prove anything, it is proved, past all doubt, that the reformation of juvenile offenders is not only a practicable, but a hopeful, and under fit conditions, a certain work, and that it is peculiarly adapted to the necessities of a time, one of whose saddest characteristics is the prevalence of juvenile destitution, ignorance, and crime.

At length the work has been commenced in Ireland. An excellent Female Reformatory exists at Golden Bridge under the Sisters of Mercy. Two meetings were recently held in Dublin, attended by several dignitaries of the Church, the Bench, and the Bar, for a similar purpose. The *Irish Quarterly Review*, under its able editor, Mr. Patrick Joseph Murray, has for some years usefully laboured to diffuse information on the subject. In Belfast, Limerick, and Waterford it is agitated. Our time has clearly come. Our task promises to be even easier than it has proved elsewhere. Sergeant Berwick in his evidence says, "I have not the slightest doubt that if such an Institution were established in Cork, a most wonderful effect would be produced. The class of delinquents we have in Ireland are not so hardened or so nurtured in crime as those sent to Red Hill. There is a tendency amongst the juveniles in Ireland to look for education and employment which would easily make them amenable to such an Institution." (Parliamentary Report, 1853, p. 356.)

It only remains to indicate the proposed mode of operation.

The present promoters of the work are members of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, in Cork, who have undertaken it under the sanction of the local Council of the Society, and the patronage of the Right Rev. Dr. Delany, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork. It is proposed that the Patrons should consist of gentlemen belonging to all Religious persuasions, including the principal citizens of Cork.

As regards its inmates, it is intended to be confined to Roman Catholic colonists or subjects. If a separate Institution be needed for Protestant children, it can, and ought to be established. But in this

matter the most eminent philanthropists, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, have agreed, that an attempt to combine the two in one establishment would end in failure. Reformation, without religious instruction as its basis, would be hopeless indeed. In this view all the authorities upon the subject are agreed. It is strongly held by Mr. Serjeant Berwick and the Protestant friends and benefactors of the present undertaking in Cork. It has been ably elucidated by Mr. M. D. Hill, the learned and accomplished Recorder of Birmingham, whose admirable "charges" and courageous advocacy have done so much towards the success of the system in these countries. It is scarcely necessary, however, to add, that acting on this principle, all attempts at proselytism are wholly and absolutely excluded.

The immediate management of the Institution, will, it is hoped, be assumed either at once or soon after its establishment, by some of our Religious communities. No money could purchase, no influence secure, the heroism of their self-devotion, or the magic of their love. The Rev. Sydney Turner, the well known and benevolent chaplain of Red Hill, observes, that in their Religious communities Catholics have peculiar advantages in the management of such Institutions. He could not get his teachers to sleep with the inmates, or stay many years with them; and they had not, he said, the same moral effect on the boys as men who gave themselves voluntarily and without pay, for the love of God, to the arduous work of their reformation. These advantages, it is, of course, desirable, if at all possible, to secure. Arrangements will also, it is hoped, be made, by which those who are to commence the work will have previously studied it at Hammer-smith or at Mettray.

Funds are never long wanting in Cork for any purpose of real charity or utility, if fairly represented. Already several large subscriptions have been promised. Others, small and large, will, it is not doubted, flow in, now that the initiative is taken and announced. After the Institution is founded, certified, and at work, a principal part of the funds—to the amount it is expected, of at least 5s. a week for each inmate—will be afforded by the state; but the first expenses must be supplied by voluntary charity.

The site will be so selected as to combine the advantages of country air and pursuits with those of city superintendence.

The treatment of the Inmates will be austere as becomes offenders—gentle as becomes children. Agricultural employments are for boys always found best—as the healthiest, most active, and most conducive to moral progress. Trades may be supplementarily introduced. Arrangements will be made for apprenticeship and emigration when the period of training is passed. It is intended to begin with a few inmates only at first, so as to give the Institution the family character on which success has been found elsewhere so much to depend, and to preclude the risk of failure which might follow an attempt made with large numbers, or on an extended scale.

Such is a prospectus of this long wished-for and much needed Institution. Aid for it is now earnestly asked from all who have desired its establishment; and these are of every class, rank, and creed. We must all co-operate to wipe off the opprobrium with which our

neglect in this matter has stained us, and to check the mischiefs which that neglect has entailed. Economy, Charity, Justice, Religion—private interests, public morals—the dictates of reason, the weight of authority—the force of experience, the best impulses of the heart—all combine to render it desirable.

“The end or final cause of human punishment,” says Blackstone, “is not to be considered in the light of an atonement or expiation for the crime committed, . . . but as a precaution against future offences of the same kind.”

“If it be wise,” says a distinguished writer on Criminal Jurisprudence, “to prevent a hundred atrocious crimes, by removing the opprobrium of a venial fault, and substituting instruction for punishment; if it be the highest humanity, to relieve from the miseries of vice and the degradation of crime; to extend the operation of charity on the mind, and snatch, with its angel arm, innocence from seduction; if it be a saving to society to support a child for a few years at school, and thereby avoid the charge of the depredations of a felon for the rest of his life, and the expense of his future conviction and confinement, then, is this School of Reform a wise, humane, and economical Institution.”

Many other eminent authorities might be quoted; but there is one Great Authority with Whom we may conclude—He Who “suffered little children to come unto” Him—Who teaches “him that stole to steal no more, but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good,”—Who warns us that he will enquire, at the Last Day, how we acted towards those who were “in prison,”—Who came “to call sinners to repentance,”—and Who “wills not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live.”

Subscriptions and Donations will be received by the Right Rev. Dr. Delany, R.C. Bishop of Cork, Blackrock, Cork; the Very Rev. Dominick Murphy, P.P., V.G., Cork; Mr. Serjeant Berwick, 5, Upper Merrion-street, Dublin; Thomas O’Hagan, Q.C., 37, Mountjoy square (South,) Dublin; John N. Murphy, D.L., J.P., High Sheriff of City of Cork; John F. Maguire, M.P., Grenville-place, Cork; and the Officers of the special work, viz.:—President, Robert J. O’Shaughnessy, Camden-quay, Cork; Vice-President, George Waters, jun., Barrister-at-Law, Waterloo-terrace, Cork; Treasurer, Thomas Gallwey, Woburn-place, Cork; Director, Rev. Augustine Maguire, C.C., Austin’s-lane, Cork; Secretary, John George MacCarthy, Solicitor, 70, South Mall, Cork.

Addenda to the Prospectus of the Reformatory, or Home Agricultural Colony, for the City and County of Cork.

Resolution unanimously adopted at a Meeting of the Magistrates of the County, held in Cork, November 2nd, 1857. Lord Fermoy, Lord Lieutenant of the County, in the Chair.

Resolved—“That the Magistrates of this County, now assembled, cannot separate without expressing their anxious wish for the establishment of Reformatories in this County, and a determination to give them all the support in their power.”

Extract from the Charge of SERJEANT BERWICK, to the Grand Jury at the opening of the last Michaelmas Quarter Sessions, holden in Cork.

After calling the attention of the Grand Jury to the state of the calendar, and the nature of the offences which they were to investigate, he proceeded to advert to the different alterations and amendments of the law which had been made in the course of the previous Sessions of Parliament, on matters immediately affecting the local Courts of Justice, or of immediate interest to themselves and the public, and he then proceeded :—

“ There remains only one more Act of Parliament, which I have reserved to the last, though first in date and not the least in point of importance. It is an Act of Parliament which abolishes for the future the punishment of *transportation*, and in the place of it, Courts of Justice are invested with the power to sentence to penal servitude, parties guilty of those offences for which transportation was previously the punishment. The period of such punishment ranges from three years to the term of their natural lives. The result of this Act is, that except in cases where the Secretary of State exercises the right to send the convicted parties to some of Her Majesty's colonies, which will be the exception, parties must now, instead, suffer their punishments in this country or in England, and at the end of their term of imprisonment, they must be discharged again amongst us. We are now, therefore, called upon practically to deal with the great question of our criminal population ; and this leads me to a matter which I have had for a long time at heart, and which I have brought before you more than once. That question is the establishment of *Reformatories for juvenile criminals*. So long as transportation continued as the punishment for serious crimes, I am sorry to say we were all more or less responsible for having sat by quietly without paying that attention to the unfortunate criminals of this country, which feelings of humanity, and, in my opinion, our duty to God and man, required. When a man was transported, he was sent to a foreign land, and he there remained, rotted, and died, unheard of and uncared for. That system has now, I am happy to say, been put an end to. We must now feel that we are responsible for the criminal from his cradle to his grave. If they be discharged among us after their sentences expire, unreclaimed, and unreformed, we shall have a body of miscreants let loose amongst us, with whom neither life nor property will be safe. We are, therefore, now, if from selfish motives alone, called upon to look about us and see what is to be done, and to take care that that duty which we have neglected hitherto shall be performed, and that is, the duty of Reforming the Criminal before he is again discharged upon society. That is a duty which our own selfish feelings, independent of higher and better motives, must now force upon us. There is but one way which appears to me, and to humane and intelligent men who have taken up the subject, to meet this difficulty, and that is, the establishment of *Juvenile Reformatories*, where young Criminals will be set apart, not for punishment, but for reformation, and from which they will not be discharged until they have given a guarantee to society that they

have been reformed, and that they will, for the future, be honest and industrious citizens. That principle appears to be one which, on the commonest view of the case, is the only remedy for the evil which we have now to anticipate—for two reasons particularly. The *first* is this—that *from the JUVENILE Criminal population of this country the whole ADULT Criminal population is derived*. It is the seed from which springs up the crop of unfortunate hardened beings, who distract society, and who make us at all times to tremble for the consequence of what is going on. I have myself, from a very large experience of Criminal Courts, arrived at that conclusion, not from abstract speculation, but from actual experience—I may say daily experience. I have followed the tract of the child from the first month of his confinement in gaol, for that which can hardly be called a crime, if it be so at all, but which the law designates as such—for vagrancy, or in plain English, for begging—I have followed the career of that child from that month's imprisonment for begging, and from the training received in gaol—I have seen him become a pickpocket, a thief, and a burglar, and at last so hardened and depraved, that he was placed beyond the human power of salvation. The *Second Reason* is one to which I can also appeal to my experience, namely, that, *imprisonment in gaol never has the effect of correcting or reforming offenders*. I do not mean to say that there have not been in my experience some instances—solitary instances—in which parties have been corrected, and have, after their discharge from gaol, become well conducted subjects; but as a general principle, in my belief, even in a well regulated gaol, and I have had the advantage in this county of having the experience of a gaol that is well regulated, but even in such gaols, I have satisfied my mind from experience, that there is no hope for the reformation of Criminals by imprisonment in gaol. I speak now of that first beginning in gaol to which I have lately referred, the month for vagrancy, with which the future course of crime begins. The law which authorises the imprisonment of children in gaol for vagrancy, is, in my mind, a cruel and unjust law. I have long sought to get it altered, and I never shall cease to struggle until I have it established that the child who begs a piece of bread, or asks for a halfpenny, shall not be considered and treated as a Criminal as at present. I can answer for this, that the month in gaol for vagrancy, has been the commencement of a training in crime, which has stuck to the child during the term of his life. But even if the gaols could be managed as well as one could in the highest flight of fancy have wished, the *term of imprisonment* of the juvenile offender is still *never long enough* to reform his mind. One, two, three or six months is never sufficient for the training of the mind of an ignorant, uneducated, and uncared for child, and leading it from a course of vice to a course of virtue. Institutions of the kind I allude to are now in active operation in England and Scotland, and the greater part of the Continent. Pre-eminent among all is that establishment which reflects such credit upon France, and its most beneficent founder, M. de Metz, and is the beacon to instruct and guide all others in the course they should pursue—I mean the establishment of Mettray. In England there are now, as I

believe, upwards of fifty establishments in operation, and in some of them the average of inmates who have become, in conduct at least, if not in mind, reformed and well conducted, has amounted to ninety-seven per cent.

"I would not now have occupied your time with these observations, having, on more than one occasion, pressed the matter on your consideration—and you yourselves, when I addressed you on the subject in January last, having expressed your anxiety that the suggestions should be carried out—if it were not that I can announce to you that there is not only a hope that the Reformatory for the juvenile criminals of the city and county may be established, but that it is actually in course of formation, under the superintendence of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, who have offered to undertake its management; and when such a body as this has determined to carry it out, if sufficient assistance be given, they are sure to succeed. It is a society, you are all aware, which has been established for purposes of charity; and I must say I have more hope for the success of any experiment of this kind when I find a body such as this—whose whole object is works of charity, and who are bound together in the manner this society is—come forward and accept the trust, than if it were undertaken by a number of the most zealous and philanthropic private individuals not bound together by the ties of a society, and who would be subject to constant change, and to the many discouragements and difficulties by which individual ardour is so often chilled and disgusted. Undertaken by this, which is a Roman Catholic body, it will necessarily be a Roman Catholic Institution, and I must say—and it is not only my own opinion, but what I have ascertained from eminent Protestant philanthropists in England who have enquired into and studied the system of Reformatories—that it would be impossible to expect success in any institution such as this, if there were a mixture of creeds in the inmates or the parties engaged in their instruction. Mixed education is a most excellent thing among the ordinary classes of society, for the period in which they are engaged in secular education; but when you come to deal with the whole period of the children's time, from morning to night, particularly when you have to deal with their hearts—it must be done by persons devoted not merely to their secular but religious instruction, and it would be therefore impossible to bring persons of different religious persuasions to act harmoniously together in the education of children in one establishment. Equally anxious as I would be that the Protestant child should be attended to as much as the Roman Catholic child, and cared for and converted from wickedness to honesty and virtue—still I am quite satisfied the two cannot, and therefore ought not to be combined. There cannot be in a system thus conducted anything tending to what is called proselytism, because each will be independent of the other. When I tell you that this Society who have undertaken the establishment of a Reformatory, intend to have a number of Protestant patrons from among those charitable individuals belonging to the Protestant religion, who give them their countenance and support, it will show you that there can be no injury by its being confined to a society who are devoted to the

teaching of Roman Catholic children. I have a return of the number of juvenile criminals who have been in the County Cork Gaol for the last eight months, from the 1st of January to the 30th of September, and in the whole of them there are but two Protestant children. That will show you that the great majority, if not almost the whole amount of the criminal population in this part of Ireland, coming as they do from the lower classes of society, are almost all Roman Catholics. I should, however, be very glad if the different counties in the South of Ireland would join together and establish a Protestant Reformatory, and I would give the same assistance and support, in every way in my power, to the one as to the other. In order to show you the necessity for some such establishment, I have only to call your attention to the number of the juvenile criminals up to the age of 16, who have been confined in the County Gaol during the last eight months. There have been 118 males and 20 females, and of these 36 males and 14 females were put in confinement on charges of vagrancy alone; 46 males and 11 females are wholly illiterate, can neither read, write, or spell. To show the necessity of having somebody to attend to them, not by coercion and imprisonment, but by words of love and advice, I may mention that there are 57 males and 8 females who have neither father nor mother, and therefore have no adviser to lead them to good, no instructor but the *friend* they have made in gaol, and out of that number, 46 males and 11 males are wholly illiterate. That is the case which I now wish, through your instrumentality, should be submitted by you to all whom you know, to induce them, not merely for the sake of the great saving it would create to county and city, but for higher and better motives, to assist us in the establishment of a Reformatory. It must begin by small means; by a few inmates at first, because, to be conducted with success, it must be conducted on that *family system* that has been attended with such blessings in other similar institutions. Let me just refer you to the case of one such establishment and its great success, both in a moral and financial way, to demonstrate the good effects which may follow therefrom. It is the Report of the Hardwicke Reformatory for juvenile criminals, established and conducted in the county of Gloucestershire, in England, by a benevolent and intelligent gentleman, I believe entirely out of his own resources, Mr. Barwick Baker. It is so short, and yet comprehensive, I will read you the words of the last Report:—‘This institution was commenced March 24th, 1852, with a view to gain two objects, first, to lessen the temptation to the hitherto innocent by clearing the county of all expert thieves; and secondly, by giving those whom we received the best opportunity we could of reforming themselves. We began with three boys, and increased as we found it requisite. The school will now fairly accommodate 30, but on one occasion, to help the county, we, for a short time, received 48, several sleeping in the barn. In June, 1854, we ventured to offer the Magistrates of the County to receive all they would send us, and I have done so ever since, although in January, 1852, we were told that a school of a 100 would never suffice for the county. I have now returns of every boy convicted in the county in the last five years.

There are only ten boys twice committed, eight of whom are alight cases; our number in the school are now 36."

"Gentlemen, this establishment will require funds. It will not be much to begin with, but it must be something. A society has taken it in hands—they offer their services, but it will be our duty to supply them with the means; and I hope that, by your making public what I say, both in county and city, there will be sufficient benevolence evoked, and sufficient attention paid to our own interests to make this, the first effort of the kind in Ireland, eminently successful. I have made these observations in the hope that the public, through you, may be informed on the subject, and that this charitable body may be enabled successfully to cope with the crime of the county; and I have no doubt that, with the assistance of a Reformatory of that kind, our gaols, if not wholly cleared, will be reduced to so small a number of inmates, that in a short time we may congratulate ourselves on having placed a county of the extent of this, in a state unequalled in the world for the moral condition of its people."

Perhaps at no time, as regards Ireland, could the following letters be more appropriately inserted; they are from the pen of one of the best friends of the Reformatory Movement in England, and state and meet all the ordinary objections to the Reformatories and to the views of their supporters. We should state that these letters are taken from *Aria's Birmingham Gazette*.

Hints about the places called "'Formatories," from a Staffordshire Gardener to the Committee for the Advancement of Social Science.

My Lords and Gentlemen—I hear you have all been meeting together at Brummagem to consult about making people good, and 'specially bad boys and gals; and a grand work it is, sure enough; but somehow, if I may be so bold as to tell you a piece of my mind, the plans as has been tried don't seem to me to hit the right nail on the head, as we country folks say. To be sure I am but a plain man, but I've eyes in my head, and I've worked a many years in the fields and gardens, where I have watched over the fruits and vegetables, which is almost like children, because, as you see, they wants so much minding. And it *does* strike me *werry curious* that people should think they can make bad boys and gals good by collecting such a lot of them together in the places they calls 'Formatories.

I was taken by our Parson (and a good man he is as ever lived) to see one of them fine houses, and I raly believed I was a goin' to see the Queen, it was all so spick and span new and clean. But, oh! deary me! the faces of all them boys made my heart ache, and I thought to myself (though I couldnt make such a hole in my manners as to say so), "Why, this is jist like a lot of rotten apples lying a top o' green ones"—for you see there were some hardened rascals, and others, little bits of boys in pinafores, and I'm sure when the Overseer's eyes is off, as they *must* be sometimes, them big boys must pison the little ones; for you see if ever I catches one of

my people a piling the decayed fruit along with the green, why don't I give it him well—becos' you see the least touch from one of them mouldy apples would taint all as lies close to it. Besides, I thought, surely, what a sight of money and trouble these gentlemen are spending to do what is next to as impossible as it is to make a mouldy apple sound—to make a bad boy good. Now, if they had but a spent a few pounds on every one of them chaps *afore they took to the bad*, to 'prentice them to some honest trade, they might have kept out of mischief; for I was taught at school, one of the Hymns as says that "Satan find some mischief still for idle hands to do." And you see, when I wants to get good fruit, I doesn't wait till it's turned rotten. Why, I's obliged to be up early and late, a looking over my trees, to see if there's any worm a crawling about, any blight on the leaves, any branches a growing below the graft, which takes away the nourishment from the fruit; and when I sees those things, why I scrapes and cuts away, just as them boys *ought* to have been *looked after* and well-flogged, if they shew'd signs of being bad, and *when they was little*; and then by the time the crop comes I has, if its a good season, a fair show of fruit. But when I comes to gather them, I never *miz* them; for many apples together, even if they is all good, does each other harm; and so I thinks such a lot of boys together can come to no good, when as how three parts of them is come out o' prisons where they has 'sociated with grown-up thieves and vagabonds.

Now, if I had had the choice of having one of those boys to learn my trade, and another to be sent to my neighbor at the farm, another boy to Squire Freeman, at the Hall, to help in stables, and another to help the footman—if, in short, they had been *parted* about, a good ways off from their comrades, they would never have got '*ticed* away to thieving. And as to them bad lot, why I've heard tell they wants a many boys down in the coal pits, for poor gals is made to work like *horses* there; and why should'n't a few of them go there *insted*, and let the gals be taught to sew and knit as women should? But while the tother boys sees them as has prigged and filched all they can get kept as grand as Dukes, and taught trades, and having *recrutions* and scursion trains to shew them the Axhabision at Manchester, why in course the boys is reglerly '*couraged* to be naughty; and one neighbour says to me, "Peter," says he, "there's no way for my boys to get on 'cept I make thieves on 'em. Then they'll be made *grand*, and all the Queen's lords and ladies will visit them."

I ax pardon, my Lords, for being so free with my pen, but I do sadly want a *good boy* to help me in my garden, and if some of you would but jist give a helping hand and a couple of *suvrins*, why I knows a likely young chap that I could make a man of—but I can't take none of them boys out of the 'Formatory, *no how*, cos you see as how I'm 'feared they'd steal all my pears and apples.

So no more at present, my Lords and Gemmen, from

Your humble servant to command,

PETER PIPPIN.

Hints about Reformatories, from Jack Russet, a Worcestershire Nurseryman, in answer to Peter Pippin, a Staffordshire Gardener's Letter, to the Committee for the Advancement of Social Science.

My dear Peter—Tho' you and me be'n't grafted like, just on the same stock, nevertheless we be of the same kin, tho' you be a Pippin and I be but a Russet.

Now, in your letter to the grand folks at Brummagem, who met to consult about making people good, you say as how the 'Formatory lads—(and I, more's the pity, have had one at a 'Formatory)—“is like so many rotten apples;”—and that our rotten 'uns is better off than your sound 'uns. Well, I don't think so, that's all. And when you talks about them “fine palaces so spick and span, and new and clean,” I begins to think you ha'n't seen many on 'em. But I have: and I can tell you, Peter Pippin, that they be no palaces at all; some on 'em is only two or three old cottages vamped up, some made out of an old farm-house; and one new one, as I knows on, is so plain, and as my Lord, who lives hard by, thinks, so ugly, that he won't give a farthing towards it. So they are not all palaces, anyhow; but I do believe they are all clean; and my poor lad has been taught in one of them that “*cleantiness is next to godliness*;”—may be you don't think so.

Then about “rotten apples lying at top of green 'uns.” Ra'ly, Peter, if I hadn't a knowed you as well as I do, I should think you were a green 'un yourself to talk in that fashion. Why, man, they may be all rotten as goes to 'Formatories—some more, some less; and to get the rotten away from the sound 'uns is just what we want, because, as you say, “the least touch from one of the mouldy apples would taint all as lies close to it.” Now, do you think, Peter, that, take what care we will, we can ever prevent some apples going mouldy; and do you think that those as is mouldy should not be wiped, just because those as isn't don't want it? No, no; I don't quarrel with you because you takes all the care you can of the sound 'uns; and I hope you won't quarrel with me because I am thankful that there be those who look after the rotten 'uns.

You and I have been told to give even a bad tree a chance—to dig about it and dung it; and tho' you grudge all the money and trouble those gentlemen are spending to make a bad boy good—I don't; and tho' you say it is next to impossible to make a bad boy good—I don't think that, neither. Where did you learn that we are not to try to make bad boys good, Peter—and where did you learn that it is impossible? I have heard that one of our judges has said that 70 out of every 100 of all the boys sent to 'Formatories has turned out well; and I hope I am thankful that my boy is one of them. He has come back to me quite a different lad to what he went, and what is more, he has made me quite different, too: and tho' I grudged the money I had to pay for him, and the money I thought I lost by losing his labour, I have gained far more than all by what has been done for him. I don't say all cases are like my boy's; but there are hundreds who have been restored in different ways; and till you can show me how it is as 'Formatories won't be wanted, I for one shall be thankful to those good gentlemen who have spent such a sight of money and trouble on them.

Depend upon it, Master Pippin, that even if you had the choice, as you say, of having one of these boys to learn your trade, and another to be sent to your neighbour at the farm, and another to Squire Freeman at the Hall—to help in the stables, or to help the footman, there would be need for 'Formatories still.

The more that is done for good boys and honest parents, the better ; but don't let the bad 'uns perish: no, nor don't put the bad 'uns over the head of the good 'uns ; and don't, as you say, " Let t'other boys see them as prigged and filched all they could get, kept as grand as dukes, and taught trades, and have recreations and 'scursion trains to show them the Axhabishon at Manchester." Why, bless your heart, now, Peter, this raly is all bosh ; such a thing as going to the Axhabishon and taking pleasure trips may have happened ; but all I can say is, it was not so at my boys' 'Formatory—and I know many others where it is not and néver will be ; and if what you have said helps to prevent it in any case, I'm very glad of it.

We are none of us perfect, and even 'Formatories may want *Re-forming* ; but they are not bad things after all ; and I'll tell you what, Peter—(but I shouldn't like you to make this too public)—I do believe they'll do the very thing you want, they'll stir up those as thinks too much is being done for the bad 'uns, to spend more time and money upon others, *afore they take to the bad.*

Your sincere friend and kinsman,

JACK RUSSET.

P.S.—If you wants a boy to help in your garden, I knows of one from a 'Formatory just the chap. And if you be affear'd of his stealing your pears and apples, I'll promise to pay double for all as he takes. Where my boy was, they had an orchard, and they have gathered a good crop of pears and apples from it for the last three years.

During the quarter past, our ever honored and esteemed friend, the Recorder of Birmingham, has made a Charge to the Grand Jury of his Court at Birmingham, which is of no small importance just now, and is, to his many friends, interesting as being the first of those delivered after the issuing of this, his most valuable work, entitled, *The Repression of Crime.* We quote from the *Birmingham Daily Press* of October 27th, 1857 :—

CHARGE.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury—

Our political disasters in British India, and above all the dire calamities which have overtaken our brave and devoted countrymen—their wives and their children—form, in my opinion, and I doubt not in yours, the heaviest visitation which has ever afflicted the English people. But although these appalling events are always present to our thoughts, I should not be justified in making them the subject of an address to you in this place if I did not feel that they were so influencing opinion in certain quarters on the questions of crime and

punishment, as perhaps to shake the general confidence in principles of jurisprudence, whose maintenance and developement are, in my judgment, essential to the public welfare.

Gentlemen—I cannot but observe a disposition to inculcate the belief that the mutiny of the sepoys has cast a light on questions regarding the treatment of criminals, showing, as it is supposed, that we ought to retrace our steps and fall back upon the doctrines and usages of our predecessors. For myself, sincerely as I grieve over the victims of the atrocities which have filled our land with mourning, and the whole world with indignation, I can derive no such lesson from this result; nor can I see that it overthrows, or even shakes any theory capable of proof from the facts of history, as they stood before the native armies of India had murdered their confiding officers, as they stood during the long course of years in which we fondly believed our sepoys no unworthy members of the human family. Gentlemen, in order to consider this question, I must, as I have often done before, start from a truth never controverted, but almost always forgotten. The ultimate object guiding every step in the treatment of criminals ought to be the diminution of crime to the lowest attainable point. Consequently, it follows that although it is our duty to deal out pain with a most parsimonious hand, yet, that no tenderness for the criminal ought to ward off severity whenever severity clearly presents the best and surest means of arriving at this great end. It also follows that mercy changes nature, and becomes the worst of cruelty when the public interests are sacrificed for the benefit or the supposed benefit of the guilty, who, thank God, are at all times the few when compared with the innocent, for whose protection laws are made. Cordially, gentlemen, do I repeat the solemn admonition of the poet—

“—O, restrain compassion, if its course
—— prevent, or turn aside

Judgments and alms and acts, whose higher source
Is sympathy with the unforwarned, who died
Blameless—with them that shuddered o’er his grave,
And all who from the law firm safety crave.”

But, gentlemen, although severity is amply justified when the same degree of repression cannot be obtained by more lenient measures, yet, we must ever bear in mind, that to a greater or less extent in all civilised countries, but in our own in a most especial manner, the administration of the criminal law, from the discovery and arrest of the accused until the full execution of his sentence when guilty, is controlled and liable to utter defeat, if the punishment threatened by the legislator lack the sanction of the popular voice. Prosecutors hang back, witnesses withhold the truth, and juries yield their consciences a willing or unwilling sacrifice to their sympathies. In such a state of things the harshness of the law gives impunity to the criminal. He escapes *all* punishment, because in the opinion of some or other of the persons whose aid is necessary to apply the law to the particular case, its penalties would inflict upon him *too much*. This tendency of over severity in the denunciations of the criminal code to shield the offender from punishment, is exemplified by com-

paring convictions for forgeries on bankers in fabricating their notes and the cheques of their customers, during that portion of the present century when the offence was capital, with those of later years, when it has not been punished by the forfeiture of life. The proportion between offences committed and convictions obtained during the former period was 164 to 1. In the latter period only as 3 to 1. With these results of experience before them, none, I presume, can desire to restore to the law against forgery, a menace which operated on the minds of the wrong party, deterring not the criminal, but the prosecutor, or those on whose assistance he relied to bring the criminal to justice. Gentlemen, the popular sentiment which has practically limited the infliction of death to the crime of murder has not yet completed its growth. Scarcely a sentence is passed, even on a murderer, which does not place the Home Office in a state of siege, to be raised only when the reprieve or the execution of the culprit has rendered further hostilities useless. But although all proceedings in the particular instance are then terminated, yet the feeling which prompted the attack is usually strengthened, whatever be the result. It is encouraged by success; it is irritated by defeat. Strictures are not forbore on the selection made of those who are to live and those who are to die. Many among us are often but dissatisfied that the fatal stroke falls on the most guilty, whether judging from the facts proved on the trial, or from mitigated circumstances afterwards brought to light. To the country, then, the administration of this fearful power sometimes wears an appearance—no doubt fallacious—of unsteadiness approaching to caprice. Here again is another cause of dissatisfaction with capital punishment—a cause, too, which will never cease to recur whatever minister may be entrusted with this most unenviable discretion. Since in questions of difficulty so keenly exciting the feelings, no decision, however carefully made, can possibly command universal assent. Each culprit will be held by the applicants on his behalf to have as good a claim for mercy as he who has been preferred. Altogether, gentlemen, it might not be unsafe to predict that the permanent retention of this penalty upon our Statutes will be found, before many years have elapsed, to be absolutely impossible.

But the causes which govern the treatment of criminals in England cannot be effected by any occurrences in our Indian possessions. No question of principle is touched, and the agitation which these events have produced, though never to be forgotten, will, as time rolls on, assuredly subside.

Gentlemen, if the remarks which I have already made have gained your assent, you will, I expect, further agree with me that the rules which must guide us in the treatment of our own criminals, are not of necessity applicable to those of any other country, much less to the barbarians of Hindostan. A state of society giving birth to such fiends in the shape of men as have disgraced the earth whereon we tread, and the age in which we live, is not one to perplex either the tribunals or the executive government with the scruples to which I have adverted. If the capital punishment of the ruffian hordes be unpopular, such unpopularity can only result from a tacit approval of

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the crimes committed. Gentlemen, I almost tremble at the contemplation of such a monstrous perversion of public sentiment, nor can I as yet believe in its existence. It would, however, show that we have for the present no alternative but to rule by acting on the fears of our subjects. Now, I am bound to state to you, that, so long as a government is forced to rule by the fear which it inspires, it cannot afford to be lenient—stern justice must alone determine its action, and direct it when to strike and when to spare. That mild and paternal consideration for the interests even of the criminal, which, when kept in due subordination to those of the public, may and ought to be the care of a state whose authority is firm and unassailed, would, in a time of insurrection, be mistaken for cowardice, and the promptings of such a delusion would lead to reiterated crimes, followed, of necessity, by reiterated punishments.

Gentlemen, I have not uttered these words with the presumptuous intention of offering suggestions for the treatment of criminals in India. I know too well how superficial is my acquaintance with many if not all the subjects regarding which a thorough knowledge is required to render any suggestions worthy of attention. My only object, in touching on the present condition of that miserable country, is to impress upon you minds the impassibility of the gulf which must separate the administration of criminal law at home, from that in the East. One exception, and one alone, I feel bound to make to this remark; it is, that no stress of circumstances can, in my humble judgment, ever justify attempts to carry the severity of punishment beyond simple privation of life. Gentlemen, I have not been able to find that the endeavour to aggravate the pains of death by the agency either of mental or bodily torture has ever added to the efficacy of the infliction, while its depraving consequences on all who take part in such abominations, or even behold them, are an evil of which the magnitude cannot be over-rated. If it were not my belief, gentlemen, that the time will come, and come speedily, when India may be once more governed with the mildness befitting its Christian rulers, I should feel it a sacred duty to lift up my voice, feeble as it is, to urge the abandonment of an empire, the possession of which would prove, as its least misfortune, an intolerable burden on our finances, and in the end might even be fatal to higher and more vital interests. A government by fear, gentlemen, must degenerate into a tyranny, but the spirit of despotism would react on our habits of thought at home, and eventually corrode our laws, and corrupt our institutions. Meanwhile, this tyranny must become gradually more and more oppressive, to countervail the bitter hatred which would infuse itself into the hearts of the millions upon millions of natives, who are to be held in subjection by a handful of Europeans. For augment our troops as we may, our physical strength can never be more than a drop in the ocean as compared to theirs.

Gentlemen, let us hope for better things. Whatever necessity may exist for severity at the moment, our country, I am persuaded, never forgets that, while it is morally the worst, it is in the end the least efficient form which her authority can assume. Therefore, gentlemen, you will, I know, join with me in the expression of an earnest

aspiration for the day when justice may be administered in the East, with some approach to the merciful spirit of our own courts; not brought into such accordance by any retrograde movement in these islands, but by the restored loyalty of that vast population, which, after centuries of misrule, was at length so fortunate as to be governed by masters who, though committing a thousand errors, yet, in the main, have been guided by the principles of justice, toleration, and Christian benevolence. So soon, then, as our tottering authority shall have been re-established on a firm basis, and when mildness can no longer be mistaken for pusillanimity, let us hasten to augment our power by that forbearance which justly exalts it in the eyes of mankind, imitating at a distance, however humble, the moderation of the Divine Victor in a far mightier conflict, where

“—Half his strength he put not forth, but checked
His thunder in mid volley.”

We know not whether to admire most the genuinely Christian tone of this address, the wisdom of its admonitions and warnings, or the eloquence of its language.

Few men have battled more stoutly, and more continually against public and popular fallacies than Mr. Hill, and yet he has seen nearly all the principles for the adoption of which he contended in his manhood, received as undoubted truths in his age. There was a time when he and all who thought with him on the question of the Reformation of Adult and Juvenile Criminals, were considered dreamers or semi-lunatics; and yet, within the last six months, Mr. Hill has seen in Ireland, all his views fully proved, and has given to the world a statement of his examination of the Irish Reformatory Establishments for Male and Female Convicts, which, while astonishing the mass of readers, has convinced officials in England that old systems and old ideas must give way to new and wiser ones, and they have learned that it is only by studying the characters of men as men, and not as prisoners, that reformation can be tested, or the good prisoner distinguished from the good man.

We take the following from *The Midland Counties Herald*, of November, 25th, 1857:—

THE WARWICKSHIRE REFORMATORY INSTITUTION.

The first anniversary meeting of the friends and supporters of this Institution was held at St. Mary's Hall, Coventry, on Wednesday last. The Mayor, (Charles Dresser, Esq.) presided. The hall was completely crowded, and among those present were the Right Hon. Lord Leigh, the Lord Lieutenant of the County, the Earl of Denbigh, Sir T. G. Skipwith, Bart., Sir P. Van Notten Pole, Bart., Sir F. Shuckburg, Bart., Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., the Hon. and Rev. C. Twisleton, C. W. Hoskyns, R. Greaves, C. M.

Caldecott, W. Dickens, C. H. Bracebridge, H. Bradley, E. Wheeler, W. Wills, and J. O. Bacchus, Esqrs. ; the Revds. T. Sheepshanks, J. H. Davies, T. G. Carter, C. J. Penny, J. Boudier, R. Lickorish, F. L. Colville, R. C. Savage, C. E. Charles, J. Kyte, T. L. Garratt, —Phillips, &c. Letters were received from the Earl of Aylesford, the Earl of Craven, the Earl of Warwick, Lord and Lady Wilmoughby de Broke, Sir Eardly Wilmot, R. Spooner, Esq., M.P., Dr. Jephson, &c., &c., expressive of their regret and not being able to attend.

Lord Leigh read the report, which stated that there were at present thirty-four boys in the Institution. Of this number, varying in age from twelve to sixteen, twenty-three were committed for larceny and theft, three for robbery from person, and eight for robbery from dwelling house. Of these numbers, eight had been previously convicted once, five twice, three three times, and one had undergone no less than five previous convictions. Of five, both the parents were dead; eleven of the number had lost one parent; three are the victims of parental desertion; of one, the parent is in prison. Out of the remainder who have parents, eleven have been suffered to live without parental care or control. Thus, out of a total of thirty-four, no less than thirty-one are found to have sunk into crime under circumstances of early life. Out of the whole number, nearly one-half have received no instruction, and can neither read nor write; of the other half, fifteen can do so but very imperfectly; four only can read and write fairly. From their first admission, the boys have been principally employed in spade cultivation, the quantity of land at first taken in hand being twenty-six acres, including the garden. To this quantity nine acres were added at Michaelmas last, making a total of thirty-five acres; and the industrial progress and improvement of the boys in this, to most of them, new and laborious occupation, has been gratifying. In an agricultural point of view, the results have been most satisfactory. Each boy has an allotted daily task of digging, and for all that his spade, or rather digging fork, (a tool of far greater lightness and efficacy, especially in a boy's hand) can accomplish beyond this regulated quantity, he earns a small proportionate reward; thus gradually accustoming, in most cases initiating him, to the solid pleasure of honestly-earned gain. Under this most useful arrangement the boys work with a zeal and alacrity rarely seen even amongst older and more experienced labourers; and even among those whose general conduct is less disciplined than others, this activity in the field appears at least to suspend the ill distinction. In addition to this employment, the Institution includes a carpenter's shop, where five of the boys are usefully engaged under a carpenter, and articles of furniture are made, &c., for the use of the establishment and for sale. This has proved a useful and economical addition. Two also are employed in tailoring, and two in shoemaking for the whole of the inmates. The baking, washing, and laundry work are also done by the boys themselves. The school instruction consists of reading, writing, and the simple rules of arithmetic, imparted at such times as the out-door work cannot be carried on. In addition to morning and evening prayer, daily religious instruction

is given by Mr. Shaddock, the master, founded on the reading of a portion of the Holy Scriptures; and the state and progress of the boys in religious knowledge is under the visitation and superintendence of the Rev. C. J. Penny, who as one of the managing committee, has kindly undertaken the pastoral care of the Institution as Chaplain and Honorary Secretary. "The effects of hard yet cheerful daily toil, steadily persevered in cleanly, regular, and humanising habits, the removal of corrupting influences and associations, a systematic course of firm but kind treatment, faithfully and successfully substituting, as far as may be, that parental control and care, without which in the outset of life, all state laws would be a mockery, the regular and almost daily visitation of one or other of the Committee, or of visitors interested in the Reformatory cause, the sense of constant notice, and of moral and religious responsibility inculcated by the daily teaching of the master, and the frequent visits of intercourse with the chaplain—these, with many other minor causes, in constant operation, have already effected a change in the conduct, manners, and appearance of the boys generally, which to the mind of every member of the managing committee, and of others, who with much experience in the matter have visited the Institution, has given a solid assurance of actual results, which places conviction beyond the reach of individual exception." A balance of about £200, derived from the always heavy item of the building expenses in the first year of an institution of this sort, was still deficient. The ready liberality which had been already experienced, enabled the committee to entertain a confident hope that this completion of their funds would be speedily secured.

The adoption of the report was moved by the Earl of Denbigh, and seconded by Mr. Dickins, who observed that they were £200 in arrear, and that it was also in contemplation, and indeed it was absolutely necessary to go on increasing the capabilities of the establishment. These were the two points upon which they were now appealing that assembly and the county at large. He was satisfied that their great County of Warwick, which had led the way to these Reformatories, by first establishing an institution of this sort at Stretton, before they had any support from the Legislature, and while they were left entirely to the individual exertions of persons in the County—if they could do that, and carry that out so far as to reform seventy-five out of 100 prisoners committed there, he thought it was so satisfactory, and so binding upon the county to go on, that he was sure the appeal made that day would not be made in vain.

The Rev. Sydney Turner, in proposing the following resolution, "That this meeting regards, with great interest, the successful exertions that have been made in this county to promote the cause of Juvenile Reformation, and considers the Institution established at Weston, to be well deserving of public encouragement and support," said it was a great pleasure to him to be able to assure them, as far as his judgment and experience were a guide, that their Reformatory, at Weston, was most deserving of encouragement, was conducted upon sound principles, and was going on in a satisfactory manner. One point in the School which was very encouraging, was

the character of the master, who, together with a great amount of intellectual ability and practical knowledge, united a spirit of religion, fear of God, and still more, love of the Lord Jesus. He believed that man did his work amongst the boys in the spirit of a Reformatory Missionary, and felt sincerely anxious, not merely to present a fair show to those who went to see the Institution, but to do his duty in a spirit of reverence to his Great Master. While, however, speaking thus encouragingly, they must allow him to point out some things which still required to be done. He advised them to use care in the admission of boys, as it was inadvisable to mix together small and comparatively innocent children from the country districts with lads of fifteen or sixteen, who had been conversant for months and years past with all the vice and iniquity of some of the large towns. Another point which he considered desirable was the enlargement of the school, which, he was glad to find, was one of the principal objects of that meeting. It would not cost much, on an economical plan, to make the Institution capable of accommodating sixty boys. The great difficulty as to Reformatories in England was, that they would soon be so full, that they would have no places to put boys in, unless there were some measure by which the number of Reformatories could be considerably increased. Another thing with regard to Weston was, they must now be thinking of some means to provide for the boys who were leaving, as it would not be long before a considerable number of boys would have completed their sentences, or be fit objects to be sent into the world. If they sent them back into the circumstances from which they had been taken, they could not wonder if the symptoms of the disease revived, and a great deal of the curative process they had carried on was found to be of no avail. The great thing was to get lads, if possible, away from their old associates, and give them a start; and, with that view, they could not do better than promote an extensive and regular system of emigration. The motion was seconded by H. Browett, Esq. The succeeding resolutions were moved and seconded by Sir Peter Van Notten Pole, Bart., Sir T. G. Skipwith, Bart., Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., the Rev. T. Sheepshanks, the Rev. R. C. Savage, and W. Lynes, Esq., the proceedings terminating with a cordial vote of thanks to the Mayor, on the motion of Lord Leigh, and seconded by Sir Francis Shuckburg, Bart.

At the Somerset Michaelmas Sessions held at Wells, Tuesday, November 20th, the Chairman, Mr. W. Miles, M.P., in delivering his charge to the Grand Jury, said—we quote from *The Bristol Times*, of November, 24th.

He congratulated the county upon the fact, that the prisoners brought for trial now, and at the corresponding period last year, were precisely the same. The number of cases disposed of at petty sessions last year was 33, and this year it was 58. The cases disposed of at the sessions and petty sessions in the quarter last year, under the Criminal Justices Act, and Juvenile Offenders' Act, were 78 altogether. This year they amounted to 101, but the increase must be at-

tributed to the action of the police. Formerly a great number of crimes were committed, and many of them were undetected. In the last year 374 offences were committed, and 304 persons were apprehended; of these, 202 were sent for trial, and 102 discharged. They might take the fact in this way, that although the number for all offences was larger this year by 25 cases, yet this was owing to the superior vigilance of the police. He found nothing in the calendar to call for notice, though two cases he had thought it necessary to send to the Assizes. With regard to the education of the prisoners for trial, he found that 6 could neither read nor write; 7 could read; 11 could read and write imperfectly; 4 could read and write well; and none were of superior education; there also 15 prisoners for trial on bail, and not in custody. But his faith was a good deal shaken in the efficacy of education for preventing crime by the returns of the Kingswood School. Of the 14 Somerset boys sent there, the two boys who were the most proficient in every way had the worst characters. Their proficiency in Scriptural knowledge was satisfactory, writing good, reading very good, arithmetic, (compound rules) good, and this, he need scarcely say, was as good an education as a boy of the class could get in any school. Yet one boy was reported as the least promising in the school, and a source of great anxiety to the master, while the other had been removed by order of the Secretary of State to another Reformatory School, from which he had since been expelled. Still it must not be supposed that he reprobated education; on the contrary, education, founded on Scripture, ought to be given to every child in the kingdom, and he hoped the magistrates would do all they could in their parishes to further it.

ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE.

The name of St. Joseph's Industrial Institute is not unknown to the readers of the Irish Quarterly Review. The true-hearted workers, who in England and Ireland are labouring in the cause of the poor, the ignorant, and unfriended, have, from time to time, been made aware in the Record of the struggles, vicissitudes, hopes and endeavours, which have marked the brief history of its foundation. A work of benevolence, when happily accomplished, has no need to trumpet forth its success; in that event, originators and workers are spared the humiliation of seeming self-assertion, the difficulty and tedium of explanation, persuasion, argument. The fact speaks. Not so, however, in the beginning of an undertaking; for then, no matter how sure the confidence of a good cause may be, and how trustful the reliance on supporting Providence, the human means which are appointed as the agents of God's will remain still to be sought, conciliated, and applied. Isolated individuals, however earnest, cannot, in the ordinary course of things, carry out great

plans, and perfect comprehensive systems. They need and seek help from the men and women about them ; they want the strengthening sympathy of one party, the kindly fellowship in hard work of another, the all-compelling gold of a third. So united, the thought and faculty of many working together for good, as truth has declared, and fable fore-shadowed, the difficult becomes practicable, the seeming impossible a work completed. All this is known and accepted truth, yet, once again it must be said and reiterated, and twice told to those who cannot choose but hear.

What the managers of St Joseph's Industrial Institute have been able to accomplish through means of the aid, which in some quarters has been most generously vouchsafed to them ; and what has been left undone, destroyed, or marred, for want of more extended encouragement and support, shall now be shortly told.

The year about to close, has been one of great anxiety and difficulty to the managers. The laundry, which in their regard was a most important means of carrying out their views in respect to the education and support of poor girls, they were most reluctantly obliged to give up. The house was found too small ; and the continual outlay attendant on insufficient accommodation, the occasional illness of the interns, which obliged the managers to support at times hands unable to work, together with the too onerous responsibilities entailed by such an establishment, when no funds were provided to meet accidental expenses, forced them to abandon, what in their confinement of public support they had perhaps too adventurously undertaken. Since last July, that department has ceased to work. The girls in the employment of the Institution at the time the laundry work was interrupted, have all been respectably and comfortably settled ; for the most part provided, through the kindness of ladies interested in the establishment, with situations in private families, where they have been hired to employments suitable to their capacity, or where they remain, while receiving wages, to be trained to domestic service. Of the number so provided for, only one has left her place—in this case, notwithstanding the extreme kindness of the lady who received her into her service, the pernicious effects of a long detention in the poorhouse were found unconquerable ; sloth and inertness having grown with the girl's growth, and formed habits strong enough to resist the many inducements to a life of independent exertion. It is most satisfactory to know, that not one of the young girls dependent at that time on the Institution, was thrown out of bread by the stoppage of the work. In fact, not alone was each girl's condition considerably improved during her abode in St. Joseph's, but her prospects in life were much bettered by the manner in which she left it. The laundry work was altogether in operation, somewhat less than two years. During that time, nineteen girls principally of the very lowest grade, from fourteen to five and twenty years of age, were received into that department of the Institution. They remained various periods of time, from three months to twenty months, and the following table will show the circumstances under which each girl left the Institution :—

Dismissed for bad conduct	1
Returned to a vagrant life	1
Went home, being no longer obliged to work	1
Returned to the poorhouse on account of ill health	1
Left in search of better provision	1
Emigrated	2
Provided with respectable situations	12

The Industrial School, by which a class of younger workers has always been designated, remained after the discontinuance of the laundry. Between thirty and forty children were then in attendance. During the long summer vacation usually given in public Schools, many children from the neighbouring National and Convent Schools were admitted to the industrial class, taught crochet to keep them from idleness, and at the least, were saved the danger, moral and physical, of a scampish life in the streets. At that time, the managers, who were always anxious to give as much literary instruction as possible to the children, engaged a young lady, a trained national teacher, whose time was free during the vacation, to come for two hours every day, and according to the admirable system of oral and simultaneous instruction approved by the Board of Education, give lessons to the classes in reading, geography, grammar, arithmetic. This help was very timely, as it happened that most of the ladies who had been in the habit of visiting the school to give instruction in these branches, had left town for temporary excursions, or had dispersed to their various country residences. To those who have studied the system above referred to, or who have ever observed the attention and nervous interest with which a gallery lesson given by a first class teacher is listened to by a group of children, it is unnecessary to say, that the effect was instantaneous and most gratifying. Many a child who had been but a straggler before, now came regularly, and remained at least for the lessons; and in cases where a taste for industry was not paramount, a love for learning was often found not wanting. On these occasions, it often happened that the younger branches of an industrial household were brought by the hand to School; because the natural guardian, a sister, perhaps a couple of years older, should either bear the little burthen along with her, or adopt the alternative of staying away altogether—or because it was hoped the infant might be induced to sit quiet an hour or so, and with childish interest, imbibe a taste for abstract knowledge. The delight of the Irish poor in school learning is well known; the managers of St. Joseph's were quite in possession of the fact, but unfortunately had hitherto lacked the means of gratifying the taste sufficiently.

Now, however, the time had come for carrying out what the founder had ever considered a most important part of the system, and an opportunity seemed offered for testing the possibility of combining literary and industrial education, the one being made to assist and bear efficiently upon the other. The house being available

since the discontinuance of the laundry work, room could now be found affording facilities for adopting a more comprehensive scheme. Enquiries were made concerning the practicability of attaching an Infant School, placing it under the superintendence of the Board of Education, and of obtaining at the same time, the annexation of the separate Industrial School with privilege for it of teacher's instruction, share of books according to rule, salary for mistress, and liberal grant to aid in the maintenance of that important department.

It was soon found that some assistance would be given by the Board. All that the managers hoped to obtain has not yet been granted, but their choice of a very competent teacher was approved by the Board, £17 a year allocated for part salary to her; £8 a year appointed for Workmistress, and a large free stock granted of books, maps, and school requisites. Much delay unavoidably took place before all this was finally arranged; but now the whole system, though necessarily working on a small scale, can be found in complete operation.

When the opening of the Infant School was announced, the industrial children were desired to bring their young brothers and sisters to school instead of staying at home to mind them—(an excuse often given for non-attendance,) or letting them run wild through the streets with others of the idle generation. They were likewise recommended to try to bring with them, the little boys and girls of their own street or lane, who did not attend any school. The result was, that about forty infants were thus brought in the first day without any further trouble to the managers—the children proving in this, as in many other instances, how thoroughly independent they are in their own movements, and how entirely they legislate for themselves, if not for the whole family. Little families of four and five are not unusually seen wending their way these cold wintry mornings to St. Joseph's, some falling into the rank and file of the infant classes, and some retiring to the industrial benches.

An account of the day's routine will give in the shortest possible order a clear idea of the system adopted.

Fires being lighted, school opens in the morning at nine o'clock. The teacher gives instruction to the industrial class in reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography. These lessons last two hours. Some two or three of the industrial children are kept in the room to act as monitresses, with a view of preparing them to be entered in the Marlborough-street Training School; the rest of the class then retires to the work room, and is taken in charge by the work mistress. During the day, the Industrial School is visited alternately by ladies who spend some time talking familiarly with the children, reading for them some instructive book, a chapter of Bible History, or an amusing story, teaching them to sing new hymns, and pleasant school songs, giving them religious instruction, and preparing them for the sacraments; in this way, imparting not only sound and practical information, but cordially exercising that best of influences to which the Irish poor are so peculiarly sensitive, that, namely, which the educated manner, and high-toned nature of gentle ladyhood so naturally exercises over the simple minded child.

dren of the lower orders. There is hardly a day passes on which, besides the regular inspection of the managers, four or five ladies do not visit the School, and in one way or other make their coming a desired event to the children, and leave upon their young hearts the impress of their beneficial presence.

Meanwhile, the whole admirable routine of infant education is carried on in the adjoining room. The separate little classes are formed and gathered round their tiny mistresses. The general reading lesson and the particular writing lesson, are given by the teacher. The gallery lessons, so often amusing, from the ludicrous answers, given by the children in their anxiety to show their proficiency, are listened to with breathless attention. The lectures on history, common science, trades and arts, which a well trained teacher contrives to render plain and acceptable to the understanding of a mere infant, and yet knows how to make interesting to minds of a larger growth, are all eagerly expected. And then at fixed and frequent intervals take place those exercises of voice and limb, and those marching processions to and from the play yard, which effectually break up the mere school work, and prevent the tediousness of monotonous instruction. During the intervals alluded to, such of the children on the infant roll as are old enough to get industrial training also, are allowed to go to the work room to learn the stitch, or get off a new pattern. Thus they gain something which will keep them safely occupied when they go home in the evening—giving them, moreover, occasion to run with joy to school in the morning to receive praise for having finished a star or two during the previous evening, and allowing them to look forward with pride to the ceremony of sitting on the gallery with the regular industrials on Saturday to receive their proportion, no matter how small, of wages for the week's work. At three o'clock the infant children are sent home, and the Industrial School generally breaks up at the same time; although it frequently happens that some of the children pray to be allowed to remain some hours longer to finish their work—the quiet, the clean room and bright fire being an attraction to them; and in such cases, when leave is given, the poor children run home to dinner, the merest ceremony unfortunately too often to them, and then return to enjoy the privilege of working in peace by the light of a candle subscribed for by themselves.

The average attendance during the last five months has been

Infant School	...	...	...	30
Industrial School	...	...	...	20
				—
Total	...			50
				—

All this when read may seem small enough; it may be thought that it is hardly worth while to speak of a school which does not count its classes by hundreds, or of an industrial establishment in which few of the children enrolled, earn three shillings a week. The motive principle must be greater than has yet found expression in action; and it is even so. Want of funds is a crushing fact. The hard necessity of keeping within narrowed possibilities is most disas-

trous in the wearisome annoyances, obstacles, hinderances consequent on the fatal limitation. According to the means in this, as in other instances, must the progress be calculated. The object aimed at, be it well understood, is by no means to give a trade for life to the children of St. Joseph's; nor is it for a moment pretended that all the children received into the classes are to earn at once their support, or in any extraordinary way assist their parents. But it is sought above all things to tempt into the school, the numerous class of female children, who, in a neighbourhood which without being absolutely immoral, is notoriously idle and disorderly, lead a vagabond life in the filthy lanes and byways, between Ballybough Bridge and Mud Island, and give as an excuse for non-attendance at the National and Convent Schools their poverty, and the wretched necessity of driving asses carts, trafficking in pennyworths of turf and canal water—running to and fro with cans, tubs and pitchers, on the same profitless errand—minding neighbour's children for a few pence a week, and multifarious avocations of similar kind. It was determined that opportunity should be given to these girls, by which they should receive a sound education, and at the same time, be enabled to earn in money wages, more than their attendance at school obliged them to forego. Above all, it was determined to give them while at school, steady habits of industry, and so prepare them for being put to trades, or sent to situations when they should arrive at the proper age of being so placed. In the short history of the school, are many instances of the successful attainment of these objects, and many also in which happily even more has been achieved.

One wild unruly girl who was taken from the streets, and persuaded to remain in the school, and who, though she never could be made a proficient in crochet work, was soon so thoroughly reformed, as to acquire the character of a model girl, has lately been apprenticed by her parents to a trade, and continues to conduct herself steadily and becomingly. A smart intelligent young girl, who from sheer wildness was perfectly useless to her parents, after some months training in the school, was so altered as to be able to give her father, a boot maker, considerable assistance in finishing and taking home his work; and when, as unfortunately is too often the case, he is forced by bad health to remain idle, the girl runs up to the Industrial, gets a share of the work on hands in the school, and instead of pernicious loitering at home, readily earns half a-crown or three shillings a week. Two children in the infant school, being industriously disposed, before they were three weeks in attendance, managed to earn from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 10d. a week in the intervals of school business and in the course of the evenings at home. Four girls of one family living near Ballybough Bridge are in daily attendance at St. Joseph's; one of them, the youngest, is kept altogether in the infant school; another is the established messenger of the Institution, and being a stout girl and able to do rough household work, she is occasionally hired for a day by the ladies frequenting the school. Though still somewhat uncivilised in appearance she is thoroughly trustworthy, and is frequently sent to the city with bills, invariably coming back safely and regularly, sometimes with large

sums in her hand. The remaining two are so wretchedly sickly as to be often unable to work at all; yet, with all these disadvantages, they are able to bring home three or four shillings at a time: and this with frequent gifts of clothes from the manager's very precious store of cast off garments, brings considerable help to a father, who, at the best of times, earns but nine shillings a week at road mending or cleansing, but who, when the weather is fine, and no mud even in Mud Island, finds himself without even that pittance to support a wife and four children. Another family of four girls in the same neighbourhood bring home fifteen or sixteen shillings every Saturday—a sum including the very moderate item of four shillings to the eldest girl for superintending the school work. This forms the entire support of the family; the mother, a sickly broken-spirited woman, is barely able to wash for and keep an eye on the girls; the father is worse than useless—a hopeless, helpless, drunkard. A deaf and dumb child of eight or ten years of age, who from her unhappy condition, was excluded from the benefits of ordinary schools, and seemed destined to idle away her child life in companionship with the dogs and donkeys of the district, was led up one day to the Industrial by a little neighbour, and after playing extraordinary pranks for some weeks, and exhibiting manners every way befitting her antecedents, she has been quite gained over, principally it is evident by the friendly notice of the lady visitors, sits still during school hours, plays quietly with the other children, begins to use her little fingers with rare aptitude, and already knows so much of the value of money, that meeting her father one day as she scampered home with her well earned sixpence fast closed in her hand, she laughingly resisted his attempt to obtain it from her, and to the great amusement of her young companions made a sign that if he got it, he would go straight over to the opposite public house. A number of the children seldom get beyond one shilling a week; and yet the managers are satisfied, the end is gained even by this; the moral training is perfected all the same. The smallest weekly earnings prove what may be done by each young Industrial when the time comes for beginning a life of real labour, and instead of the few hours spared out of a school life, all her time shall be given to serious and profitable toil. Some of the children continue their work at home, but not many. As is inevitable in the houses of the poor, the children are early made to bear the burthen of household duties, and those who have been made tractable and industrious at school, are certain to be found far more useful than of old to their parents, and their assistance comes to be in demand accordingly. To separate a child from home ties and her natural duties is not the object of the Institution, any more than it is to drill the young life to the premature toil of the factory, or burthen the fresh heart with the care and unrestful labour of the money getter.

If the spirit of industry were indigenous to the soil of Mud Island as it seems to be to the quicker clay of more southern provinces, the attendance would be far larger. There are few indeed among the surrounding population who would not be fit subjects for such an Institution; though now in their mistaken ambition for expensive education, the parents when not actually suffering the pangs of star-

vation, prefer to send their children to a private, or what is called a master's school ; and so by a conceited expenditure of three pence a week, secure for their ragged unruly offspring something according to their own ideas like a University Education. If moreover, the managers could do what, with it is hoped a pardonable envy, they find other schools enabled to do—if they could offer breakfast to some starving children, and hold out the prospect of gaining at Christmas such substantial prizes and rewards, as warm flannels for the hard season, and decent covering for all seasons, they would have a very large school indeed. Such inducements, however, it is not in their power to provide. They have no regular distribution of clothing, they give no food ; but what help they do give is of the best kind, namely—self help.

It must be noted, that the money earned by the children, is almost without exception carried home to their parents, and used at once for the needs of the day. Some of the children have been induced to lay by part of their earnings during the past few weeks in boxes appropriated to each individual, as a provident preparation for Christmas time. On Christmas Eve, the boxes with the little savings will be carried home in triumph by the young depositors. Many, however, of the steadiest and most industrious children in the school have put by nothing ; the shilling or two earned during the week having been already promised to pay the rent. Few, however, of the children have resisted the temptation to purchase and carry away as their own property the books provided by the Board, and according to the rule, sold at low prices. The first supply of books was sold off at once. Copy books, and other school requisites, are also eagerly purchased by the children.

Thanks cannot be adequately given for the invaluable assistance which the managers have received during year from the friends of the Institution. It is not in money alone that the help has been given. Many ladies, as noticed already, visit the school every day, giving their time a free gift to the poor. Many others, as their varied engagements allow, from time to time look in, catechise the children, talk to them, notice their progress, at the very least by their presence make the school hours pass pleasantly. And there are others who, though seldom appearing in the school, are yet, in the all absorbing cares of their household duties, far from unmindful of the children of St. Joseph's ; or who in the midst of the many interruptions, and varied calls of a life in the world, still find means to turn to good account for the struggling poor, the opportunities and social influence they possess. It is sufficient to mention, that one lady's donation of cast off garments, has clothed three families during the year ; and that another lady by the sale of work done in the school, has brought in £24 in the same short period.

Nothing comes amiss to the exchequer or old clothes-store of St. Joseph's. A cast off dress, especially if a lady's ample skirt makes a whole suit for a small Industrial—odd remnants of cloth and linen add valuable patches to the cloak or jacket ; an old bandbox makes a sanctuary for the best or only bonnet of a tidy girl. Old toys, which have lost their charm for more fortune favoured children, set the bright eyes of an Infant School in a dance of wonder and delight ;

old books discarded from the nursery or school-room, make their new owners proud and thankful possessors of a treasure ; old pictures, which need not be by old masters, form the text and illustration of very valuable lessons.

Too much cannot be said in thankfulness for the help that has been given in so many ways. The hope of the managers is, that many who have till now been unaware of the objects and necessities of their struggling institution, will be touched by a recital of the difficulties and obstacles which beset their path ; and that being assured of the laudableness of the undertaking, they will come forward willingly to help in the good work. Rent of £32 a year is a heavy burthen for the managers to bear ; while the salaries of mistresses, which are barely half paid by the Board, are an additional weight. The special assistance which they had hoped to receive from the Board of Education for the support of the industrial branch of the school has not been given ; and to meet all the recurring expenses of such an establishment, there is absolutely nothing but the subscriptions of a few ladies and gentlemen, already by their own beneficence too heavily taxed. A crowning difficulty at the present moment, is the interruption caused by the late suspensions in America. The consequent stoppage of crochet work in Ireland, which has forced most of the great Industrial Schools in the North and South to shut up for a time, has had the injurious effect of closing the market to the poor children of St. Joseph's—obliging the managers to forego the easy and expeditious transfer of work to an extensive trading establishment, for the tedious and hazardous system of private sale—a system, which more than any other pre-supposes capital in hand, as the workers must be paid at once, and long before the bill furnished becomes a bill receipted.

The following is the Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year commencing, the 1st of December, 1856, and ending the 30th of November, 1857.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
To Cash received for				By Cash paid Wages	189	10	6½
Work sold ...	224	16	9½	By do. for Rent			
To Cash in Subscrip-				and Sundry Ex-			
tions ...	44	1	0	penses ...	82	2	3½
Balance due to Trea-							
surer ..	2	15	0½				
	£271	12	10		£271	12	10

This account appears very favourable, but it must be noted, that half a year's rent is due and payable in January, that an account of £11 is also due ; and for repairs which can no longer be deferred, as well as for additional school requisites, there is nothing in hand. Add to this the total want of capital to carry on the work in the manner above described, and it becomes plain, that the Institution is in a most critical position at the present moment, and that the managers are fully justified in calling most earnestly for public support. Hun-

dreds of pounds have been expended on the Industrial Schools of the South, which are now completely successful, and completely self-supporting. A little encouragement from those who have means and opportunity to advance a cause of real importance to all who have the welfare of the poor at heart, and especially dear to the Catholics of this city, would soon make St. Joseph's Industrial School, not only complete in its working order, but a model, which, with wonderful advantage, might be copied in every district and parish of Dublin.

May help come in timely and abundant measure! Meanwhile, the managers with their little band of earnest fellow-workers must strive untiringly, trusting in God's blessing.—Their determination to struggle to the last in the furtherance of what they deem the true source of the people's regeneration—their *hope* to meet cordial co-operation from those to whom the cause is dear—their *dream* to change into an Industrial Population the rising generation of Ballybough Bridge, and to make a Mettray of Mud Island.

THE MANAGEMENT OF IRISH CONVICTS,
Judged by the opinions of the Public Press, and by the testimony of Home and Foreign Authorities.

Just four years and a half ago, we commenced to write, in **THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW**, on the subjects of Prison Discipline, on Reformatory Schools, on Industrial Training, and on National Education, a series of papers, which many people thought nonsense, and a great number thought stupid, and of which a vast number never read one single line, and we subsequently disgusted the greater part of our readers by printing regularly, a Quarterly Record of the Progress of Reformatory Schools and of Prison Discipline. Strange as it may appear, these once despised portions of **THE IRISH QUARTERLY**, are the very parts now most approved by the thinking section of our readers, who feel an interest in social subjects.

From the first hour in which we had the great pleasure of becoming acquainted with the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, we felt, as did all who came in contact with them, that they were men determined to do their duty, fully, thoroughly, and entirely. In 1855 we wrote:—

When, in the year 1854, the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland inspected the establishments placed under their direction, they found, as their first *Report* declares, 3,427 prisoners confined, although there was accommodation for only 3,210.

With prisons thus situated, and without hope of being enabled to draft away the Convicts to a Penal Settlement, the Directors first endeavoured to enlarge the accommodation, and thus, and by classification, resolved to attempt reformation. By an official communication, from the Superintendent's Office in Western Australia, they found that, owing to the want of system in our Irish Prisons, the 600 convicts sent out in the ships "Robert Small" and "Phoebe Dunbar," seemed incapable of comprehending the nature of moral agencies; they knew nothing of the necessity of prudence and self-reliance, as means to extricate themselves from the consequences of their former errors; and the Superintendent declared—"coercion appears to be the only force they are capable of appreciating." In a word, they were unfit for the world, by reason of their crimes; they were unfit for the Penal Colony by reason of prison mismanagement at home. Under these circumstances, and knowing that from want of good arrangement, the chief mischief springs, and knowing too, that, by sending such Convicts from our Gaols to our Colonies, they but retarded the advancement of our dependencies, the Directors set vigorously about their work of reform. And we shall

permit them to relate, in their own words, some particulars of the course adopted :—

“ The same feeling which prevents our inflicting on a colony convicts who have not been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline, also precludes our bringing forward prisoners for discharge in this country on *Tickets of License* as in England. We consider such Tickets of License to be a sort of guarantee to the community, that in consequence of a prisoner having been subjected to a proper course of prison discipline and reformatory treatment, he is considered a fit subject to be received and employed by those outside the prison.

Such reformatory course not having hitherto been pursued in this country, we have not felt ourselves justified in recommending the issue of Tickets of License.

On commencing our duties we found the most pressing evil to be remedied was, the indiscriminate association of the young with those more advanced in years and crime; instead, therefore, of awaiting the completion of the Juvenile Penal Reformatory Prison, (a period, probably, of eighteen months or two years,) we immediately selected all the male convicts under seventeen years of age, and placed them at Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons. In the former there are separate sleeping cells, and convenient accommodation for working in association during the day. We have every reason to be fully satisfied with the results as evinced by the conduct and industry of the prisoners located here. In the latter there were facilities for separating the juveniles from the adults; but similar advantages to those possessed by Mountjoy were not here presented, and the effects have not been so favorable; however, we hope that great improvement will result from arrangements which we are now enabled to make in consequence of the barrack (situated within the walls of the prison), having been recently transferred to the convict department, and by which the prisoners will be placed under more effective supervision.

Taking into consideration the insufficient state of the educational departments of the Convict Depots, and the importance which should be attached to them in this country, where the causes of crime are principally ignorance and destitution, we have felt it our duty to recommend that all the Government Prison Schools should be placed under the inspection of the National Board of Education. We are much indebted to the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell, the Resident Commissioner, and P. J. Keenan, Esq., for having been the means of securing the services of two gentlemen, as Head Schoolmasters, for Mountjoy and Philipstown Prisons. For the former we have selected Mr. M'Gauran, late master of the Andean Free Day School, in Cumberland-street, who has great experience in *training* as well as *teaching*, amongst a class of persons from which the criminals may be expected to emanate.*

* See two admirable reports, by this gentleman, on the Andean School, and printed in *THE IRISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. IV., No. 14, p. 1237. In fact, Mr. M'Gauran is a man of first-rate

Our intention is to train our different masters from time to time, under these gentlemen, and thus ensure a uniformity of system, throughout the Government Prison Schools. We trust, therefore, the experience they have had will exercise a beneficial influence through the different convict establishments.

In order further to increase the influence which we trust these teachers will exercise over the convicts under their care, we thought fit to recommend the Government to allow them to visit the different Penal and Reformatory Establishments in England, and practically acquaint themselves with the systems adopted therein, thus giving them an opportunity of forming opinions on a broad basis, which would render them more efficient for the reformation and training of the prisoners. Permission to carry out this recommendation was readily accorded by Lord St. Germans, and we have reason to believe the result will be most advantageous to the service.

We have found it necessary to call for special reports on the character and capabilities of the different officers of the prisons, with a view to remove those who are not qualified for so important a position; and regret to add that we have been compelled to recommend the dismissal of several warders for drunkenness, a crime that cannot be tolerated for an instant in a prison, where a good moral example should operate as one of the principal elements of reformation."

Having thus arranged the prisons under their management, the Directors were in a condition to observe, closely and accurately, the result of their labors; and having carefully watched the whole working of the system adopted, and after consultation with his colleagues, Captain Crofton, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, resolved to test the following plan of the gradual restoration to liberty of the Ticket-of-Leave men.

Finding the Smithfield Prison was no longer needed as a Prison, he stated to all employed within its walls, that he was about to use it in a peculiar manner, and that turnkeys, so called, would be no longer needed. That he was about to collect, from all the Convict establishments in Ireland, the men of the very best characters as prisoners, and who were entitled, at an early day, to Tickets-of-Leave.

That these men were to receive the suit of clothes given to Ticket-of-Leave-men on quitting prison, that he would bring these men to Smithfield, that he would not make them free men, nor yet would he by any means, let them consider themselves prisoners. That each of these men, ignorant of a trade, should be taught one. That no man should leave the Establishment until, if possible, some means of honest livelihood had been obtained for him. That every man should perform his part in the Establishment, some cooking, some

ability for his duty, almost equal to Mr. Driver, of the Belvedere Refuge. This, it may be said, is high praise, so it is, but not higher than is deserved. We must also add that he is a writer on subjects connected with Prison Discipline, and is not alone well informed, but eloquent and concise in style; without any slang—"the right man is in the right place."

sweeping, all useful. That each of the turnkeys should know some trade, and that he should act as foreman of his craft, and sit and work with his pupils—in fact, that all within the Establishment should be usefully employed.

How the system thus founded was carried out ; how, with ceaseless watching it has been tested ; how with wonderful certainty every phase of character has been studied ; how completely and fully it has succeeded, all the thinking men of these Kingdoms, and many of Foreign States know, and know it truly, through the exertions of Mr. Recorder Hill, of the Rev. Orby Shipley, and of Captain Crofton.*

We now propose to show, through the opinions expressed by the Public Press, on the books named in the foot-note, the complete hold which the subject of Convict Management has secured on the minds of all who have read these works. If the system thus approved has been so successful in Ireland, why should it not be adopted in England—why should it not succeed, if the same zeal, self devotion, and energy be bestowed upon it as in Ireland ? The necessity for the adoption of some measure is now more pressing than ever, since, by our abuse of the opening afforded by transportation in ridding ourselves of our Convicts, we have closed every settlement against our prisoners.

As it is unnecessary to enter into the consideration of the question of Transportation, we shall place before our readers the opinions held on the subject of Convict Management at home.

We take first the *Dublin Daily Express* of Tuesday, October 20th, 1857.

* See "The Purgatory of Prisoners ; or an Intermediate Stage Between the Prison and the Public ; being some account of the Practical Working of the New System of Penal Reformation Introduced by the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland." By the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A., Deacon in the Diocese of Oxford London: Masters. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker, 1857.

"Memoranda Relative to the Intermediate Convict Prisons in Ireland from their Establishment in January, 1856, to September, 30th, 1857." Dublin: Thom and Sons, for Her Majesty's Stationery office, 1857.

"Suggestions for the Repression of Crime contained in Charge Delivered to Grand Juries of Birmingham ; Supported by Additional Facts and Arguments. Together with Articles from Review and Newspapers, Controverting or Advocating the Conclusions of the Author." By Matthew Davenport Hill. London: J. W. Parker, 1857.

What shall we do with our Convicts? This has long been a question with politicians, disciplinarians, and philanthropists. While the Australian and other colonies were willing to receive our discharged prisoners, the inquiry was not so urgent. They could hew down trees, cut openings through hills, make and repair roads, reclaim the wilderness. There was ample employment for ten times the number annually disembarked. Suddenly, however, our colonies refused to receive them,—we need not now discuss their motives, and thus a vast number of men, women, and juveniles became a species of permanent charge upon the State, with scarcely a hope of its diminution. What were we to do with them? The object of their committal and imprisonment was the diminution of crime by their punishment, as well as the protection of others, by their removal from intercourse with the society they had outraged. Both objects might be effected by perpetual imprisonment or banishment. Where there was a vast disparity in crime this was manifestly unjust, and yet, to retain men in merely penal custody for the period of their respective sentences, and then to let them loose again upon the world, was in the highest degree cruel towards the prisoner who might possibly be reclaimed, and especially dangerous to society, for to their former evil passions the yearning for revenge would inevitably be added. These considerations led to the institution of a course partly penal, partly reformatory. As far as regards the improvement of the prisoner's conduct, the best results followed. But the plan failed in one great point: the community refused to receive our reformed criminals. Fairly enough, it was objected that a character obtained in a situation where there was no temptation or inducement to crime was no just criterion of reform. Society refused to receive into her bosom and absorb within herself men who had been manifestly guilty, and who had given no reliable proof of their repentance and reformation. The remarkable success of the plan pursued at Mettray and similar institutions suggested a course by which this difficulty might be obviated, with important benefits to all. Hence in 1855 it was proposed to add to the Penal and Reformatory stages, a third, which we may call Probationary. In this stage the prisoner is assailed by, or at least exposed to temptations. He is no longer secluded within the walls of his prison; he is sent out to mix with his fellow-men in the stirring business of laborious life. He is employed, without the immediate presence of control, in such occupations as suit his skill or strength. He executes commissions, is trusted with sums of money, and is taught thus by experience to estimate the value of character. He is not thrown suddenly from the gloom and silence of a prison, into the glare and

“Not so Bad as they Seem. The Transportation, Ticket-of-Leave, and Penal Servitude Questions, plainly stated, and Argued on Facts and Figures; with some Observations on the Principles of Prevention, in a Letter Addressed to Matthew Davenport Hill, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Birmingham.” By Patrick Joseph Murray, Barrister-at-Law. London: Cash. 1857.

tumult of busy life. He is sheltered, rather than detained, in what is called "an intermediate prison," until a satisfactory offer of employment is made to the authorities for him, or until the full period of imprisonment, to which he was originally sentenced, has elapsed. Under this new system, which commenced in March, 1856, in the space of eighteen months there have been launched again upon the world no less than 1,067 convicted prisoners! It is high time that the public should be fully informed of the method pursued, and of the practical result of the new mode of treatment. Our information is derived from a lecture delivered at the recent scientific meeting at Birmingham, by Mr. Hill, an official statement by Walter Crofton, Chairman of the Directors of Irish Convict Prisons, and other sources.

A convict, on coming under the control of the Board, is placed first in the new cellular prison, called Mountjoy, situate on the North Circular-road, near Dublin. By day and night he is separated from his fellows. Even in the chapel, the exercise ground, and school-room, though the prisoners move amongst each other, all conversation is forbidden. When a prisoner is taken suddenly from the flurry and excitement of criminal existence, the deep silence and monotony of this first stage form a broad line of demarcation between his past and future life. At this time the ministrations of the chaplain are all-important. Much time is devoted separately to each prisoner. His wants and tastes are studied, lessons and admonitions are given adapted to his whole character, and gradually an ascendancy is obtained over his mind and affections. At the end of nine months, unless he has misconducted himself, the prisoner is removed to Spike Island, where the shores are the limits of his prison. Here the first preparation for the intermediate stage is made. During the day he is toiling at the repair and enlargement of military works. The transition from the confinement of Mountjoy to free exercise, however laborious, in the clear air, is looked upon as an inestimable blessing, the more satisfactory as it has been earned by nine months' good conduct. By night he is shut up in a strong building, separated from his comrades, but no longer in solitude. The compartments of their dormitories are so constructed as to admit of conversation, under proper surveillance. They are amply provided with books, not merely religious, but also secular, with a moral tendency. Courses of lectures are given, chiefly upon geography, the character and climate of our colonies, &c. It is found that the really reformed criminal is anxious to leave the scenes of his former misconduct, and to begin a new life in a distant land. If their conduct has been exemplary at Spike Island, they are removed from it at the end of two months, otherwise at the intervals of three, four, or six months, as their probation has merited. On their departure from Spike Island begins the new phase in the treatment of our convicts.

Four prisons, if they can be called so, are set apart for the working out of this experiment. Two—Forts Camden and Carlisle—on each side of Cork Harbour, are occupied by men employed on public

works; Smithfield Institution in Dublin is set apart for tradesmen; and at Lusk, fifteen miles from Dublin, the men are employed chiefly in agricultural operations, such as draining, road-making, levelling, &c. The men now are allowed a certain portion of their earnings: this sometimes amounts to half-a-crown a week. Each keeps a book in which the gradual increase of this fund is recorded. He is allowed to draw 6d. weekly, and spend it as he pleases, intoxicating drinks alone being forbidden. The rest is reserved until his departure. When the men have acquired some self-control, they are sent out on messages, or work is procured for them at a distance from home. They pay the prison bills, and prepare to enter into a life of liberty again, but under fairer auspices than before. They are taught outlines of history, the benefits of emigration, the forms of government prevailing through the world, elementary science to extend their knowledge of common things, and even the principles of political economy. On Saturday evenings there is a species of competitive examination in the school lectures of the past week. Preparations for the contest are going on every night. It is stated that the men's progress is wonderful, and that the alteration of their moral character singularly improves their external appearance.

The results of this most careful training are highly important. Of the 1,067 convicts discharged from the intermediate establishments, 559 are discharged on letters of license. They are to report themselves monthly to the Constabulary, and the smallest instance of misconduct is reported. Of the rest, several have received unconditional pardons; many have emigrated; some have enlisted; and forty-two are at the present moment employed in Dublin, at wages varying from 9s. to £1 6s. a week. Even in the establishments their industry is remarkable. These institutions are not only self-supporting but profitable. After deducting every expense, even interest on money spent, share in directors' salary, &c., the establishment at Lusk exhibited a clear profit of £236 in the six months! The reformatory effect of their instruction is proved by the fact, that out of 1,067 licences granted, but seventeen have been revoked. And during the whole period of eighteen months but one man was convicted of having been drinking, though all were constantly exposed to the ordinary temptations of public-houses, &c.

Such important and gratifying results solve the question—What are we to do with our convicts? Even supposing there was no demand for their labour,—which is so far from being the case, that the supply is not equal to the demand,—yet men thus trained must be most valuable to the State. There are numerous works to be executed which, because not immediately remunerative, will not be taken in hands by private individuals or companies. There are piers and harbours to be erected for many a little fishing town, now without a shelter for its boats or crews. There are marshes to be drained, rivers to be embanked, bogs to be reclaimed, sanitary works to be executed. Such measures may fairly be executed by Government with such instruments, and may be carried out rapidly by the extension of the system. There is but one painful point in all this, one sorrowful thought which will come uppermost. Why is there not

the same zealous care taken to instruct the young? Why are there not in every city and county establishments opened, not reformatory, but educational, where the peasant's or humble tradesman's child, growing up to manhood, may be rescued from the vices and contaminations of the street, and all their evil consequences.

The second opinion is from *The Freeman's Journal*, a Dublin paper, of Saturday, October 17, 1857.

THE RECORDER OF BIRMINGHAM—OUR REFORMATORY SYSTEM.

The *Times* sneers at such simple fare as social science compared with Indian curries, and its earnest propagators now assembled at Birmingham. The occasion is unfitted for such maudlin demonstrations! When Lord John Russell, in the full blaze of the Russian war, could see no reason why a Reform Bill, long promised and long delayed, should not occupy the attention of the Legislature, there can *a fortiori* be none why the good people of England should not have their minds directed to the consideration of social questions, "because" British troops are everywhere successfully grappling with the military revolt in India. In our opinion the time is very opportune for the friends of social improvement, and the public zest for Indian news will not be in the least dulled after listening, in the telegraphic intervals, to the sound deductions of practical men on questions of the utmost social importance. The Society now sitting in Birmingham is called the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences. Like the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the Amendment of the Law, and the British Association, the new body undertakes to impress the public mind, by the collection and dissemination of facts and arguments, with the necessity of urging social reforms on the Government and Legislature. The field of operations is of vast extent, including everything, proximate or remote, which could be referred to any of the subjects into which social science is, or is supposed to be, resolvable. This diversity of questions, involving diversity of opinions, appears to us to be the reef on which the Society is in danger of going to pieces. The public mind will be distracted with the multitude of discussions and conclusions. For instance, on Wednesday, papers were read on Jurisprudence and the amendment of the law, on education, reformation and punishment, public health and social economy. These are only the generic heads which comprise a vast variety of sub-divisional topics. In the first department, discussions took place on the transfer of land, Reform of the Bankrupt Law—ditto, the Scottish—on Commercial Law—Insolvency—Partnership, Registration, and Limited Liability—Commercial Legislation and Commercial Morality—the 17th section of the Statute of Frauds, &c.—This is only a sample of the work which the Association has cut out for itself. However worthy of attention are many of the papers, we would particularise one, because the scene is laid in Ireland and just praise is lavished on our prison authorities. Irish skill and discipline have done more to solve the difficulty, which weighs like a nightmare on social philoso-

phers, than all the plans, premiums, and Panopticons of the Home-office. From time to time the press has drawn attention to the success of the experiments in our metropolitan and provincial convict prisons. The novelty of criminals in their well known garb passing through our streets on errands involving honesty, punctuality, and attention, and no turnkey or policeman dogging their steps, was singular enough—but not more singular than the continued patience, intelligence, and religious and moral inculcation which produced such a phenomenon as a thoroughly reformed convict. The Recorder of Birmingham, Mr. M. D. Hill, a very enlightened judge and well-known philanthropist, came over to this country to see the reformatory process in operation. He had heard of its success—but he would see with his own eyes, methods and results. So he came, and the fruits of his experienced observation are communicated to the Birmingham Society.

Before we allude to the system which has impressed the Recorder so forcibly, we shall quote the concluding passage of his speech:—"I have to express my belief that the directors of the Irish convict prisons have practically solved the problem which has so long perplexed our Government and our legislature—What shall we do with our convicts? The results of their great experiment answer thus—keep your prisoners under sound and enlightened discipline until they are reformed—keep them for your own sake and for theirs. The vast majority of all who enter your prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world, after no unreasonable terms of probation, honest men and useful citizens. Let the small minority remain, and if death arrive before reformation, let them remain for life." This was the supposed charge of the Irish Prison Directors to their English visitor, and they contain in a few words the substance of a long course of discipline, tested by experience and crowned with success. Mr. Hill described the object of the Irish system to consist in training and instructing the prisoner so that he may be impenetrable to temptation after his discharge. It will be at once seen how perfect must that discipline be to secure such a result as effectual resistance to temptation in minds once steeped in guilt, and now fortified against crime by a moral and religious armour of true Irish manufacture. The convict is sent in the first instance to the Mountjoy Prison, where he is retained for nine months in separate, not solitary confinement, for he meets his fellow-prisoners at chapel and the exercise ground, though the hideous black mask forbids recognition, while the officer imposes unbroken silence. After this long probation he is transferred to some of the Government provincial prisons, and employed in healthy manual labour, to which he takes heartily after his long separate confinement in Mountjoy. He is now in good spirits, and in a mood to observe the restraints of discipline without a murmur. He is also more open to religious and moral exhortations, which the clergy sedulously inculcate in sermons, lectures, and conversations. The schoolmaster is not idle. He shares with the clergyman the grateful task of sowing the seeds of knowledge in an unpromising soil. And his pains are not unrewarded, for Mr. Hill testifies to the wonderful proficiency some of the convicts have attained in a very short time. On the expiration of a period, which varies according to their

past conduct in Mountjoy, they ascend in the scale by industry, attention, and good conduct, and pass into the second class—thence into the first—and ultimately into the exemplary. From the exemplary class they are advanced to Spike Island, Lusk, and Smithfield. Mr. Hill could see no difference in manners and appearance between these poor men and “freemen of their class.” They were gentle and courteous, manifestly penetrated with the instructions they had received, and from which they seemed to derive lasting profit. At Lusk Mr. Hill saw a number of intermediate prisoners engaged in building the Boys’ Reformatory. There were no bolts or bars to prevent desertion, but desertion is the last thing they think of. They know they can depart in a short time with a certificate of long proved good conduct, while desertion would only lead to their certain capture and consequent degradation. Mr. Hill renders a just tribute to the zeal, intelligence, and patience of the officers, who have discovered and are now working out the only plan of prison reform which has stood the test of experience.

Mr. Hill bestows less attention on the female convicts, because their prisons are conducted much in the same fashion as the male. But he saw quite sufficient to form a sound opinion on the methods adopted at the Golden Bridge Reformatory, conducted, as our readers are aware, by the Sisters of Mercy. “The Ladies,” says Mr. Hill, “some of whom, as well as the female governors of the prisons, are of high and even noble rank, exercise a most potent and voluntary influence on their charges.” The prisoners, when sufficiently advanced to be released—and the quick perception of the mistress soon finds out whether reform has struck root—are sent out on service where they have hitherto proved themselves worthy the lessons they had received. Mr. Hill thus summed up, amidst loud applause, the results of the Irish system. 1st—Great improvement in the health of prisoners, and diminution of mortality, varying from eight to two per cent. 2nd—Three-fold increase in the quantity of work prepared by the prisoners. 3rd—Great improvement in the moral character of the prisoners, to which he traces in a great degree the high sanitary condition of the prisons. 4th—Falling off of punishments, and 5th—such a demand by employers for the services of discharged prisoners as to exceed the supply. This is the grand, the leading fact of all. It is the touchstone of the whole system. We know all about the English ticket-of-leave man. He is a plague in society, from whose contact all men fly. The ticket-of-leave man says he is driven to crime because he cannot get employment. There is some truth in this, no doubt, but English prison discipline is so unfavourable to reform that society regards all ticket-of-leave men in the same suspicious light. If it be once ascertained that the Irish system has turned out such excellent servants that the supply is inadequate to the demand, then the question is solved which has long agitated the public mind. Mr. Hill took special pains to verify the fact. He is one of the sharpest men in England, who could unravel a false or fictitious statement with the same readiness as he pierces the fabrications of the flash thief. Mr. Hill was quite satisfied that the test of the system was real, and, in conclusion, stated that the great social problem had been solved—solved in Ireland, and by Irishmen. We regard this fact, trifling as

it may appear, as one of the grandest triumphs our countrymen have achieved. It is something to boast, after all England has been ringing with—what shall we do with our convicts?—and after all her first-rate minds had been elaborating reformatory theories, and all the machinery of the state, with full money power, had been reducing them to practice—that Ireland should have pointed out the *via salutis* and discovered the only practical method of criminal reform.

The third opinion is expressed by *The Cork Examiner*, of Wednesday, October 21st, 1857.

The problem, what are we to do with our convicts? is one ever recurring. Yet the answer is not easy; for though the government of the country has decided in favour of one of the two great principles, and has selected reformation in contradistinction to punishment as its leading idea, there still remain many troublesome questions to be solved. Foremost of these is the employment of convicts after they have left the shelter of the prison walls. It requires no extraordinary judgment to perceive, under ordinary circumstances, a "ticket of leave" or "a discharge" is a bad recommendation, and one which in nine cases out of ten will leave the holder no alternative but starvation or robbery. Of course, there is the workhouse, but that the convict would naturally look upon as a second edition of the prison he had left, with the additional drawback that the *cuisine* was a great deal worse. Under the excellent management, however, which has so distinguished the Irish Convict Prisons, an effort has been made to obviate this evil, after the fashion which Captain CAORON, Chairman of the Board of Directors explains in a series of memoranda. The plan at once strikes the mind with satisfaction, for its merits are self evident. The principle is that of classification, the convicts whose prison conduct during the first portion of their punishment shews the strongest tendency to reformation being placed apart from the rest, and subjected to such tests as will prove, as strongly as such a thing can be proved, that their reformation is sincere, and their desire to lead honest lives not merely an affectation to be abandoned as soon as they are away from the terror of prison discipline. For this purpose four Intermediate Prisons have been selected. Forts Camden and Carlisle at either side of the mouth of our harbour; the Smithfield institution in Dublin, which is intended for tradesmen; and one at Lusk, a village about 15 miles from Dublin, the establishment there being an appendage to that of Smithfield. The men draughted into these places, while subjected to the performance of arduous industrial labour, are allowed certain privileges which mark them out in a distinct manner from convicts in the ordinary prisons. The gratuities are increased, and out of his earnings the prisoner is allowed to retain the absolute control of six-pence a week, to save or expend as he may choose. A prisoner "taken in roster from those whose terms of imprisonment are drawing to a close," is daily employed as a messenger, and it is part of his duty to make

purchases of articles of dress, diet, and other matters for his fellow prisoners. The adoption of this system was to afford a test of more than one description of the good conduct of each individual. It gives the man the custody of money, and the freedom to spend it improperly if he choose; beside which, it enables the authorities to ascertain the confidence the prisoners are inclined to repose in each other. This last is a matter of no small consequence, as however acute a hypocritical prisoner may be in deceiving those placed over him, he can seldom hoodwink his own fellows. During twenty months of the existence of this system, though the messengers have frequently fifteen or twenty shillings at their disposal, not a single instance of dishonesty was detected, nor a single case of dispute amongst the prisoners as to the purchases; but more extraordinary still, only one case arose of a man taking advantage of his freedom to drink. It may be, perhaps, somewhat premature to talk now of the results of this system as being ascertained. Time will be required fully to test its value, and shew whether it may not need some alteration or modification. But as far as can be judged at this early stage, the benefits conferred by it on the men themselves, in giving steadiness to their characters, and honesty to their dispositions, are most gratifying. Up to the 30th of September, 1857, 1,067 convicts have been discharged from the intermediate establishments, and the refuges for females, to which we shall hereafter have occasion to make allusion. Of the males 42 prisoners are at present employed in different situations in the city and county of Dublin, and are under the unostentatious but vigilant watch of the police. They receive wages varying from 7s. to £1 6s. 0d. per week, and live respectably according to their means; and so satisfactory has been the conduct of those hitherto employed, that their masters frequently return to the establishments for additional men. 559 of the whole number have been discharged on tickets of license, and the remainder unconditionally. Of the entire number out on license, 17 have had their licenses revoked, while out of 97 females out on similar leave, the ticket of only one has been withdrawn. Many of them have left the country for the colonies, and some from the migratory habits of agricultural labour have baffled any close supervision; but the majority of them have been followed by the constabulary with a very watchful attention, and the results shew but little more than three per cent. of relapses. It is right to say that some of the revocations took place even for such irregularities as the prisoners failing to report themselves at the specified periods.

A not unimportant portion of this system to be considered is the financial point, and in this respect it seems to be less open to objection than any other prison scheme. For the labour of the convict has been devoted to public improvement, in works of actual and patent necessity, but which expense or other considerations had caused to be postponed. Such, for instance, is the completion of the works at Camden and Carlisle forts, two positions of immense military importance, the natural advantages of which have undergone extraordinary improvement since convict labour was employed for the purpose. A tabular statement shews that the actual value of the labour thus given considerably exceeds the outlay, and in this point of view such

prisons might be considered self-supporting. In alluding to this circumstance we cannot help glancing at the undeveloped capabilities of our own harbour, and thinking how usefully, for the advantage of the British marine, convict labour might there be availed of.

The account of this system leads us to believe that on all descriptions of Government works the labour of convicts might be used, as at barracks, breakwaters, fortifications, harbours of refuge, &c. For an essential part of it, though at first sight it seems a small matter, is the nature of the prison employed. It consists of a series of moveable iron buildings, each capable of accommodating fifty men and four officers. These, which are erected at a cost of £330 each, may be transferred to any locality where the services of the prisoners would be required. A practical difficulty is thus removed for turning the labour of the convicts to the best account possible, without at the same time in the least degree interfering with industrial operations outside—a principle that should never be lost sight of.

The document before us refers to the Refuges in Ireland as having effected much good in procuring employment, or at all events shelter, for females. In their case it is easy to understand how far more difficult it is to procure means of subsistence than for men. For even women of unstained character the lack of employment has been one of the greatest social evils of the present day; how must it be then with those whose names are associated with the brand of felony? Only such institutions as the Houses of Refuge can step between them and the earthly consequences of their sins. Here their conduct while in comparative freedom offers a guarantee that their penitence is sincere, and removes them from the temptation to relapse which idleness and want would lay them open to. Capt. CROFTON states that since March, 1856, ninety-seven female convicts have been removed—eighty-six to the Catholic Refuge at Golden Bridge, Dublin; four to the Protestant Refuge at Cork, and seven to the Protestant Refuge, Harcourt-road, Dublin. Of this number 46 have been placed in positions of life which will give them the chance of making permanent the reformation that discipline and instruction may have effected in them. Such of them as have gone to situations as domestic servants have afforded so much satisfaction as to leave room for the hope, that the knowledge of the probation to which they are all subjected may dispel the not unnatural prejudice created by their previous guilt. We are not profound believers in the perfectibility of the species, and do not consider a reformatory prison will convert a number of thieves into an assemblage of saints. But as there are few individuals of the human race wholly bad, and the majority of those even convicted of crime are for a time found to be open to good influences, let us hope that a proper system may be carried out, which will continue the good effect of those feelings, a system which will enlighten as well as deter, and may lead these wretched beings to see the advantage of honesty and the misery of guilt. The very valuable document which Captain CROFTON has issued seems to give reasonable ground for believing that such a system is in progress, effecting much good now, and promising to accomplish still more.

The fourth opinion is from *The Spectator* of Saturday, October 24th, 1857.

CONVICT REFORMATION ACCOMPLISHED.

(From the *Spectator*.)

The Irish Convict Prisons have become a working model, in which the Reformatory system of punishment has been tested in two very important respects, insomuch, that it cannot be said that we are devoid of experience. We have already, in analyzing the report of the Select Committee on Transportation, explained the nature of the system carried out under Captain Walter Crofton in Ireland, and now we need only recall to the reader's recollection the general nature of that system. On being given in charge to the Commissioner of Convict Prisons, the convict is placed in a cellular gaol called Mountjoy, and is day and night strictly separated from his fellows, except in the chapel, the exercise-ground, and the school-room. If he does not misconduct himself, at the end of nine months he is removed to Spike Island station in the Cove of Cork, where the prisoner works at the extension of the fortifications; or if he is an artisan, he is conveyed to Philipstown, an inland Prison about forty miles from Dublin, where he follows his trade. During the whole of this period the object is not only to discipline and instruct but to train the prisoners. The chaplain endeavours to render his exhortations practical and moral; the school-master and lecturer not only teach the rudiments of instruction, but convey information on practical subjects, especially on emigration, the nature of the climate in each colony, its effect on health, the comparative rate of wages, and so forth. The majority of the prisoners are uneducated Irishmen; many of them can only speak the indigenous tongue, and some make little progress in learning; yet they collect the information, and those who understand English convey it to the others. A remarkable example of this is C. S., an old stolid man, who though dull and slowly coerced himself in reading until in a few months he could read a "first" and "second" book in the excellent series of the Irish Education Board. The work of the convicts is well done, and they take pleasure in useful handicraft occupations. Their condition and advance to the next class are regulated by their conduct. All this was the system when the Select Committee sat, but since that time there have been changes. A new act has passed, somewhat but not very materially changing the condition of the prisoners in Ireland. An important extension of the system has been introduced since January, 1856, and we now have experience of that stage extending to twenty-one months. This is called "the intermediate stage," and it is carried on at the Forts, at Smithfield, or at Lusk. Here the convict is in a condition rather of forced residence than of custody. He loses his place and lapses into an inferior class if he for an instant relaxes in his industry. The studies begun at Mountjoy are continued; and the lecturer at Smithfield, Mr. Organ, not only assists the men in informing themselves, but is indefatigable in finding for them situations after their discharge. Questions put to them,

not by their own teachers, but by highly competent casual visitors, show that their information is genuine; "the stock question and the set answer have no place here." Such is the system as it is now developed and carried out. We have a longer experience of it; and we have an admirable account of it by Mr. M. D. Hill, who visited the Irish prisons last summer, and read a paper on the subject at the Birmingham Conference. Alike within the prison walls, in the intermediate stage, and ultimately, it has been found that cheerful labour, as an appeal to the better as well as to the worse qualities of the men, conduces to discipline and stimulates improvement. Even the removal of the partitions which maintained the separate system in chapel—and stimulated evasion—has been found to increase the attention to the service and the good order of the men. Even by the time they leave Mountjoy, the beneficent influence of the system tells upon their countenances, and in the intermediate stage the improvement comes very strongly.

"This proof of amendment I had ample opportunity for studying as, in my repeated visits, I saw the men in every variety of occupation—at their labour, at their meals, during their studies, and in their moments of relaxation. Their countenances, though on the whole inferior in intelligence to the average of freemen of their own degree, bore no marks of an evil mind; and while I was rowed by more than one boat's crew from island to island, and altogether in their power, it was impossible for me not to feel as secure of their fidelity as if they had been Thames watermen. In the manners and general demeanour of the intermediate class, the desire to improve themselves and to be of service to others was also very apparent."

The men have opportunities of proving their self control. On arrival at Spike Island the convict acquires the privilege of earning, by diligent and good conduct, small gratuities, which are set to his credit in a book, and deducted for ill conduct. On reaching the intermediate stage, he may draw a sum which varies according to his industry, but rises to half-a-crown weekly; and of that sum he may spend sixpence a week.

"His choice of articles for purchase being uncontrolled except as to intoxicating drinks, which are wholly prohibited. These little books are often called for by a director or superior officer, and a friendly consultation ensues as to the state of the prisoner's funds. When it is found that the sixpence has been regularly added to the savings, an occurrence so frequent as to form the rule (spending being the exception), the man is congratulated not only on his growing store, but on his power of self-command. When the allowance has been accumulated for a time, and is then spent on some article of dress to be worn on his discharge, there is still ground for satisfaction, unless a love of finery has been exhibited. Sometimes, however, the superior shows signs of disappointment, as when on one occasion Captain Crofton found that a prisoner's weekly sixpences had for some months been wasted upon tobacco. No expression of disapproval, however, is suffered to escape, as it would lead the individual to the conclusion that although he had a nominal right to dispose of his money at his own discretion (or indiscretion), he was in truth

under such restraint in its exercise as to paralyse its free agency. The captain began by asking the man what had originally brought him into trouble. 'Drink,' was his reply. 'Are you not afraid of again being decoyed into the habit of drinking, when you leave this place?' 'Not at all,' was the confident assurance. 'I have now had no drink for years, and do very well without it.' 'But you were for years without tobacco, and although you suffered much at first, you discovered after a time that tobacco is not essential to your comfort; yet the moment you are allowed to purchase tobacco you exercise the permission. How can you be sure, that as you have not been able to resist tobacco, you shall be able to resist drink when you have the power of obtaining it?' The poor fellow reflected on this conversation, and a subsequent inspection of his book showed that he had gradually diminished his outlay on the narcotic until he had abandoned it altogether, adding the saving thus produced to his permanent fund."

When the intermediate man has acquired some self-control, he is sent out on messages, or sent as one of a party to perform a piece of work. Abuse of this trust is rare; the men return punctually and promptly—they seldom if ever enter a public-house.

"The intermediate man having now established a character is intrusted with money to make purchases, or to pay bills on behalf of the prison; and what may, perhaps, be justly considered as a surer criterion that his character is known to be deserving is, that such of his comrades as remain at home are in the habit of employing him on commission to buy for them, and they place in his hands moneys for that purpose. A few months ago, a messenger so employed, when he returned, reported that he had lost sixpence belonging to one of his fellows. He was in great distress, but was reassured by the unanimous voice of the whole body, declaring that no thought of malversation had entered their minds. Subsequently one of the men found the piece of money, in an apartment where it must have accidentally dropped."

At Lusk, fifteen miles from Dublin, the men are engaged in forming a garden on open heath land, a large tract of which is to be brought under cultivation by convict labour. Their dwelling is one easily removable, constructed of corrugated iron with boards inside for warmth; it consists of two rooms, both of which by night are dormitories, while by day the one is kitchen and house place, the other is at once chapel, school, lecture-room, and library. In no instance has desertion from these residences—for they are not prisons—been attempted; and the application of industry in this form is exceedingly profitable in several ways. It is found that useful labour has the best moral effect, because it engages the goodwill of the men. Under the whole system it is found that a remarkable improvement has taken place in the bodily health of the prisoners. The mortality in 1854 was 8 per cent., in 1855 it was under 5, in 1856 under 2 per cent. Meanwhile, the quantity of labour performed by the prisoners has been nearly tripled; and the prisons are nearly self-supporting. These material facts are indexes of moral improvement. They have been attended by a further result,

which in itself aids the working of the system ; the demand by employers for the services of discharged prisoners now exceeds the supply ; the average of wages which the men can command being not less than ten shillings a week. The statistics already obtained indicate a very slight per centage of discharged convicts who have relapsed to evil courses. To Mr. Hill's pamphlet we refer for details and attestation ; we agree with him in thinking that the experience in Ireland answers the question "What shall we do with our convicts?"

The fifth opinion is from *The Philanthropist* of November 2nd, 1857.

IMPORTANT CHANGE IN PRISON DISCIPLINE.

At a time when the great question of the disposal of our convicts demands the serious attention of the country, every plan which shall hold forth promise of successfully encountering the difficulties by which the question is surrounded will meet with consideration. Captain Crofton, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons, gives us some very valuable and interesting details of an experiment which he was permitted to make, to amend the existing prison system for convicts.* In November, 1855, the Captain addressed a communication to the Government, from which the following is an extract :—

"The reformability of the generality of criminals has been admitted. The present system, commencing with the deterrent, is followed by a course of penal, and of Reformatory discipline. The success of this system it is proposed to test previous to the release of any prisoner by the institution of a third stage, in which the Reformatory element shall preponderate, as does the deterrent element in the first stage.

"The great difficulty with which discharged prisoners have to contend, is 'the want of employment.' The community do not consider a character obtained under an absence from the temptations to which prisoners would be exposed in the world, a fair test of reformation. They therefore decline accepting this evidence; and refusing to employ such criminals, thus reject the really reformed, who are included in the category as untested.

"The proposed stage of Reformatory treatment, places a prisoner where he can be assailed by temptations, and where the public will have an opportunity of judging of his reformation, of his industrious habits, and of his general fitness for employment. I firmly believe, that this probationary stage, acting as a filterer between the prisons and the public, may be made the means of distinguishing the reformed convicts from the unreformed, before and after leaving their several

* Memoranda relative to the Intermediate Convict Prisons in Ireland, from their Establishment in January, 1856, to September, 30th, 1857. Dublin: printed by A. Thom and Sons, 87, Abbey-street, for Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

places of confinement ; and I believe the separation, operating as an important channel for amendment and prevention, will exercise an influence over the criminal populations the value of which cannot be too highly appreciated."

Captain Crofton based his on the application of the principle of "Individualisation." He recommended the adoption of periods in sentences identical with those practised in England for tickets of licence, and suggested, that in the event of prisoners being unable to obtain satisfactory offers of employment, without which no convict could be discharged on licence, they were to be detained in intermediate prisons, until the expiration of periods of imprisonment, deemed equivalent to the sentence of transportation they had received. For example, a prisoner sentenced to ten years' transportation would, with good conduct, be eligible for removal to an intermediate prison in four years. After four months' detention in this stage, should he receive an offer of employment, and should his conduct be considered in all respects satisfactory, he would be allowed a conditional pardon; the licence ticket being revocable, through irregularity, at any period within the original sentence of ten years. Should the well-conducted convict, however, be unable to obtain employment at any period between the four years and four months, and six years (the period, by the Penal Servitude Act of 1853, deemed adequate to ten years' transportation), he would necessarily receive an unconditional discharge.

He recommended also, that the gratuities, purposely kept low in the ordinary prisons, should in these intermediate institutions be increased; and should be paid, where possible, according to the amount of work performed. Each convict to be allowed to expend, or to save sixpence a-week of his earnings; and thereby was introduced a test of character. Further it was advised, that warders in the trades' establishments were to be tradesmen; and in supervising their classes also, were to give the public the benefit of their labour. The warders in the various huts were likewise to be qualified to act as foremen of works, &c.; and thus they, too, were to give the public the benefit of their supervision, economically as well as morally.

Lectures were to be introduced, on subjects likely to be practically useful on discharge; and were to be given in the evenings after the labours of the day had passed.

As these intermediate establishments were intended to act as filterers from the prisons, it was presumed that many convicts would, from time to time, fail to be beneficially influenced by the system adopted in them; and would, consequently, be returned to the ordinary routine of prison life, as unworthy of the confidence placed in them, and as undeserving of the privileges accorded to them.

These plans are at once sanctioned by government; and the intermediate system has been tried in four different prisons. In these establishments the numbers are restricted to one hundred men, in order that individualisation may be brought to bear on the inmates, who in the different stages, are exposed to more or less temptation; and in order that voluntary action, as far as it is consistent with the due maintenance of discipline and of order, may be permitted to all.

These prisons are situated at Forts Camden and Carlisle, on each side of Cork Harbour, and are occupied by the men employed on public works; at the Smithfield Institution, in Dublin, which is intended for tradesmen; and at Lusk, a village about fifteen miles from Dublin, which is, in fact, a rural appendage to Smithfield. In recommending the adoption of this system for selected convicts, it has been always contemplated to apply their labour where practicable to fortifications, to harbours of refuge on our coasts, and thus concurrently with the more important matter of moral reformation, to render convict labour more generally available for the public service. This it was proposed to achieve by means of locating prisoners in movable iron buildings, arranged somewhat after the manner of those used for military purposes, each calculated to hold fifty men, and erected at a cost of £330, inclusive for accommodation for four officers, which is considered a proper complement for that number of prisoners.

With this view, iron huts were erected at Forts Camden and Carlisle, for the performance of works, under the War Department; and two others were built at Lusk Common, to prepare the land by draining, &c., road-making, levelling, &c., for the erection of a juvenile prison. These buildings fully answer the purposes for which they were intended. One hut was removed from Trim, after being inhabited for three years, and was re-erected at Lusk, for the use of the constabulary, without damage, and at a very trifling expense.

Since the opening of the Smithfield Institution, of the Forts, and of the other Refuges, the number of discharges conditionally, and unconditionally (commencing in March, 1856), have amounted to 1067. In other words, during a period of eighteen months 1067 convicts have been launched into the world, to test the value of a system of prison discipline founded upon the individualization of every convict; and the following very important results appear to vindicate the claims which the system has for general adoption.

1st.—The adoption of stages of detention, previous to discharge, in which a prisoner possesses voluntary action for good or for evil, removes the ground of complaint that the prisoner's reformation is inaccurately tested. The convict has the power of committing himself at any time, by yielding to the ordinary temptations with which he will be beset on discharge. The intermediate prison character, therefore, is of real and substantial value; and although at first, considerable reluctance was shown to employ the "exemplary" prisoners; time and experience have completely reconciled employers, who now frequently return to the intermediate establishment for additional men. The strongest proof of this statement, is that forty-two prisoners on licence, are employed at the present time in the city and county of Dublin, at wages varying from 3s. to £1 6s.; these are visited fortnightly; and with two exceptions, are very highly reported of. It may be added, that some of these employed have been sixteen months in the same service.

No offer of employment for a convict is accepted without due inquiries being in the first instance, made as to the respectability of

the person offering it. Eighty-one prisoners have received unconditional pardons in consequence of good conduct when on probation, some of whom have enlisted, and others have subsequently joined their friends in the colonies. Since the 1st of January, 1857, male convicts on licence have been under the surveillance of the Constabulary, to whom they report themselves monthly; and in the event of misconduct, however trifling, they are at once reported to the prison authorities. The rules in this respect are as follows, having been sanctioned by the Lord Lieutenant, and circulated for the information and guidance of the Constabulary:—

"1.—When an offer of employment for a prisoner is accepted a notification thereof will be made by the Directors of Government prisons to the Inspector-General of Constabulary, by whom it will be transmitted to the Constabulary of the locality in which the employment is to be given, with all necessary particulars, for the purpose of being entered in a Register at the Constabulary Station.

"2.—Each convict so to be employed will report himself at the appointed Constabulary Station (the name of which will be given to him) on his arrival in the district, and subsequently, on the 1st of each month.

"3.—A special report is to be made to head-quarters by the Constabulary whenever they shall observe a convict on licence guilty of misconduct or leading an irregular life.

"4.—A convict is not to change his locality without notifying the circumstances at the constabulary station, in order that his registration may be transferred to the place to which he is about to proceed. On his arrival he must report himself to the nearest constabulary station (of the name of which he is to be informed), and such transfer is to be reported to Head-Quarters for the information of the Directors of Government prisons.

"5.—An infringement of these rules by the convict will cause it to be assumed that he is leading an idle, irregular life, and therefore entail the revocation of his licence.

"6.—Further regulations may hereafter be added to the foregoing should it become necessary."

Some licensed convicts, by the exercise of great cunning, are, with the utmost strictness of supervision, still prosecuting their old calling. But these must be few. There are others, doubtless, who, from the migratory habits of labour in Ireland, have baffled supervision for any length of time; and it is believed they have left the country. On the other hand, and corroborative of the efficiency of the constabulary supervision, there are authentic communications from nearly 200 male prisoners discharged on licence, but who are strenuously persevering in an honest course of industry; many unconditionally discharged have enlisted; and very large numbers have emigrated from the country, having saved sufficient money from the gratuities allowed in the intermediate prisons to materially further them in such a course.

Although 1300 convicts have been under such detention since January, 1856, only twenty-six have been re-consigned to the ordinary prisons for misconduct. Six prisoners have been removed

from those institutions at their own request ; that the principle which pervades the system is uncongenial to the idle and evil-disposed. A large amount of work is expected from the inmates, which in part accounts for the wish of the idle to be removed. To the idle and to the ill-intentioned, the system of an intermediate stage between the prison and the public cannot but be irksome ; to such an extent even as to counterbalance the privileges to which they are under it entitled. No punishment is carried on in these establishments ; the prisoner who misconducts himself in the slightest respect is at once removed.

The Superintendent of Smithfield, the Chaplain and Medical Officers, all bear strong testimony to the general good conduct and spirit evinced by the prisoners under the system and the superintendent.

The Superintendent of Smithfield, who was deputy governor and master of works for ten years under the old system, states, and he is corroborated by the books of his department and the trade instructors, that under the new system he obtains nearly three times the amount of work as heretofore from the same number of prisoners.

2nd.—Whether or not, the privileges allowed in the intermediate prisons have conduced, in practice, to the existence of tests of character ; and in what particular ?

Each prisoner is allowed to retain in his own possession sixpence per week, from his gratuity money ; which sum he may expend or save, as he may possess more or less self-denial. A prisoner, taken in roster from those whose terms of detention are drawing to a close, is placed on messenger's duty daily ; he is then permitted to make purchases of articles of dress, diet, &c., for the other prisoners. As the purchaser frequently has fifteen or twenty shillings at his disposal, the test is considered valuable. The ordinary temptations of the world, in the shape of public-houses, &c., of course constantly present themselves to prisoners acting as messengers ; and strange to say, during this long period of daily duty, only one case has arisen of a man having been drinking. In this case, although his duty was accurately performed, the breach of rule was immediately punished, and the culprit forthwith removed to an ordinary prison.

Instruction is imparted principally by means of lectures, in which the aged and the ignorant, who could be induced to receive instruction in the ordinary prisons, evince a great interest ; and after a little time, display an amount of intelligence scarcely reconcilable with their former bearing.

It has already been stated, that moveable iron huts, to hold fifty prisoners in each, have been erected and occupied : and that they are found well adapted for the purpose required. Hitherto one great objection to the employment of convict labour arose on account of the heavy expenses incurred in the erection of a permanent prison, a building which becomes nearly useless on the completion of the work. Whereas, by the location of selected convicts, in the huts described, they can be moved for a trifling expense to the next work to be performed. The cost of each building (330*l.*), has before been given ; and it is evident that any number of huts may be erected, and that the principle of individualization may be preserved in each complement of fifty men.

The supervision necessary for two huts containing one hundred able-bodied convicts will be as follows:—a chief warden; a warden to act as registrar and schoolmaster; and six other warders, who should be skilled and useful men, to superintend any works that may be required. The cost of such a staff is here appended, as well as the productive labour which may be expected from the prisoners, officers, &c.

Return showing the cost of maintenance, &c., of 100 able-bodied prisoners for six months (in two iron moveable huts) with the value of their labour.

<i>Dr.</i>				<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Victualling, at 3s. 10d. per week	...	...	...	498	6	0
Clothing, at 9d.	...	"	...	97	10	0
Salaries	...	...	£178	0	0	
Rations	...	...	35	4	0	
Clothing	...	...	13	10	4	
				226	14	4
Share of Directors' salaries, Officers' expenses, &c.	...	...	...	55	0	0
Medicines	...	...	...	2	0	0
Fuel, 20 tons	...	...	...	15	0	0
Proportionate amount of gratuities chargeable on 100 prisoners	...	...	...	100	0	0
Rent, &c., Huts	...	...	...	17	10	0
Soap	...	...	...	5	8	0
Light	...	...	...	4	0	0
Bedding, 2s. 6d. each man per annum	...	...	...	6	5	0
Postage	...	...	...	4	0	0
Books and Stationery	...	...	...	7	10	0
Two Cooks, 26 weeks each, 9s.	...	...	...	23	8	0
Contingencies	...	...	...	10	0	0
				£1,072	12	0
Balance, paying all expenses,	...	...	...	236	6	0
				£1,308	18	0
<i>Cr.</i>				<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
By labour of 100 prisoners, for 26 weeks each, 9s.	...	...	...	1,170	0	0
Productive labour of six of the warders charged in salaries, &c., of officers who give their labour to the public as carpenters, artificers, &c.	...	...	...	138	18	0
				£1,308	18	0

Remarks.—Included in this 100 are carpenters, painters, masons, &c. This estimate is therefore not at all too high, as is evinced by employers taking men from the prison at 10s. per week, and many at higher wages.

Enough has been said, we imagine, in these extracts to excite a wish to understand the system more in detail. It is certainly worthy of full consideration; under the present law, taking a sen-

tence of seven years' penal servitude, the minimum period of imprisonment, with good conduct, is five years and three months; the convict may then be discharged. Misconduct will cause him to be retained till the expiration of his sentence. Everything it will be observed, appears to depend on the sufficiency or the genuineness of the prison character; and it is quite obvious that the substitution of intermediate stages of treatment, prior to the expiration of the minimum period, would better enable a correct judgment to be formed; and the principle is equally applicable to any term of sentence. We cannot but feel that though there may be some objections raised, yet the proposed system holds out considerable probability of a solution of the chief difficulties hitherto connected with our dealing with this class of criminals. The Recorder of Birmingham, no mean authority, stamped it with his entire approval, in his inaugural address as president of the third department of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science—and we shall feel glad if our readers will ponder the subject, and candidly and fairly discuss its merits or demerits, in any of our forthcoming numbers.

The sixth opinion is from *The Economist*.

IRISH CONVICT PRISONS.

WE have several times had occasion to remark that perhaps the feature which most especially distinguishes this age from those which preceded it, is the amount of earnest benevolence which is directed to the great subject of social improvement. Hundreds, not to say thousands, are now devoting time, thought, and toil to the task of raising the character and condition of the wretched and the wicked, not at all as a mere matter of prudence, nor altogether as a matter of philanthropy, but as an urgent and solemn duty, owed by the favoured and educated members of the community to those classes whom Providence has fixed in a less fortunate and happy station. The suffering, the destitute, the ignorant, the dangerous, and the criminal classes, have each their special friends and sympathisers—men to whom each several form of human misfortune appeals with peculiar force. These various philanthropists and social reformers are now, by help of the Association which has lately met at Birmingham, endeavouring to combine their exertions and mutually to communicate their several principles and plans; and the diffusion of sound views and the stimulus of flagging zeal will, we may fairly hope, be the result.

Of all the communications elicited by this Conference, none appears more valuable than a paper read by Mr. Hill describing the result of his personal inquiry into the working of the system recently introduced among the convicts of Ireland by the sagacious and energetic Director of Convict Prisons, Captain Crofton, under the enlightened sanction and encouragement of the Lord-Lieutenant. And as Captain Crofton has himself just issued a semi-official account of his proceedings, and as another report of them has just appeared from the pen of the Rev. Orby Shipley, to which we hope soon to give a separate notice,—we trust that the issue of this attempt practically to solve one of our hardest social problems will soon be known widely as it deserves.

Captain Crofton, convinced that the majority of convicts are capable of reformation ; that hope and encouragement are essential elements in any reformatory scheme ; that to reform criminals is at once the wisest, the most merciful, and the most economical way of dealing with them ; and that to cast prisoners, on their discharge from gaol, loose upon the world with cash and without employment, is to undo, or at least to risk, the whole work which prison authorities have been labouring to effect—has adopted a plan of which two features are salient and peculiar. *First*, he passes the convicts through a *series* of stages, each distinguished from its predecessor by somewhat milder discipline and somewhat more extensive privileges, and promotion from the lower to the higher of which is regulated by the industry and good conduct of the prisoner ; and, *secondly*, when he, the prisoner, becomes eligible for a ticket of leave, he is placed in an intermediary institution, where he is both trained for self-maintenance and self-control, and afforded means of proving his capacity for both. From this institution he is sent forth as soon as he is considered fit to “go alone,” and as soon as a master can be found willing to employ him, or as soon as he has earned enough to emigrate—if desirous of doing so. After giving a detailed account of the system, Mr. Hill continues :—

“ Having now brought under your notice the principal features of Irish convict treatment, let me briefly sum up the results of reformatory principles, as the Board has succeeded in reducing them to practice.

1st.—A most remarkable improvement has taken place in the bodily health of the prisoners. The mortality in 1854 was as high as eight per cent. ; in 1855, it was under five per cent. ; and in 1856 it did not quite reach two per cent.—a diminution which the medical officers, after making all due allowance for difference of seasons, attribute mainly to the change of system.

2nd.—The quantity of labour performed by the prisoners is nearly three times its former amount. I shall add a table in my appendix, which will show that at Lusk the labour of the prisoners, rating their wages at a lower average than that which they obtain immediately on their discharge, makes the establishment entirely self-supporting ; paying, in addition to the outlay for food and clothing, ample interest on capital by way of rent, all the cost of repairs—that of the services of the officers, who are especially attached to it, together with its proportion of the general expenses of the Board, including the salaries of the Directors ; and, indeed, all charges which it would have to encounter if it were a private institution.

And here I may not improperly record the firm persuasion of the Directors that the success of their enterprise is, in no small degree, to be attributed to the cordial sanction which their measures have received from the Lord-Lieutenant ; his high office, and still higher character, have wrought an irresistible effect in conciliating adverse prejudices, and in winning the co-operation of all classes.

3rd.—It cannot be doubted that the moral character of the prisoners must have been raised even in a higher degree than the physical. Indeed, the improvement which has taken place in the health of the inmates can only be referred to moral causes. With the ex-

ception of Luck no new station has been added, nor has any old station been abandoned. The number of punishments has rapidly decreased, while the gratuities allowed by Government as rewards are not on the whole, greater than they were before, though distributed in a somewhat different manner.

Under these conditions the three-fold amount of labour to which I have adverted must be considered a moral result, arguing most forcibly the genuineness and the permanency of the reformation effected.

4th.—My hearers will not be surprised to find that the results to which I have called their attention have produced another consequence of the highest value. *The demand by employers for the services of discharged prisoners now exceeds the supply.* As this fact is a crucial test by which the whole system must stand or fall, I spared no pains to verify the statement which I have made.

It may seem but an ungracious return to Captain Crofton, the Chairman of the Board, and to Mr. Lentaigne and Captain Whitty, his colleagues, who have, I am proud to say, admitted me to their friendship—that I, without their knowledge, and through independent channels, should institute an inquiry, for the purpose of checking any error into which they might have fallen, from a natural bias towards a work of their own heads and hearts. I hope my friends will forgive the step which I have taken, when they learn; as they will now do from my lips, how fully the accuracy of their representations has been corroborated by the facts thus ascertained.

The average of wages which these men can command is not less than ten shillings per week. Many, however, partly in the hopes of earning a better remuneration abroad, and partly to avoid the danger of being again drawn into the vortex of crime by their old companions, use the knowledge acquired, and the fund accumulated during their long imprisonment, to emigrate; chiefly, I believe, to Canada.

As the Board, through its officers, takes measures to keep discharged prisoners in view to the best of its power, the conduct of many of them is known, and of by far the greater number it is known to be good. Those who depart on tickets of leave are bound, under pain of forfeiting that licence, to report themselves monthly to the police of the district in which they reside, and thus they are held under more complete supervision than the others. In the appendix I shall give an account, so far as it can be obtained on actual information, and without resorting to mere estimate, which will throw some light, though an imperfect one, upon the success of the new system, so far as it can be displayed by figures. Captain Crofton, while he candidly avows his inability to frame a statistical table which would deserve confidence, yet, combining the information which he has collected with his general experience, assures me that he should be much disappointed to find, if the precise truth could be known, that ten per cent. of the convicts discharged since the new treatment commenced had returned to evil courses. And, for myself, I should consider his opinion so formed as worthy of reliance—not implicit reliance, for that he would not ask—and yet I feel persuaded that the chances of any material errors are very few.

Thus then, in my humble judgment, the Board of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons have practically solved the problem which has

so long perplexed our Government and our Legislature.—*What shall we do with our convicts?* The results of their great experiment answer thus—Keep your prisoners under sound and enlightened discipline until they are reformed—keep them for your own sake and for theirs. The vast majority of all who enter your prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world, after no unreasonable term of probation, honest men and useful citizens. Let the small minority remain, and if death arrive before Reformation, let them remain for life."

The seventh opinion is from the *Globe* of November 7th, 1857:—

We have before us a paper bearing the signature of Captain Crofton, Chairman of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons, and the title of 'Memoranda Relative to the Intermediate Convict Prisons in Ireland.' It is a paper of great interest—and not the less so, that the interest is concentrated within sixteen pages. Upon the same subject, an Oxford young gentleman (we hope he is young) has contrived to spin himself out over 150 pages, in a pamphlet affectingly entitled 'The Purgatory of Prisoners,' and crammed with such a far-rago of prolix puerilities, as we should have thought it required forty 'deacons of the diocese of Oxford,' instead of one, to overlay the statement of a plain matter withal. Our 'deacon' tells us that 'the title of the following pages was not adopted without much prayer, without much consideration.' If he had prayed or considered a little longer, he might perhaps have thought better about the propriety of garbling and misquoting a passage of the Litany by way of motto, and smearing all over with Oxonian-Catholic unction a sober practical undertaking. 'C'est trop pommade!' The only good things in this Oxford man's pamphlet are his citations or cribes from Captain Crofton. The rest is most ambitious and most empty verbiage. Taking as our text therefore the first cited 'Memoranda,' we begin by stating the general object for which intermediate convict prisons (as they are here termed) were founded. 'The great difficulty,' truly observes the originator and director of the experiment in Ireland, 'with which discharged prisoners have to contend is the want of employment; and so long as this difficulty exists, so long will the criminal population, reformed and unreformed, remain a distinct portion of the community; and so long will their absorption be a matter of impossibility. The proposed stage of reformatory treatment places a prisoner where the public will have an opportunity of judging of his reformation, of his industrious habits, and of his general fitness for employment. I firmly believe that it needs but satisfactory evidence of this fact to bring together the employer, and those meriting and seeking employment.' This experiment has been going on in Ireland for the last eighteen months in four different prisons. During that period, '1,067 convicts have been launched into the world to test the value of a system of prison discipline founded upon the individualisation of every convict. This number is large for good or for evil; and it is high time to inquire whether the practical results of such treatment are adequate to the amount of labour and of anxiety which have been bestowed upon the subject.' We must refer to the 'Memoranda' for the details, which appear to us satisfactorily to answer that question. 'The supposed

main difficulty against its adoption in prisons,' says Captain Crofton, 'has been on the score of expense. This is now shown to be erroneous; on the contrary, these results have been obtained with a decreased expenditure.' One very important practical expedient for economical employment of convict labour is the substitution of moveable iron huts, holding 50 convicts each, and which can be transported, at a trifling cost, from one scene of operations to another, for those permanent prison buildings which it has hitherto been thought necessary to construct where convicts were to be employed on public works. Such costly constructions necessarily limited the number and nature of such works. But on the system here proposed for the useful employment of convicts in the intermediate stage between penal confinement and perfect freedom, we agree with Captain Crofton that the public, as well as individuals, may derive advantage from that employment. There are always things admittedly desirable to be done—but which, not being of a nature to make immediate profitable returns, will always be postponed, on the score of expense, till a more convenient season, unless there is some urgent auxiliary motive for doing them. The urgency here is to bridge over the chasm which at present exists between prison labour and free labour, so that the apparently reformed convict shall be helped over that difficult transition. 'The undefended state of the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland,' suggests Captain Crofton, 'at the present moment, seems peculiarly inviting to the trial of a system which has been shown to be morally, socially, and economically beneficial. The labour is especially suitable to convicts; and under the direction of sappers, would be skilfully executed.' The vital principles of this intermediate system are, firstly, that it restores free agency to the convict, in such measure as to test his fitness for honest employment, as it never can be tested within the four walls and under the iron rules of an ordinary prison. It is the voluntary sequel and completion of a previously compulsory course of penal discipline. No punishments are ever inflicted in this intermediate state of probation; or rather the sole punishment is to be recognised to the ordinary prison. Only 26 out of 1,300 have been so recognised for misconduct—six have been so removed at their own request—in consideration of an objection they had to steady labour and steady conduct. The second essential principle of the system is bringing reformed convicts in honest contact with the public, and into fair prospects of finding and keeping individual employment. Hitherto even when discharged convicts found employment, they were generally liable to lose it again, on any chance discovery of their penal antecedents. 'Derrick may do very well,' said Dr. Johnson, 'as long as he can outrun his character, but the moment his character gets up with him, it is all over.' Surely Sam's subsequent judgment of the same person is aptly applicable to the effect of the reformation testing process before us. 'Derrick has now got a character that he need not run away from.' The object in view is to enable convicts, before their final discharge, to get a character that they need not run away from. It is not dissimulated in this reform scheme—and if it were, we should not place the slightest reliance on it—that a certain per-centage of prisoners must be regarded, humanly

speaking, as incorrigible. 'These prisoners,' says Captain Crofton, 'are for the most part, easily distinguishable at an early portion of their prison career; and as their conduct approximates to that of lunatics (to the detriment of the other prisoners, and to the danger of the officers,) so should their treatment be special and severe; they should be located in special prisons, be guarded by special officers, be placed at special labour. Captain Crofton believes 'that the transmission of such prisoners to a colony is as unsound in principle as it has been found to be in practice; and that by a special treatment, firmly administered, this class of criminals may be rendered harmless in our own prisons, and may be rendered comparatively innoxious on discharge.' The Act of 1857 enables sentences of penal servitude to be carried out in such colonies (as Western Australia) still willing to receive convicts, and the recent instructions from the Home Secretary as to the minimum periods of detention direct that convicts shall be eligible for removal to a colony at the expiration of one half of their sentences. According to the system now before us, removal to the colonies may be regarded as a parallel process with removal from ordinary to Intermediate Prisons at home. It is a process therefore properly applicable only to reclaimable and well conducted convicts; and we agree with Captain Crofton that a similar term of moral apprenticeship and voluntary or semi-voluntary probation should precede their full discharge in a colony as (according to the system before us) it would at home. The sort of men treated as good enough for Western Australia should only be the sort treated as good enough for home employment. Colonial like home employers of labour should be induced (neither can be compelled) to receive prisoners whose reform has been tested by such an intermediate process as set forth in the 'Memoranda' before us again into the ranks of honest industry and reliable service.

The eighth opinion is from *The Leeds Mercury* of November 19th, 1857.

REFORMATION OF CONVICTS.

The Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland is now engaged in an experiment which ought to arouse deep interest here, and in the success of which every member of the community, criminal or non-criminal, is interested. When the ticket-of-leave system was introduced into the sister country, the Board of Directors felt that to turn a convict loose upon the world before the expiration of his sentence, and with no other evidence of reformation than that which he had given in the usual routine of prison life, was cruel to the convict and unjust to the public. He might, indeed, be truly reformed, but the only proof which he was able to offer of the fact halted short, very far short, of demonstration, for his newly acquired virtue had never been put to any convincing test within the prison walls. How could such a man hope to obtain employment, or even to keep himself from starvation if he remained honest? On the other hand, if the convict was not truly reformed, there might indeed be no cruelty to him in handing him a ticket-of-leave, but

there was a great injustice to the public, who were thus again exposed to his depredations long before the time originally allotted for his confinement had expired. Between the two classes of reformed and non-reformed convicts, moreover, there will always stand a very numerous class of men who being in prison, feeling acutely the consequences of their past folly, with all temptation carefully placed out of their reach, and easily impressible alike for good or evil, will present every appearance of having undergone a thorough reformation both to themselves and to others, but on their discharge will at once relapse into vice, the little strength of will which they ever had having been altogether destroyed by the necessary inflexible rigidity of ordinary prison discipline. To discharge such men on tickets-of-leave after undergoing that discipline alone, is just to invest them a few months or years earlier with the power of again becoming a pest to themselves and to others.

With these considerations in view, the Board set itself to devise a system which should at once work out and test the reformation of the convict. The first object to be attained was to secure a real change in the thoughts and feelings of the criminal; the next was to corroborate and fortify this new state of mind, and to make it habitual; and the last was to satisfy the public that the change *had* taken place, and that there was of all events a strong probability of its permanence. The change might be real, and it might last so long as the prisoner remained in gaol, but if it had not become in some measure habitual, so as to resist the temptation of the outside world, then the released convict would return to society merely to harass and annoy it. On the other hand, however real and permanent might have been the reformation of the prisoner, he would be thrown homeless and friendless upon the world on his discharge, unless the public could be fully satisfied that he had resolved to turn from the error of his ways.

The plan finally adopted for securing these objects is so simple in its nature, and apparently so obvious, that many persons will be inclined to say—"Oh! is that all? Dear me I could have devised as good a scheme myself." Perhaps so, but then to the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland belongs the honour not merely of devising but of carrying out this scheme with a heartiness and good will which deserve, and which we trust will command success.

As soon as the convict, in pursuance of his sentence, is placed at the disposal of the Board he is subjected to a course of confinement upon the separate system:—the men for a period of nine months, the women for four months. In this preliminary stage two objects are sought to be attained. In any wise system of prison discipline punishment proper ought to be inflicted. The convict has by his crime incurred a debt to society, and that debt he must pay by undergoing a certain amount of suffering. Perhaps no greater punishment could be inflicted upon him than these months of solitary confinement. Whether they conduce to his reformation or not, the society which he has outraged may at all events at their termination regard the debt due to it as discharged. But although this period is to be considered mainly as one of punishment, and with this object

nearly every description of manual labour is denied to the offender, and he is sequestered from the society of his fellow prisoners; the chaplain and the schoolmaster have free access to his cell. Endeavours are made to arouse and stimulate his mental and moral faculties, and in addition to the instruction thus imparted to him, his otherwise solitary life affords him full leisure for meditating on the course of his past career. His meditations may not be very profound, but his mind must be strangely constituted if at some moment during those long, solitary months, it does not catch a glimpse of the connection between crime and suffering—between virtue and happiness. It is not all impossible that the time thus spent may have resulted in the reformation of the offender, but as yet no test has been applied by which to judge of its reality and permanence. At the close of the nine months, however, the male convict is placed in what is very appropriately styled an "Intermediate Establishment," which resembles a Reformatory School for adults, and is, in fact, a kind of half-way house between the prison and the world. Here the prisoner becomes again half a free man. He works in company with his fellows, he is not unfrequently allowed to pass unguarded beyond the walls of the institution, and as the reward of his industry he receives a small amount of money, which he is allowed to spend as he likes. Thus has the prisoner an opportunity of making himself a character, and, what is still better, of proving to the world that he has one before he is released. The consequence is, that the demand for discharged convicts among Irish employers of labour exceeds the supply, and that so far from the ticket-of-leave man being a nuisance, he is positively considered as a valuable acquisition. He has learned to resist temptation and to form habits of steady labour, and although these qualifications have been acquired in the course of his convict life, they are not the less in demand.

The result of the system which we have thus very briefly sketched is summed up as follows in a pamphlet,* from the theological views of which we entirely dissent, but of which we can hardly sufficiently admire the zeal and ability:—

"For a period of twenty months has this system been adopted in Irish prisons. During this time between thirteen and fourteen hundred criminals have been brought under its influence. Of this number upwards of one thousand have passed through the prescribed course of discipline; the remainder are still under probation. Of the thousand, upwards of five hundred prisoners have received absolute discharge, and between five and six hundred have received tickets of license. Of the latter, under the strictest supervision, under the most stringent rules, and for the slightest breach of privileges, only in round numbers three per cent. have caused to be revoked their license."

* "The Purgatory of Prisoners: or an intermediate stage between the Prison and the Public; being some account of the practical working of the new system of penal reformation introduced by the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. By the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A." London: Joseph Masters.

Our ninth opinion is from *The Economist* of November 14th, 1857.

This is a thoughtful, careful, and most interesting account of an attempt which, next to the institution of Reformatory Schools, may be safely called the most successful experiment of social reformers in our own day. Between Mr. Carlyle on the one hand vindictively denouncing "Scoundrelism" and proposing to shoot it down, without any consciousness of the narrowness of the gulf which separates Scoundrelism from our average humanity,—and the *Hospital-School* of criminal reform on the other hand, which regards crime as a mere disease to be pitied, tenderly treated, alleviated, and, if possible, cured by medicines and applications as little disagreeable as possible,—the system adopted by Captain Crofton in his experiment on Irish Convict Prisons, and the tone of Mr. Shipley's pamphlet which explains that system, steers a true middle course. And that course has been crowned with a remarkable success, which shows at once that the "scoundrels" of society are after all but perverted (often very slightly perverted) *men*, and yet that they are men fully conscious of their criminality, often anxious to expiate it, and easily taught to respect the law of justice they have violated when they see it strictly enforced *for* as well as *against* themselves. We fully believe the method adopted by Captain Crofton in the Irish Convict Prisons to be the true solution of the most difficult social problem of the day. In a leading article last week we explained the outline of Captain Crofton's scheme. We will now, by the aid of Mr. Shipley's excellent book, fill in a few of the details, and point out how completely the method as a whole seems applicable to our English prisons.

First, however, we may say a single word on the book itself and its style. It is vigorously, and if we may use the expression, *eagerly* written, with a single view to its object. It has, to a certain extent, the tone of an ecclesiastical school with which we have little sympathy; but the religious spirit is both deep and healthy, and if taken apart from what seems to us the slightly technical ecclesiasticism of the pamphlet, which, for example, renders the author shy of using either the word or the thought "Protestant" in any connection with the English Church, it will awaken genuine sympathy in men of all schools. We hope the allusive Puseyism of a few parenthetical sentences will not prevent men of very different Church principles from studying this most valuable account of a most valuable experiment.

Captain Crofton's scheme for convicts *assumes* a sentence of at least four years' penal servitude, without which no sufficient time would be allowed for the trial of his method. Each prisoner is first subjected to a nine-months' solitary imprisonment, in order to mark strongly at first the penal character of the discipline. It is found, too, that, for this limited period, solitude has a softening influence on the mind. Much crime arises from the hurry of worldly excitement and passion. A criminal who is forced to look at his inmost

mind and his past life, is, after the subsidence of the first self-will, soon self-convicted; and that he should be self-convicted is sure to secure his respect for the operation of the law in the execution of the penalty he has incurred. Mr. Shipley truly remarks that this step is far harder with the Irish than with almost any class of prisoners. The Celtic race has no inherent reverence for law. It is impulsive and lawless in its higher forms. In its lowest, it almost *hates* law. The great tendency of the system adopted by Captain Crofton, is to make the prisoners feel, after this first stage of their penalty, that law is not wholly *against* them; that it can protect them in privileges of their own as well as restrain them from the breach of others' privileges; that there is a side of it favourable to them, as well as a side of it hostile to them. This is managed by a classification of the prisoners after the first nine months of solitary life. The *probation* or lowest class, includes those only who have behaved ill in the solitary cell, or those whose health did not permit them to complete their time there. Others are put into the class called the *third*, from which they must rise through the second and first classes before they can in any case be permitted to go to the *intermediate* establishments, where freedom is partially and tentatively restored to them. This rise they may hasten or retard by their own conduct. The *minimum* period in the third class (for an exemplary convict) is two months,—in the second, six months,—and in the first, a year,—so that, including the nine months of solitary confinement, no man can be free of the prisons, *proper*, and admitted into the intermediate establishments within two years and five months, nor usually in so short a time. The system of promotion from class to class depends on the convict's behaviour in three respects—his amenability to authority as a prisoner, his diligence as a scholar in the prison school, and his industry as a mechanic in the trade he is taught. He is characterised monthly; and only those who during *every* month receive the highest character in *every* respect are eligible for the intermediate establishments in the time mentioned. The conduct and industry marks by which the exact stage of the prisoner's career is denoted, are worn on his sleeve; and any breach of discipline, secures his degradation, i.e., the loss of the marks he has acquired up to this point. How strongly this emulative influence acts upon the Irish convict's mind, we learn from the evidence of one of the chaplains, who says:—

“The badges or marks pointing out the progress he has made on the road to liberty, encourage his aspirations for the same. The denial of them sensibly reminds him of his retrogression from the goal. Excitement, *sometimes amounting to fury*, which I have seen prisoners manifest when stript of these badges, I would boldly instance, as so many genuine manifestations of these emblems of approaching liberty.”

This is very remarkable, and indicates we think one of the differences between the Irish and English criminals. The former are more lawless, but also more impressible. We doubt if the stimulus of hope and emulation would act so powerfully on the English convict; though we should expect that fewer of them would retrograde who had once given promise of amendment.

No prisoners, then, are transferred to the intermediate establishments within two years and five months—few so soon. If a man's sentence of penal servitude is to run for seven years, he would not be admitted there till he had passed four years in the ordinary prison, and then would be required, even though exemplary in conduct, to pass one year and three months more in the intermediate stage before a release on licence could be accorded. Again, a man sentenced for ten years would be required to pass six years in the ordinary prisons, and one year and six months in the intermediate establishments, before any licence could be accorded. Before quitting Captain Crofton's *ordinary-prison* system, we must quote the report of prison discipline at Philipstown, one of the ordinary prisons, in 1855, and 1856, to show how remarkably the new system has operated to diminish the violence and ill-conduct of the prisoners:—

It must be borne in mind that the daily average in 1856 was greater by thirty-five prisoners than in 1855.

	In 1855		In 1856.	
Attempts to break prison ...	6	...	...	—
Mutinous conduct ...	64	...	...	1
Assaults on prison officers ...	7	...	...	1
Malicious accusation of ditto	1	...	...	1
Assaults on prisoners ...	15	...	...	21
Theft ...	52	...	...	15
Insubordination ...	79	...	...	35
Disobedience and insolence ...	85	...	...	85
Disorderly conduct ...	172	...	...	46
Breach of prison rules (slight offences) ...	294	...	...	80
Total ...	775	...	...	285

To the number 285 must be added an item unknown to the report of 1855, idleness, &c., 20, making a gross total of 303 defaulters.

The intermediate stage between prison-life and freedom is passed at Smithfield in Dublin, an establishment intended for tradesmen; at Lusk, a colony meant for agricultural training, which is a rural appendage to Smithfield; and at Forts Camden and Carlisle on each side of Cork Harbour, places meant for men employed on public works. The object is to give enough freedom, and even enough exposure to temptation, to try the strength of the prisoner, while an effectual check is still kept on his conduct, and the influences around him still tend to keep him steady. All criminal costume is removed, and the men dressed like ordinary workmen. They are despatched in turn on errands of tradesmen's duty and errands of trust into the town and neighbouring country. The slightest violation of their trust and the slightest breach of discipline remits them at once to the old prison life. They are allowed to earn as much as 3s. 6d. a week during this stage of their career, against the time of release, and a portion of this sum they are permitted to receive at once, in order to give them an opportunity of exercise in the

habit of frugality and self-denial. And there are many proofs that this education in self-restraint is not lost. Captain Crofton tells us that no instance is known of a convict trusted out on commission with the money of his brother prisoners—often as much as a pound, who has applied it dishonestly, or even inspired his fellow-convicts with distrust. The trust reposed in them is felt as an honour, and as an honour it is faithfully respected. Here again we doubt whether English convicts would be so impressible: honesty they would learn perhaps more rapidly;—but the binding power of honour, of the *parole*, is more likely to catch hold of the generous and impulsive nature of the Irish. We must extract Mr. Shipley's very interesting account of the education given at the intermediate establishment, Smithfield.

Education is a subject by no means neglected at these intermediate institutions. Four hours every evening are devoted to the intellectual culture of the convicts' mind. This is chiefly of an elementary sort; and it is imparted in a manner to attract the often blunted faculties and obtuse ideas with which it has to grapple. The success attending this system is great. The Directors were very fortunate in obtaining the services of a gentlemen, who had gained much experience in the establishment of evening schools in Dublin, and who was recommended by the National Board of Education, Mr. Organ. By this gentlemen "lectures are given every evening of such a nature as to prepare the prisoners for the world in which they are about to mix, whether their destination be the colonies or at home." It is stated that the two subjects which always attract the greatest attention amongst the inmates of Smithfield, are the colonies, and any moral question. In Captain Crofton's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons, the list of lectures for a month is given. As specimens the following are selected:—Pursuit of Knowledge; Remarkable Inventions; New South Wales and New Zealand; Man, his duty to God and relation to his Fellows; the Atmosphere and its uses; Railways and Telegraphs; History; Printing; What a Man with brains may do; Coal; Physical Geography; Self-denial and decision of Character; Canada; the Calendar; Works of God; Wonders of Science; Temperance; Machinery. Now the writer is able to testify to the interesting manner in which these lectures are given. He has seen the interest they excite; and, what is more to the point, he can prove the hold they take upon their hearers. The men during the delivery of the lectures are encouraged to take notes. They do so; and during their times of work, the trades instructors are in the habit of directing the conversation to the subjects of the lectures. Now mark the result. On Saturday evenings instead of the usual lecture being delivered the prisoners are arranged in lines on opposite sides of the school-room, and are set to work to question each other upon the subject-matter of the week's programme. These questions and answers are generally given as quickly as a spectator can commit them to paper. The replies are often criticised by the questioner; and if not considered by him to be satisfactory, he stands upon his feet, and openly instructs his less mindful neighbour. The questions are given, and

replied to, alternatively from one side of the hall to the other ; and the eagerness displayed by opposing factions sometimes amounts to positive excitement. This sort of competitive examination is looked upon as the great recreation of the week ; and as such is highly prized by the men. Its benefits are manifold. It encourages attention to the lectures. It sharpens the intelligence, in making notes. It opens the understanding, by making reflection inevitable upon cause and effect. It cultivates the intellect, in requiring consideration for questions. It immensely quickens the mental power, in necessitating immediate replies.

One most remarkable result of the foundation of these intermediate establishments is that one of them already is—all of them can be made—self-supporting. In the Lusk colony there is a considerable annual balance, arising from the labour of these semi-liberated convicts, after deducting all expenses of superintendence, food, gratuity to the men themselves, and even their share of the salary of the Board of Directors. And the applications for their labour—directly they become eligible for release on licence—are now considerably more numerous than are the men to satisfy them. It must be remembered, however, that the system has only been in operation 21 months ; and we fear that relapses, when they come, will be likely to occur at some little distance of time after release, when the freshness of their teaching has worn off.

Finally, the result of this experiment is so encouraging that we would strongly urge its immediate application, *mutatis mutandis*, to the English prison system. Captain Crofton estimates the incorrigible convicts, who at present are never suited for the intermediate stage at all, at 25 or 30 per cent. of the whole. The remaining 75 or 70 per cent. he believes are all capable of rising to the intermediate stage. Of these who do reach the intermediate discipline, not two per cent. have had to be reconsigned to the ordinary prison-discipline before their discharge. Out of 1,300 men in this stage, only 26 have been sent back to the old prisons. And after ultimate release, not ten per cent. are believed to be found returning to crime. This last point is not easily ascertainable, except in the case of those relieved with a revocable licence, and who, therefore, remain under surveillance. Of these not three per cent. have had their licences revoked ; and it seems not improbable therefore that a proportion of ten per cent. really covers the renegades. If, therefore, we take the reclaimable convicts at only 70 per cent. of the whole, and deduct 15 per cent. on these 70 for those who fall back either during or after their intermediate stage, we shall have 60 per cent. of our criminal population really restored to respectability by this system,—a result we could scarcely dare to hope for, were it not for the results of Captain Crofton's experiment.

The great test of its success is the real *demand* on the part of employers for the labour of men who are training in the intermediate establishments, while common prisoners on release can never get employment unless their past life can be *concealed*. But here the employer sees the system in action ; he hears the men conversing and questioning each other after the week's lectures ; he perceives the

gradual growth of intelligence and self-respect in their minds, and he *cannot but trust the men*. Shall we, then, be slow to apply in England a system that has produced such results? There is no sadder record than the record of our English prison systems, vibrating between false severity and false indulgence, and alike unsuccessful in teaching the prisoners to learn, to hope, and to trust. Captain Crofton has done much to remove this shadow from our land. It will be disgraceful to England not to seize eagerly on the hope his success holds out. We thank Mr. Shipley most heartily for his little book, and entreat our readers to resort to its pages for a record of which we have given a very poor and imperfect outline.

Our tenth opinion is from *The Morning Herald*, of December 24th, 1857.

It is now nearly two years since the Irish Government, at the instigation of Captain Crofton, Chairman of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland, sanctioned the trial of an experiment which was intended to give to prisoners an opportunity of redeeming their character previously to their release. The plan was, that the convict, after having completed a portion of his sentence, of equal length with that which in England would have rendered him eligible for a ticket of leave, should, if well-behaved, be transferred to a separate prison, and there surrounded, so far as possible, by the temptations that assail the working man in ordinary life, but, elevated by the enjoyment of certain privileges, be permitted to feel the incentives to integrity, and to prove, by temperance and assiduity, his sincere repentance. The experiment was commenced, as its author states, at Smithfield, an old and ill-constructed gaol in Dublin, which is now set apart for tradesmen; and it has been repeated at Forts Camden and Carlisle, on either side of Cork harbour, where are stationed the men employed on public works; and at Lusk, a village about fifteen miles from Dublin, where a sort of rural colony appears to have been formed, as an appendage to Smithfield. After four months' detention in the intermediate prisons, as they are called, at one or other of these places, the convict whose demeanour has been unexceptionable is allowed to avail himself of any suitable offer of employment which he may receive. In this case he obtains a conditional pardon, signified by a license, which may be revoked for misconduct at any time within the duration of the original sentence. If he cannot find a master, he, of course, remains in custody until his term of servitude has expired. Prisoners dismissed on license are put under the surveillance of the constabulary, and their names entered in a register at the station of the district in which they take up their abode. They are commanded to report themselves monthly to the officers, and are deprived of their tickets for even the slightest irregularity, which the constables are strictly enjoined to notify at head-quarters. It is difficult to choose any single word which gives a precise idea of the nature of the intermediate prisons. In some respects they resemble small colleges, in other model workshops for malefactors. The number of inmates in each is restricted to 100, in order that the warders and teachers may be able to maintain frequent intercourse

with every one of them, and to keep a more watchful eye over their behaviour. A felon who is shut up in a common gaol at once loses his distinct existence, and becomes a mere figure among the guilty class into which he has fallen. But no sooner does he enter upon his course of probation than he recovers his personal identity, and is treated as a man who has a will which may be exercised to restrain his passions, and physical and mental qualities which may possibly differ from those of his neighbours. During the day the probationer is occupied with manual labour, chiefly upon fortifications and other like national works; and the gratuity which the Government bestow upon all convicts is in his case increased and paid (if we rightly understand Captain Crofton) according to the amount of industry which he displays. In the evening, when his task is concluded, he attends a lecture upon some practical subject, the knowledge of which will be of service to him in his future career. Out of the earnings of his labour he is allowed either to spend or save, at his discretion, sixpence per week, and the practice of self-denial in this particular affords six shillings, it is thought a valuable test of character. This, however, is not the only test, and a variety of regulations have been conceived in a similar spirit. For instance, the duty of messenger is daily confided to one of the prisoners, taken in rotation from among those whose time of liberation draws near; and in this capacity he is often entrusted with what is to him a considerable sum of money, for the purchase of articles of diet and dress for his companions. Moreover, he is constantly obliged to pass the public-house, and is thus exposed at once to the influence of the two vices that most captivate his imagination—the love of pilfering and the thirst for drink. In all the intermediate establishments the infliction of punishment is forbidden. Whoever transgresses the rules, or deviates from the most rigid propriety, forfeits his indulgence, and is sent back to meditate upon his folly amidst the dreary dulness of his former gaol. Such is a brief view of the intermediate system, as described by Captain Crofton, which he considers to have satisfactorily answered the question, “What shall we do with our criminals on their discharge?” We agree with him so far as this, that it is the best that has yet been invented for reclaiming adults within the limits of the United Kingdom; and that, unless the custom of transportation is resumed on a far more expanded scale, we must have recourse to some general scheme of this kind in England as well as in Ireland. By this time, however, our readers are probably pretty well aware, from the arguments which we have already addressed to them upon this perplexing topic, and which it will be needless to recapitulate, that we think the scene of reformation ought to be laid in the transmarine possessions of the Crown, although for that purpose it might become necessary to found a new penal settlement. This opinion implies no disparagement of Captain Crofton’s plan, of the beneficial results of which upon the convicts themselves there can be no dispute, and which in many things is a great improvement upon those adopted in private refuges. It is distinguished by a methodical simplicity; it can be spread over the whole island, and so made uniform and equal for all prisoners; and it need not break down, even if the superintendents

and chaplains should (and we heartily hope they will) abstain from converting themselves into walking advertisements, and importuning the public for patronage to the prejudice of the free poor. Before leaving Captain Crofton's Memoranda, we cannot refrain from quoting some extracts, in which he enlarges upon the miracles achieved by solitary confinement. He is refuting the objection that the present treatment of prisoners can operate as a premium to crime, and he says—"Detention is so irksome to them, and liberty is so sweet, that all other privileges are counted as naught in comparison. The anxiety, the constant eagerness to attain the period of discharge is so great, that any person, having opportunities of witnessing these indications of feeling, cannot doubt the estimation in which they hold liberty; and, besides the influence of these natural feelings, there is the separation of nine months, through which all convicts pass, and of which all have a wholesome dread. It is an acknowledged fact that the prisoner recollects, years after he is discharged, how it was in this separate stage of detention that everything antagonistic to his former life was first placed before him. The man who delighted in filth and disorder is here made clean and regular. The man whose whole existence depended on the excitement of evil companions and their conversation is here compulsorily silent, except to certain and approved persons. The drunkard is here made sober. The hardened criminal, so long depending on others, is now thrown upon himself, and finds, to his cost, the miserable nature of his support." There is much truth, as well as eloquence, in these sentences, and we are delighted to hear that this seclusion, which, by its terrors, is so well calculated to awe the undetected offender, and, if not too long protracted, becomes so salutary to the mind of the captive, is always the first stage of that new discipline in which the period of probation is the last.

Our eleventh opinion is from *The Union*, for December 24th, 1857.

Those who are interested in the reformation of our criminals—and we hope they are an increasing class—owe a deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Shipley for his very interesting and instructive volume. There was and still remains a blot on the primitive system of England as to adult criminals; and it is this: that, although the discipline of the prison itself may be admirably conducted in many cases, yet no systematic attempt has been ever made, through appropriate Houses of Refuge or Reformatories, to enable the criminal, when discharged, to re-enter society on such a new and independent footing as may enable him to earn his own living, and be again respected by his fellow-men. As Mr. Shipley remarks, a convict, when he leaves his prison, is a child—a mere machine; for all that he does has been so long at the dictation of others, that he loses all idea of self-government, of independent action, or moral responsibility, and providing for himself; so that he soon becomes again the tool of others, and relapses into his own ways. The most exemplary and long-continued obedience to the gaoler—whom the prisoner, of course, hates—is, therefore, no test of a change of character. It is often a mere auto-

matic habit, or else a cunning scheme to obtain indulgence or a shortening of the term of punishment, but indicates no real moral amelioration; and the man is almost sure, at the end of his sentence, to be a worse man than when he begun it.

But there were intelligent and benevolent individuals in Dublin, who devised a mode for bettering the results, and have succeeded. The beginning is with separate confinement and severe labour for some months, the prisoner's relaxations consisting in the visits of the clergy, and the kind and gentle inculcation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and His moral law. Christianity, and its code of right and wrong, is made the root and foundation of his treatment; and, so soon as he shows any appreciation of it and sense of justice—the principal feeling sought to be awakened—his condition is bettered, and he is admitted to a state of limited and conditional association with his fellows. Some (about ten per cent.) are never reclaimed, and are treated as hardened, hopeless wretches; others (about fifteen per cent.) fall back and recover themselves, and fall again; but a large proportion improve gradually, and go through all the intermediate establishments, until they are discharged—altered and renovated men.

The first period past, the second is entered on, wherein a strict classification, according to conduct and character, is adopted, schooling, industrial work, with a system of gratuities, introduced. Every particular of the behaviour of each individual is recorded, with good and bad marks; and further, in order that they should be made aware of their position and progress in the prison, of the importance of good conduct, and of the records made concerning them, a badge of merit or otherwise is awarded to each convict every month. The effect has been to cause a reduction in the same prison, and numbers of prison offences, from seven hundred and seventy-five in 1855, to two hundred and eighty-five in 1857.

Having attained a sufficiently good character under these regulations, the convict is transferred to the intermediate establishments, which are the peculiarity of the system. Of these there are three—one agricultural, which is at Lusk; another mechanical, at Cork Harbour; a third artizan, at Smithfield. At this juncture, under the old system, would have intervened the ticket-of-leave system, which threw the prisoner again upon the world, without any renewed moral training as the reward of his mechanical obedience to his gaoler. Here, however, the voluntary system is alone resorted to—voluntary labours and discipline, voluntary education, voluntary temptation. Honour—the felon's honour—is the principle of his heart here appealed to; and the mainspring of his actions here worked upon—the culprit's own honour, and the honour of the institution which confides in his honour. Liberty of conduct is fully accorded; but, being fully accorded, and once in the most trivial manner abused, is irrevocably withdrawn:—"All, or nearly all connection with a prison life is suspended, even to the mere outward man, the growth of the hair, and the dress. Past offences and past punishments are never mentioned, or are only mentioned with a special or exceptional intention; and the men are treated as reasonable

creatures, accountable agents, who have acquired a sense of responsibility, who have a character to win and to lose—in a word, as Christians."

In these last institutions the prisoners usually remain four or five months—sometimes much longer. When it is ascertained that their character is so changed that they are fit for discharge, it is given to them, with a ticket of license. If that period be long delayed, or is hopeless, they are usually remanded, and undergo the rest of their sentences; but these are a very small portion. They are employed during this last probationary period in industrial works in or out of the house, for which they receive, and are allowed to expend, a certain amount of wages, of which a regular account is kept. They (as we read it) are not allowed to sleep out of the house, and must return at certain fixed hours, but are allowed to make purchases for themselves or fellows; and, when transferred from one establishment to another, they are allowed to conduct their own transit. Thus, a carpenter was sent two miles off daily by himself for two months, to do some work in another prison, and returned punctually every evening, without fail, to his own. And, though no watch is kept over them, only a single attempt at escape has been made.

During the last period schooling of an advanced kind, and instruction in religious duties, occupy four hours every day. There are daily prayers, and full services on Sundays. On Friday and Saturday the Roman Catholic chaplain hears confessions. However, here is the failure at present—there is no effectual or converting religious discipline; and, though the present short trial of the system appears to be triumphantly successful, it will remain to be seen how, in a length of time, the discharged convicts turn out.

Having undergone this last ordeal, the reformed prisoner is set at liberty, with a ticket of license—not, as in England, to be hidden or destroyed, but as a most valuable testimonial, of which he may be proud; for in it are recited the grounds of his discharge, and the exemplary behaviour which has earned it. He is, therefore, always ready to display it; and with this document he is always sure of immediate employment—for all masters are found to be anxious to engage servants or workmen who have gone through such repeated and protracted trials. The man is thus restored to his country an altered and reformed being, and entitled to take his place again in society.

Similar institutions, on a smaller scale, exist for women—a Refuge of St. Vincent, at Golden Bridge, for Roman Catholics, under the superintendence of Sisters of Mercy; and a Protestant Refuge, which, like other institutions of the kind in Dublin, do not bear inspection or examination. We cannot but trust that the system of Brothers and Sisters of Mercy for prisons and workhouses may some day be carried out universally in England. In Rome, a Reformatory for discharged prisoners has for some time been in operation, under this management, with great success. Let us hope it may be soon tried here.

Our twelfth opinion is from the *Clerical Journal* of November 23, 1857.

THE theoretical assumption on which was based the Irish system of convict management may be stated in a few words. Mr. Shipley concisely puts it in the form, that even prisoners "are not so bad as they seem;" that they, as well as other persons have "two sides to their character;" and that one of these sides is a good one. This fact is elaborated and applied to the case of convicted prisoners in the work before us. The Board of Directors in Ireland certainly have very simple data to begin from. It seems no less simple than true. It proves itself no less true than successful. The indisputable fact, that large numbers of criminals fall rather from ignorance, education in crime, pressing temptation, than from predeterminate habits of opposition to the law, rendered some measures other than those in operation a crying necessity. The no less certain truth, that large numbers of those who do fall are unable again to arise, and to take their place in society, from the combined effect of many causes, demanded a solution of a difficulty other than that it has yet obtained. The Irish system confidently asserts the solution of the difficulty; propounds the adoption, in practical working order, of the remedial measures. It offers to the convict an improvement in prison discipline, prison education, prison employment, prison morality. It gives him an opportunity first of gaining a wish for reformation, then of putting into practice the wish, lastly, of absolutely testing the strength of his reformation. It opens a door to repentance, amendment, restoration, socially, morally, religiously; it strives to soften, softening to implant, implanting to train, training to cultivate, such virtue and grace which even the culprit in prison may, and can, and does eventually, by God's grace, obtain. The system is founded on common sense, it is nurtured by philanthropy, it is blessed by religion. And it may be added, as a glance at Mr. Shipley's statistics abundantly prove, that the system is eminently successful. It is successful in every way. It reduces crime. It restores numberless outcasts to society. It supersedes to a large extent the necessity of transportation. Lastly, it is eminently economical. But it does more; it tends to separate the presumably ductile convict from the incorrigible felon. It marks the professional criminal. It divides the *genus* convict into two distinct classes, with both of which it deals in opposite ways. Both have a chance, an equal chance, of reformation. But the one which refuses to be reformed has to be treated upon terms as stringent and severe as the opposite ones are managed by measures mild and lenient. Both systems are fully discussed in the pamphlet before us. They can only be alluded to here.

Let us now turn to the practical working of the new Irish system of prison discipline. Upon conviction, the Celtic convict is conveyed to a Dublin prison, built on a principle somewhat improved upon that which for many years has obtained at Pentonville. The *regime* under which the prisoner here finds himself is the separate system. He occupies, alone, a cell. He enjoys an hour's exercise, or more upon medical advice, daily. He is instructed for a similar period by the schoolmaster. He is visited more or less frequently by the chaplain.

He is furnished with pens, ink, paper, and books; but his only employment is that of picking oakum. Here the convict remains nine months at the least; and is detained longer, with an indifferent prison character. This is period the first in the convict's career; and this, the reader will remark, is the purely deterrant (to use the language of the science) period. For the object hoped to be obtained by this discipline, and for the effects which very generally result, we must refer the reader to the pamphlet before us.

Next comes the second period of discipline; and this may be termed (in the same dialect) the deterrant-reformatory career of the convict. This stage is a sort of transition state from the strictly-enforced punishment of the first step, and towards the purely philanthropic probation of the last step of prison life. It neither wholly enforces the rigour of the law, nor wholly holds out the privileges of freedom. It combines the penal element with the probationary; and during his passage through this stage, the convict rises gradually from a lower class to a higher, until at length he proves himself fitted to be entrusted with that amount of confidence which is accorded in the Intermediate Establishments. The means whereby the prisoner is tested in this stage is drawn out at length by the author, both in the body of the work, and in the appendix on the system of badges, marks, and gratuities, with which the *brochure* closes. To the uninitiated reader it appears a complicated system, though it is not so in reality. Suffice it here to say that, by a cleverly-arranged classification, the prisoner, by the results of three tests—those of conduct, industry, and schooling—gradually rises in the scale of convicts. There are three classes through which he must pass, each of which is distinguished by a variety in dress, and in each of which he is remunerated for work at an increasing ratio.

The Irish prisoner at length reaches the Intermediate Establishments of the system. This, it is well to note, is the feature of the whole theory—the mainspring of the whole machinery—the centre round which all else revolves—to which everything besides tends. In the first stage he was subject to punishment to vindicate the majesty of justice. In the second, though punishment was not the primary principle, it still asserted its right to be considered; but an element of reformatory probation was added. In the third the reformatory principle is all-powerful. In this, the last stage between the prison and the public, the convict is treated, to all intents and purposes, as a free man temporarily debarred from liberty. He chooses his own trade, at which he works, in a certain proportion, on his own account. He devotes a considerable part of the day to educational purposes. He has the opportunity of making a character for himself, of turning over a new leaf, of learning habits of self-control and self-discipline, of cultivating moral and religious graces, of starting once more in life with a clean bill of health, and with a situation, in general, procured for him by the prison authorities.

Many features of the Intermediate Establishments it is impossible even to glance at in this place. One or two, however, may be mentioned. The system of education there employed, with much success, is one very strong point in the management. The reader can judge

of the progress made by illiterate persons in a short time by a reference to the curious list of questions, based on the subjects of lectures, which the convicts put to one another during the weekly competitive examination. The results of several of these examinations are given by Mr. Shipley, and they are not the least striking portion of the evidence he adduces in favour of the new system.

The common-sense manner in which the ticket-of-license system has been worked is another great peculiarity of the Irish Direction. The way in which the constabulary have played their part is deserving of much praise; but the Board which planned the arrangements from which such good results flowed has certainly earned for itself the approbation of all persons qualified to give the subject a thought. The treatment reserved for the female portion of the Irish establishment, though we are unable to go into details, has our warmest sympathies and heartiest approbation. The devotion of the good ladies of St. Vincent's seems to point to better times. These, however, are but few points, when we would willingly touch upon many admirable features in the system.

What is to be the result of all this experimentalism in Ireland, naturally is the question which arises to the reader on laying down *The Purgatory of Prisoners*. Is the system which is so sound and so successful on one side of the channel to remain on its own side, and not to be allowed to cross over to the other? Are so many and such good results to be permitted to be monopolised by Ireland; and is England to stand looking on, in admiration, of necessity, but inactivity? Far from it. Let those it may concern—and whom does it not intimately affect?—examine deeply and closely, without fear or favour, without prejudice, and without preconceived opinions. Let them boldly and honestly announce their deliberate opinion upon the value of the Irish system. Let them, in public and in private, in print and out of it, with influence and without it, aid in the good work, and we may yet hope to see the new system established at home.

Mr. Shipley speaks warmly upon this matter, which appears to be one main object in the publication of his account. He has our warmest wishes for the success of the crusade against the existing system of convict management in England; and, in conclusion, we cordially make our own his concluding words, when he says:—

“We must give the new Irish system a fair, open, honest, patient trial. If it fail, the sooner comes its fall the better. If it succeed, the sooner comes its success the more blessed. One system of prison management alone has responded to the call of fact, has passed through the crucible of practice. One system of prison direction alone has tested its theories by practice—by practice proved its theories. That system of prison management is the Irish system of purgatorial purification in intermediate establishments. That system of prison direction is the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland.”

Mr. Shipley has discharged an important duty by the publication of this pamphlet, or rather volume, and the arduous task is performed in a very creditable manner.

Our thirteenth opinion is from *The Midland Counties Herald*, of November 5th, 1857.

Some months ago, we brought under the notice of our readers the successful results of the enlightened efforts made in Ireland towards the solution of the most difficult problems of the convict question. No person who is aware of the zeal, ability, and philanthropy with which our highly esteemed Recorder has laboured for the same end, will be surprised to learn that the proceedings of Captain Crofton and his colleagues were regarded by Mr. Hill, from a distance with feelings of the deepest interest, or that he should desire to make a close personal inspection of them. With this view, he repaired to the sister kingdom in the month of August last; and of the reformatory principles which he there found in operation a very clear and interesting account is given in the present publication. Facilities for the most rigid scrutiny were, he states, afforded him in abundance, and of these he availed himself, so that the conclusions he has drawn have not been hastily formed. The term "convict prisons," he explains, is applied to establishments reserved by the Government exclusively for criminals sentenced to transportation or to penal servitude; and the system on which those places have for several years been conducted, aims at instructing and training the prisoner so as to fit him to encounter the hardships and temptations to which he will be exposed on his return to society, and to fortify him against the danger of a relapse into evil courses. He is first consigned to the cellular gaol, called Mountjoy, in the city of Dublin, and night and day kept in a state of strict isolation from the other inmates, except in the chapel, the exercise ground, and the school-room, where conversation is prohibited. This seclusion, combined with religious instruction and reading, we are told, on the authority of Mr. Cooney, one of the chaplains, operates very powerfully on the mind of the convict for two or three months. "It subdues, and almost invariably leads to a change of sentiment." At the end of nine months, unless he has misconducted himself, he is removed to Spike Island, a fortified station in the Cove of Cork. He is there employed during the day on the repair and enlargement of military works, and at night shut up in a strong building formerly used as a barrack, containing cellular divisions, which, while preventing the prisoners from associating together, are so constructed as to admit of conversation under the *surveillance* of a watchman. This treatment, although severe, is felt to be a welcome relief from the irksome solitude of Mountjoy. Should the trade of the offender, however, be that of an indoor artisan, he is transferred from Dublin to Philipstown, an inland prison, where he is engaged in the occupation for which he is best fitted; and where, as at Spike Island, his privileges are extended. At both stations, the schoolmaster, without infringing on the province of the chaplain, plays an important part in the delivery of lectures adapted to the tastes and capacities of his hearers; and as many of these look forward to emigration as affording advantageous openings for honest industry, the situation, climate, and general character of the various colonies are occasionally intro-

duced as topics for useful discussion. On this subject one very pleasing fact is stated :—

“Men who cannot read or write, so as to gain much information from books, have been taught, orally and by lecture, something of life in general, and are partly educated. It is both amusing and edifying to hear these old men teaching each other geography, by pointing out on the maps the several countries under the Irish names, for the different colours that mark them. Those who have learnt to read, and who also speak Irish, very generally translate the subject and substance of their lessons into Irish, for those who have failed to learn to read. There was a remarkable instance of the effects of application and perseverance in the case of S. C., an old stolid man, scarcely able to utter a word of English, and not knowing a letter in the alphabet; yet such a desire had he to learn to read, that he applied himself day and night to the book, and though extremely dull and slow, in the course of a few months he could read a first and second book, and was reading the sequel when discharged.”

Oral instruction in agriculture is likewise given, and Mr. Harland, the head schoolmaster, observes, as an illustration of the dislike which prisoners have for unproductive employment :—

“It may not be amiss to state here, that if it were expedient to employ the convicts in general at trades and agriculture, I am convinced that it would contribute to humanise, improve, and prepare them for the sort of labour they will have to perform when liberated. They question the utility of fortifications and such works, but admit the benefits of trade and agriculture, and would therefore pay more attention to them.”

But at Spike Island the men are yoked to waggons for the purpose of hauling stone, earth, bricks, and coals, which reduces them in their own estimation to the level of beasts of burthen, and weakens the association of self-respect with labour. At the same time, they have a stimulus to exertion in the form of promotion by classes. On their arrival they are placed in the third division, and their ascent to the higher grades is regulated by their conduct in separate confinement. They also receive gratuities, and a small portion of their earnings, with liberty to expend sixpence per week on any thing but intoxicating drinks, which are wholly prohibited, but self-denial is encouraged and rewarded. When a prisoner, by blameless conduct for twelve months, has reached the “exemplary” standard, he is considered qualified for the intermediate stage between coercion and freedom, and is removed to the Forts, to Smithfield, or to Lusk. He is not in custody, but is subjected to watchful supervision. The work of instruction goes forward as before, and the prisoner’s fitness for liberty is tested :—

“When the prison authorities observe that an intermediate man has acquired some capacity for self-control, he is sent out on messages. It is found in practice that he does not abuse this privilege, but having transacted his business with promptitude, he straightway returns. A number of such men will then be entrusted to leave the establishment, for the purpose of performing some work procured for

them at a distance from their home, returning every night immediately on the conclusion of the day's labour. Here, again, instances of abuse, such, for instance, as entering a public house, are rare, if not altogether unknown. The intermediate man, having now established a character, is entrusted with money to make purchases, or to pay bills on behalf of the prison; and what may, perhaps, be justly considered as a surer criterion that his character is known to be deserving is, that such of his comrades as remain at home are in the habit of employing him on commissions to buy for them, and they place in his hands moneys for that purpose. A few months ago a messenger so employed, when he returned, reported that he had lost sixpence belonging to one of his fellows. He was in great distress, but was re-assured by the unanimous voice of the whole body, declaring that no thought of malversation had entered their minds. Subsequently, one of the men found the piece of money in an apartment, where it must have been accidentally dropped."

Nearly all pass through this ordeal without failure, the offences committed by them being few and slight. Of 1,300 who were exposed to it between January, 1856, and September, 1857, all but twenty-six retrieved their position, six others being relegated to Spike Island at their own request. But the highest testimony in favour of the plan, of which we have given the leading features, is to be found in the demand by employers for the services of discharged prisoners which now exceeds the supply. The conduct of by far the greater number of them is known to be good. With regard to the exact numbers of those permanently reformed, as compared with those who break down, it is too soon, Mr. Hill, says, to speak with confidence; but the following figures go very far to justify the opinion expressed by Mr. Hill, in concluding his valuable pamphlet, that the Board of Directors of Irish County Prisons, have practically answered the question which has so long perplexed the Government and Legislature of this country—"What shall we do with our convicts?" The intermediate stage commenced in January, 1856, and, according to present experience, it is found that from seventy to seventy-five per cent. of prisoners rise to that stage, the residue remaining below, to be discharged at the completion of their sentences. On the 30th of September, 1857, 1,067 convicts had been discharged from intermediate establishments and refuges: On tickets of leave, 559; licenses revoked, 17; absolutely, 508; tickets of leave to females, 97; tickets to females revoked, 1. Managers of female refuges speak favourably of all the 96.

We have, at the imminent risk of being considered extremely tedious, collected and printed this vast mass of evidence in support of the system of Convict management adopted and carried out so successfully in Ireland. Why should not the like system be adopted and carried out through England and Scotland? Well has the Rev. Mr. Shipley written:—

That the system must ultimately become the method by which our Convict population are to be treated, for reasons too numerous to be

mentioned, it is hoped will be the opinion of the majority of those who read these lines. The foundations upon which the plan is raised, the method of construction of the building, the general design, the particular details, the adaptation of the means to the end, the very substantial and satisfactory results which have been obtained, all seem to point to a time, not far distant, when England shall enjoy, at the least, an equal amount of prosperity in the Christianising influence which, by more enlightened provisions than heretofore, may be made to bear upon such as have succumbed to crime. There is no conceivable reason, as such, why a system unequivocally successful in one portion of a country in which many obstacles had to be surmounted, should not be adopted in another portion, in which none or few of the peculiar difficulties impede. In truth, all reason, and all justice, and all interest, both for the public, and for the prisoner, incline the other way; and it certainly seems incumbent with the opponents of the system to show cause, why a trial of the plan should not be made.

The English mind appears to be particularly adapted to the well working of the Irish system. Less impulsive than the Celt, the Saxon race, though the required effects might take longer to produce fruit, would probably yield a more abundant crop of impressive and reformatory convicts. A great gain would likewise accrue to the system in the manner of Religion in this country; independent of theoretical and doctrinal questions, the practical element would, it is hoped, be more in the ascendant. Then might be realised in its completeness, the true theories of penal amendment. Then might the Church be allowed to exercise Her mission to class almost without Her pale, entirely without Her influence. Then might the Spirit of Catholicity be brought to bear upon prison discipline; and the scheme of reformation, go hand in hand, from its commencement to its close, with the doctrines of Catholic Truth, with the discipline of Catholic practice. Then might be seen devoted Priests spending themselves and being spent in Christ's service; earnest laymen following in the wake of Ecclesiastical example; Angels in female form doing the work of Evangelists amongst the fallen of their sex. Then might be witnessed philanthropy elevated by Christianity, Christianity sobered by philanthropy. May God in His infinite mercy hasten the day! May He cause this good work to flourish in our own country! May He give grace to persons of all ranks, and all conditions, to help on—in this one particular—the advance of His Kingdom on earth! May He crown with blessings, the labour of our hands!

To conclude; in addition to matters elsewhere particularised, one desideratum for the efficient working of the Irish system consists in a course of training for prison officials, in some establishment where an uniformity of plan, both for education and discipline, may be adopted. The great element of success, however, which we possess in England is our elaborate organization of the parochial system. This is a subject too large for discussion here. It is one which will well repay consideration. It is one which requires much thought and much discussion. It must play a very important part in any extensively designed scheme of penal reformation. It is much to be hoped that

some comprehensive plan for the employment of the parochial clergy—a plan tempered with experience, and not devoid of zeal—in the service of philanthropy, may be made public. Men's minds are now turned towards the amelioration of the criminal classes. Let them see to it, the attention now attracted, result not in empty curiosity or in idle inquiry; terminate not in selfish inactivity or in careless apathy. Men's minds are conscious that much may be done towards the reformation of the prison population. Let them see to it, that much, morally, socially, and religiously, be done. One system, and one system only of prison discipline should prevail in Great Britain and Ireland. One plan, and one plan only should be permitted to be continued at home and abroad. If the English system be all that is satisfactory; if the results obtained from its working, do accomplish all that is desirable; if there is nothing wanting to improve the condition of our convicts within the prison, to change their condition without it; then in the name of all that is Holy, let the English system prevail. But if not: if the old system be weighed in the balance, and be found wanting; if it be not suited to the advanced principles of philanthropy; if it be contrary to the dictates of common sense; if it fail to treat criminals as men, and as Christians; and if it does not produce the favourable results that by other means may be obtained; then for the uninterested benefit to the prisoners, for the selfish good to ourselves, for the cause of Religion, for the benefit of CHRIST'S Church, which suffers in all its suffering members, let some other system, some new plan, some fresh theory, some tested idea be adopted. This is no time for sitting with our hands folded before us. This is no season for discussing with the condescension of a patron, paper schemes of philanthropy. We must be up: we must be doing. We must give the new Irish system a fair, open, honest, patient trial. If it fail, the sooner comes its fall the better. If it succeed, the sooner comes its success the more blessed. One system of prison management alone has responded to the call of fact, has passed through the crucible of practice. One system of prison direction alone has tested its theories by practice, has by practice proved its theories. That system of prison management is the Irish system of purgatorial purification in Intermediate Establishments between the prison and the public. That system of prison direction is the Board of Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland.

These, it may be said, are the dreamings of an enthusiast, or the hopes of a partizan. Let it be so said, but first let us take the testimony of Captain Crofton, who has as little of romance about him, in his official capacity, as possible. He states in his *Memoranda* as follows:—

- I.—Whether or not the grounds on which Employers formerly refused to take Convicts into their employment, viz., the insufficient guarantee of an ordinary Prison character, is applicable to the Intermediate Establishments?

The adoption of stages of detention, previous to discharge, in which a Prisoner possesses voluntary action for good or for evil, removes

the ground of complaint that the Prison character is under the new system insufficient. This fact is patent, inasmuch as the Convict has the power of committing himself at any time, by yielding to the ordinary temptations with which he will be beset on discharge. The Intermediate Prison character, therefore, is of real and of substantial value. It is evinced by the circumstance, that although in the first instance considerable reluctance was shown to employ the "exemplary" Prisoners; time, and experience of those who have passed through the probationary stage, have completely reconciled employers, who now very frequently return to the Intermediate Establishment for additional men. The strongest proof of this statement, will be to append a return of those Prisoners on Licence, who are employed in the city, and county of Dublin. It must be remembered that these men are not indebted for such employment to their own friends, but to the unwearied exertions of the Lecturer, who considers the greatest advocate in their favour to be, the circumstance of their being placed before release in such a position, that the ordinary temptations of life can assail them. This circumstance is not only indicated to the employers, but they are themselves invited to judge of the effects produced.

**Return of Prisoners on Licence, in the City, and County of
Dublin, for August, 1857.**

Initials of Name.	Employers.	Weekly Wages.	Observations.
		£ s. d.	
D. L.	M. N., ..	0 12 0	Not able-bodied men.
D. K.	M. C., ..	0 9 0	
D. B.	John M'D., ..	0 7 0	
M. M'L.	Do., ..	0 7 0	
P.M'N.	Do., ..	0 7 0	
D. B.	Do., ..	0 7 0	
M. G.	Do., ..	0 7 0	
T. R.	Do., ..	0 7 0	
P. M'G.	James M'D., ..	0 13 0	
C. M'C.	Do., ..	0 13 0	
P. G.	Do., ..	0 13 0	And board.
J. K.	Do., ..	0 13 0	
P. M.	Do., ..	0 13 0	
T. F.	M'C., ..	0 9 0	
P. K.	B. H., ..	0 3 0	
P. M.	M. K., ..	0 10 0	
M. W.	M. C., ..	0 10 0	
P. H.	Mr. R., ..	0 8 0	
W. K.	M. H., ..	0 10 0	
J. J.	Mr. H., ..	0 10 0	
J. N.	Mr. K., ..	0 9 0	At his employer's re- commendation.
F. R.	Own account ..	0 18 0	
T. K.	M. C., ..	0 10 0	
M. R.	Mr. J., ..	0 10 0	
J. G.	Mr. C., ..	1 6 0	
J. F.	M. C., ..	0 8 0	And house.
P. Q.	Public employ- ment, ..	0 10 0	
M. C.	Do., ..	0 10 0	
J. W.	Mr. S., ..	0 12 0	
P. K.	Mr. K., ..	0 10 0	
J. S.	Mr. H., ..	0 10 0	
T. L.	Mr. F., ..	1 0 0	
. H.	Public employ- ment ..	0 11 0	
J. T.	Mr. B., ..	0 8 0	
— R.	Mr. H., ..	0 19 0	
— B.	F. and T., ..	0 10 0	
P. B.	Public employ- ment, ..	0 12 0	The wages in these cases are fluctua- ting.
W. T.	Mr. J. G., ..	0 9 0	
M. E.	E. N., ..	—	
P. C.	M. M'K., ..		
J. J.	M. H., ..	0 10 0	
J. G.	M. H., ..	0 10 0	

It will be observed by this return, that forty-two prisoners are so employed at the present time. Others have been similarly situated; have quitted their places, after receiving unconditional pardons; and many have subsequently joined their friends in the Colonies. It may be added, that some of those employed, have been sixteen months in the same service.

Observations on each Prisoner's character, made by the Officers brought into contact with him, are appended to his application for conditional pardon.

II.—Whether or not, the character of those employed gives satisfactory evidence of the value of their special training; and how proved?

It has been before stated, that up to the 30th September, 1857, 1,067 convicts have been discharged from the Intermediate Establishments and Refuges; 559 of these have been discharged on Tickets of Licence, and the remainder unconditionally at periods, and under rules before stated. With reference to the 559 Prisoners on Licence concerning whom these statements principally apply as having afforded better means of verification, it will be necessary to observe, that no offer of employment for a Convict is accepted without due inquiries being, in the first instance, made as to the respectability of the person offering it. Forty-two of the 559 Prisoners are now employed in the City and County of Dublin; they are visited fortnightly; and, with two exceptions, they are very highly reported of. Eighty-one have received unconditional pardons in consequence of good conduct when on probation, some of whom have enlisted, and others have subsequently joined their friends in the Colonies. Since the 1st January, 1857, Male Convicts on Licence have been under the surveillance of the Constabulary, to whom they report themselves monthly; and in the event of misconduct, however trifling, they are at once reported to the Prison Authorities. The rules in this respect are appended.

“MEMORANDUM.

“*Dublin Castle, 1st January, 1857.*

“REGISTRATION AND SUPERVISION OF CONVICTS ON
TICKET OF LICENCE.

“His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant being desirous of accurately testing the practical working of the Ticket of Licence System, by a well-organized system of Registration of Licensed Convicts, whereby they may be brought under special supervision and a check be laid upon the evil-disposed, has been pleased to sanction the following regulations, which are, therefore, circulated for the information and guidance of the Constabulary:—

“1. When an offer of employment for a Prisoner is accepted a notification thereof will be made by the Directors of Government Prisons to the Inspector-General of Constabulary, by whom it will be transmitted to the Constabulary of the locality in which the employment is to be given, with all necessary particulars for the purpose of being entered in a Register at the Constabulary Station.

“Each Convict so to be employed will report himself at the appointed Constabulary Station (the name of which will be given to

him) on his arrival in the District, and subsequently, on the first of each Month.

"3. A special report is to be made to Head Quarters by the Constabulary whenever they shall observe a Convict on licence guilty of misconduct or leading an irregular life.

"4. A Convict is not to change his locality without notifying the circumstances at the Constabulary Station, in order that his Registration may be transferred to the place to which he is about to proceed. On his arrival he must report himself to the nearest Constabulary Station (of the name of which he is to be informed,) and such transfer is to be reported to Head Quarters for the information of the Directors of Government Prisons.

"5. An infringement of these rules by the Convict will cause it to be assumed that he is leading an idle irregular life, and therefore entail the revocation of his Licence.

"6. Further regulations may hereafter be added to the foregoing should they become necessary."

It will be obvious that as the employer is in every case made acquainted with the antecedents of the prisoner he wishes to engage, any inquiries that may afterwards be discreetly made, as to character, conduct, &c., cannot in any way affect the prospects of the convict. The managers of the Refuges for Female Prisoners favourably account for ninety-six out of ninety-seven Female Convicts up to the 31st of August, 1857, (the Licence of one has been revoked.) It appears that on the whole number of 559 Convicts on Licence up to the 30th September, 1857, seventeen Licences have been revoked. It will be observed also that in addition to the stringent observation exercised over forty-two men who are, many of them, exposed to the temptations of the City of Dublin, there is also the very efficient and general supervision of the Constabulary. Yet the results, though slight irregularities are always noted, and the terms of the Licence most strictly enforced,* prove the revocation of rather more than three per cent.

There may be, and there probably are some Licensed Convicts who, by the exercise of great cunning are, with the utmost strictness of supervision, still prosecuting their old calling. But these must be few. There are others, doubtless, who, from the migratory habits of labour in Ireland, have baffled supervision for any length of time; and it is believed they have left the country. On the other hand and corroborative of the efficiency of the Constabulary Supervision, there are authentic communications from nearly 200 male Prisoners discharged on Licence, proving that they not only evade detection, but that they are strenuously persevering in an honest course of industry.

* As corroboration of the practice pursued, I may add that two of these revocations of Licence have been on account of irregularity in reporting themselves; three for keeping bad company; one for losing his employment through drink; one for fighting and brawling in the streets; one for defrauding the Railway Company by travelling without taking a ticket.

This, to my knowledge, has occurred in many cases of those discharged conditionally and unconditionally from the Intermediate Prisons, under circumstances of great privation during the winter months. As far as possible a correspondence has been kept up with the Convicts unconditionally discharged, which, in general has proved satisfactory; many of these have enlisted; very large numbers have emigrated from the country, having saved sufficient money from the gratuities allowed in the Intermediate Prisons to materially further them in such a course. There can be, it is submitted, no doubt on the mind of any person who examines the subject, that there is abundant evidence of the value of the special training these Prisoners have received, to warrant a favourable judgment upon the system; a judgment not formed on isolated cases, which, of course occasionally shine forth too brightly to warrant conclusions upon the whole, but formed on the conduct of the aggregate number of Convicts discharged.

IV.—Whether or not, the privileges allowed in the Intermediate Prisons have conduced, in practice, to the existence of tests of character; and in what particular?

Each Prisoner is allowed to retain in his own possession sixpence per week, from his gratuity money; which sum he may expend or save, as he may possess more or less self-denial. A Prisoner, taken in roster from those whose terms of detention are drawing to a close, is placed on messenger's duty daily: he is then permitted to make purchases of articles of dress, diet, &c., for the other Prisoners. It was considered advisable to prove whether or not the confidence of Prisoners in each other was equal to that entertained by the Authorities. Not one instance of wrangling, or of dispute has arisen during a period of twenty months, with regard to such purchases; and although there have been two or three cases in which the Messenger has returned sixpence or one shilling deficient of his change, there has never been any suspicion of wrong doing on the part of the Prisoners, and the money has always been subsequently found. As the purchaser frequently has fifteen or twenty shillings at his disposal, the test is considered valuable. The ordinary temptations of the world, in the shape of Public Houses, &c., of course constantly present themselves to Prisoners acting as Messengers; and, strange to say, that during this long period of daily duty, only one case has arisen of a man having been drinking. In this case, although his duty was accurately performed, the breach of Rule was immediately punished, and the Culprit forthwith removed to an ordinary Prison. Each Convict is provided with a Book in which he enters the amount of his labour, and its value, weekly, as also the money he has expended.

VI.—Whether or not, the results being proved morally beneficial, it can be shown, that the labour of the Convicts, prosecuted under such a system, will be economical to the State; and, particularly applicable to the condition of the United Kingdom at the present moment?

It has been already stated, that moveable Iron Huts, to hold Fifty Prisoners in each, have been erected, and occupied: and that they

are found well adapted for the purposes required. A little consideration will show the great advantages which would accrue to the Government, from the fact of its being enabled to undertake works of less magnitude than have formerly been thought possible for Convicts to perform. Hitherto one great objection to the employment of Convict labour arose on account of the heavy expenses incurred in the erection of a Permanent Prison, a building which becomes nearly useless on the completion of the work. Whereas, by the location of selected Convicts, in the Huts described, they can be moved for a trifling expense to the next work to be performed. The cost of each building (£330), has before been given; and it is evident that any number of Huts may be erected, and that the principle of individualization may be preserved in each complement of Fifty men.

The supervision necessary for Two Huts containing One Hundred able-bodied Convicts will be as follows:—A Chief Warder; a Warder to act as Registrar and Schoolmaster; and six other Warders, who should be skilled and useful men, to superintend any works that may be required. The cost of such a staff is here appended, as well as the productive labour which may be expected from the Prisoners, Officers, &c.

CONVICT MANAGEMENT.

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Return showing the Cost of Maintenance, &c., of 100 Able-bodied Prisoners for Six Months (in two from Moveable Huts) with the value of their Labour.

<i>Dr.</i>	<i>£ s. d.</i>			<i>Cr.</i>		
	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Victualling, at 3s. 10d. per week ...	...	498	6 8	By Labour of 100 Prisoners, for 26 weeks each, 9s. ...	...	...
Clothing, at 9d. ...	...	97	10 0	Productive Labour of six of the Warders charged in Salaries, &c., of Officers, and who give their labour to the public as Carpenters, Artificers, &c., ...	...	...
Salaries, ...	£178	0	0		1,170	0 0
Rations, ...	35	4	0			
Clothing, ...	13	10	4			
Share of Director's Salaries, Officers' Expenses, &c., ...					138	18 0
Medicines, ...	55	0	0			
Fuel, 20 Tons, ...	2	0	0			
Proportionate amount of Gratuities chargeable on 100 Prisoners, ...	15	0	0			
Rent, &c., Huts ...	100	0	0			
Soap, ...	17	10	0			
Light... ..	5	8	0			
Bedding, 2s. 6d. each per man per annum, ...	4	0	0			
Postage, ...	6	5	0			
Books and Stationery. ...	4	0	0			
Two Cooks, 26 weeks each, 9s., ...	7	10	0			
Contingencies, ...	23	8	0			
	10	0	0			
Balance, paying all Expenses, ...	£1,072	12	0			
	236	6	0			
	£1,308	18	0			

REMARKS.—Included in this 100 are Carpenters, Painters, Masons, &c. This estimate is therefore not at all too high, as is evinced by employers taking men from the Prison at 10s. per week, and many at higher wages.

It will be observed, that a large balance may reasonably be expected to accrue to the Public through the employment of Prisoners in this stage. The undefended state of the Coasts of Great Britain and Ireland at the present moment, seem peculiarly inviting to the trial of a system which has been shown to be morally, socially, and economically beneficial. The labour is especially suitable to convicts; and under the directions of Sappers, would be skilfully executed. It is not sufficient to say, that convicts should be employed on useful works. They should be employed on the most useful works, *i.e.*, on works most pressing for the necessities of the State, and on those which will most conduce to their own reformation.*

*At page 20 of his paper on Irish Convict Prisons, Mr. Recorder Hill observes:—

“At Lusk (fifteen miles from Dublin), I found a body of intermediate men engaged in forming a garden on open heath land, a large tract of which is to be brought under cultivation by convict labour. Their dwelling, to be supplied with vegetables from the garden, is constructed of corrugated sheet iron, with an interior lining of boards for warmth. It comprehends two distinct erections, each consisting of a single spacious room, which, by the slinging of hammocks, becomes at night a dormitory. One of these rooms is by day their kitchen and house-place; the other their chapel, school, lecture room, and library. Each of these two apartments is calculated to give sleeping room to fifty men. They are capable of removal at a slight cost, being light, readily taken to pieces, and as easily reconstructed; consequently they are well adapted for temporary stations like this, which is to be the residence of convict artificers engaged in building a juvenile prison about to be erected in the immediate neighbourhood. Iron edifices like these have been some time in use at the Forts, and experience has proved them to be very comfortable habitations. The portability of these rooms will overcome the difficulties which have been experienced in employing bodies of men at tasks which are completed within short periods of time. Not being prisons, however, they are only suitable for convicts who can be held to the spot by moral restraints. But intermediate men are striving to acquire such a character as will recommend them to employers, and thus accelerate their discharge; consequently desertion rarely, if ever, occurs. I heard of no instance in which it had been attempted. Bodies of men so trained may surely be turned to the best account. Thousands of hands might be usefully employed on public works of pressing necessity (like harbours of refuge and coast defences), in which neither private capital, nor that of joint-stock companies, will ever be invested, for the obvious reason that, although indispensable to the community, they cannot be made to yield a revenue. War, emigration, and the rapid expansion of our agriculture, our manufactures, and our commerce, all point to an approaching scarcity of labour. Beyond a doubt, then, the new application of the labour of our criminals, hitherto so little profitable, which the board has thus admirably devised, challenges immediate and most earnest attention;

IX.—Whether or not, beneficial results may be expected from Penal Servitude in Western Australia, under the Act of June 26th, 1857 ?

The act of the 26th June, 1857, enables sentences of Penal Servitude to be carried out in the Colonies, and concurrently with the instructions from the Home Secretary, before referred to, as to the *minimum* periods of detention for certain sentences, it is directed that convicts shall be eligible for removal to a Colony at the expiration of one-half of their sentences ; and soon after their arrival, conditional on good conduct, to receive a Ticket of Leave, followed after a certain period, if their conduct continues to be good, by a conditional pardon. For example :—in the case of a prisoner sentenced to ten years Penal Servitude. In this country his minimum period of detention would be seven years and six months. If removed to Western Australia he would be sent at the end of five years ; and soon after his arrival in the Colony, if his conduct merited the indulgence, he would receive a Ticket of Leave, to be followed by a conditional pardon.

It will be well to note the favourable position in which the prisoner sent to the Colonies is placed ; and, at the same time, to avail ourselves of a privilege so wisely given to the convicts, so judiciously conceded to the Colonists. It is evident, that the holding out of such a boon to the prisoner, will be a powerful stimulus to good conduct, whilst under detention. This incentive should be so used as to become equally or even more beneficial as a measure of reformation, than any yet promulgated for the treatment of Criminals. The importance of the letter and the spirit of such a regulation being strictly adhered to, is so great that any deviation from either, such as the deportation of a prisoner because he is troublesome or irreclaimable, would be fatal to the good results which must surely ensue through the strict prosecution of a system in accordance with the principle laid down by the Secretary of State. It is submitted, that the adoption, in Western Australia, of a similar course to that in practice here, will so filter the Convicts before discharge on Tickets of Leave as to render it probable, that their conduct will be more satisfactory to the Colonists, and will be the means of preserving an outlet for

and we have a right to expect that every improvement which can be suggested in the law controlling the treatment of criminals, so as to bring them at the earliest possible moment to the requisite degree of trustworthiness, will be forthwith made. And no amelioration, believe me, will be so efficacious to that end, as enhancing encouragement to work out their own freedom—a motive which ought not to be confined to the cases of heinous offenders like the convicts whose discipline forms the subject of this paper, but which should carry its stimulating force into every cell of every prison, purging the administration of justice of the lamentable, nay, revolting absurdity, of withholding a priceless boon from the lesser criminal to confer it on the greater."

our Convicts which, if judiciously used, may, under recent legislation, be made of great value.

X — Whether or not, good results have been experienced by placing Female Convicts in Refuges ?

Since March 25th, 1856, Female Convicts have been removed (at periods of their sentences in which they are eligible for Tickets of Licence) to Protestant and Roman Catholic Refuges. Ninety-seven have been so removed : Eighty-six to the Roman Catholic Refuge at Golden Bridge, Dublin ; four to the Protestant Refuge at Cork and seven to the Protestant Refuge, Harcourt-road, Dublin. Of this number thirty-eight have left the Golden Bridge, two have left the Cork, and six have left the Harcourt-road Refuges ; and have either obtained situations, or have returned to their families, when they are respectable and are willing to receive them, on the representations made to them by the Lady Managers. Whether we refer to the amenability evinced by the Female Convicts to the regulations of the Establishments in which they have been received, or to their conduct after discharge, it is difficult to adduce more satisfactory results than have been obtained from a residence in the Institutions, and which, considering the influence that females exercise for good or for evil, in a community, it is scarcely possible too highly to prize. When we consider the state of these prisoners, on entering the Convict Establishments, it must be a source of the highest gratification to all connected with their administration, to be enabled to report circumstances affording such strong testimony, to the value of the preparatory discipline and training in the prisons, as well as to the zeal, the devotion, and the success of the Managers of the Refuges. These results, it must be remembered, affect a class of criminals hitherto deemed so incorrigible as to be absolutely rejected by the Colonists of " Western Australia," a Colony whose vitality, at the present moment, depends on an increase to the female sex. At the present time, many of these prisoners are employed in this city, within constant observation, and are giving great satisfaction to their employers. Such a state of things will now evince to the Colonists that, as the system on which Female Convicts were formally trained has been changed, so also it is hoped will be the fruits ; and that those who have been found fit for employment in a country where there is a sufficiency of female labour, must be at least equally desirable in a Colony circumstanced as is Western Australia. This is a truth so evident, that it needs no argument to support it. Unfortunately, truths unknown or imperfectly considered are often neglected ; and it would be well that those persons in the United Kingdom who are interested in this Colony should inquire for themselves, and report accordingly. I have stated that Forty-six Female Convicts have been so employed. Accommodation in the Refuges is alone wanting to increase this number. This deficiency is, in the case of the Golden Bridge Refuge, in the course of being supplied : and it is reasonable to suppose on the completion of the additional works, that great difficulty to obtain through prison discipline, the reformation and the employment of Female Convicts, will have not only almost, but altogether, disappeared.

It strikes us that in all schemes of Prison Discipline the attainment of the following ends should be aimed at, and their successful accomplishment kept clearly in view. First, Reformation of the Criminal. Second, his prison labor made useful to the State. Third, a reasonable security afforded to the public that the Criminal has something more than a Prison character to show upon leaving the Gaol, to prove his Reformation. If these three points can be carried out fully, completely, and fairly, the system of Prison Management must be as perfect as any system can be; and we contend that the system founded, and carried out by the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland is a system, proved and admitted, of excellence in no way inferior to this, perfect in all its parts, and bearing examination in every phase of its administration. Thus thought Mr. Recorder Hill when he declared, in that paper to which we have referred—

“In my humble judgment, the Board of Directors of Irish Convict Prisons have practically solved the problem which has so long perplexed our Government and our Legislature—*What shall we do with our Convicts?* The results of their great experiment answer thus—

Keep your prisoners under sound and enlightened discipline until they are reformed—keep them for your own sake and for theirs. The vast majority of all who enter your prisons as criminals can be sent back into the world, after no unreasonable term of probation, honest men and useful citizens. Let the small minority remain, and if death arrive before Reformation, let them remain for life.”

But it will be said, consider the cost. THE COST! This is always Bull's cry when he has any new project, save a merchantile, placed before him; yet it has been proved most clearly by Captain Crofton, and by Mr. Hill, that the system adopted in Ireland is cheap, and could be made most certainly remunerative.

But supposing it were not a cheap system, let us look upon the old system, through the spectacles of *The Times* of Thursday, December 22nd, 1853, which declares, in its leader of that day—

We believe it is no exaggeration to say, that every London pickpocket sent to Holloway prison costs the pay of a curate,—of a gentlemen who has had a University education, and whose office is the most dignified that man can aspire to. *We are spending the*

revenue of a State in mere punishment, or rather revenge: for what is punishment but revenge, when it leaves our foe worse than it found him? It has been ascertained that individuals have cost the country several thousand pounds in their repeated prosecutions and punishments, and thousands of houseless wretches of all ages cannot wander about the streets without an amount of depredation that must tell seriously on the profits of trade and the cost of living. In fact, there is nothing so expensive as crime. It is the leak in the ship, which may seem a small matter, but spoils the whole cargo, compels delays, overtakes the strength of the crew, and throws everything out of course and trim.

Thus wrote *The Times* in December, 1853, and in the issue of January 6th, 1857, we find it declaring as follows:—

“The Reformation of Criminals is a high, holy, noble object—an object worthy of any Legislature. But the criminals which it contemplates are those of a corrigible nature. Human policy deals with possibilities, with difficulties not with impossibilities. It has works to perform, not miracles. It has to fight with facts, not with speculations. It proceeds under the guidance of experience; it does not experimentalize under the ‘*ignis fatuus*’ of a dream. When it weighs the treatment of criminals it discriminates between their various characters, misdeeds, and chances of amendment. It punishes those whom it despairs of amending. It instructs and moulds those who are susceptible of reformation. It remembers that art is long and life is short; therefore it does not waste time in reforming the incorrigible. It leaves these to play the only part which they can well and safely play—that of a warning to others. It recognizes the wide distinction which exists between public and private charity, between the charity of the individual who forgives his own foe or his debtor, and the charity of the nation which lavishes the contributions of the poor and the honest on the uncertain but costly experiment of converting hardened and obstinate offenders.

“Thus does human policy when sagely and temperately administered. Thus it should do in the present phase of criminal acts and punishments in England. There is no need for undue severity; as little need for effeminate and sensitive tenderness. We know by this time that we have two classes of adult criminals. The one class may be the victim of goading poverty, of sudden temptation, of accident, of ignorance. The other we know is educated and hardened in crime; has taken

to crime as a vocation ; talks the slang, frequents the haunts, loves the fraternity of crime ; prefers its exciting variety of turbulent enjoyment and temporary seclusion to any other mode of life ; goes into gaol with the full intention of qualifying itself for readmission when it comes out ; and finally, despises every form of honesty, industry and goodness, as a milksop and unmanly weakness."

It will be observed that what *The Times* has foreshadowed as an object worthy of any Legislature has been by this system accomplished and in the way suggested. By it the corrigible and incorrigible are distinctly treated ; the former moulded, instructed and ultimately restored to the community wiser and better men—the latter by a course of so prolonged detention as to operate as a warning to others and a protection to the society they would otherwise outrage.

Thus has a course of prison treatment been pursued alike distinct from indiscriminate humanitarianism as from indiscriminate severity, and (which it will be observed from the quotations before made,) has met with as strong an approval of public opinion as can well be arrayed on any one subject. It has been tested, and has well responded to the test. We have now but to press its general adoption, to England, to Europe. Monsieur Mittermaier, a Jurist of European repute, has already sounded the call in Germany. Three articles have lately appeared from his pen in his Journal entitled ("Arch des Criminales,") advocating the adoption of the Intermediate System with the force that might be expected from his great talents.

And now coming down from our elevation of facts and figures, what, we ask, should be the result of this Irish experiment upon English statesmen ? Simply that they should try the Irish system, thoroughly and throughly in England. Let the intermediate stage be tried ; let the Convict come forth a good MAN, not a good PRISONER. The reader knows the system carried out in Ireland ; let us look at the system adopted in the case, we will say, of *The Nobbler* when his time of discharge is approaching. *The Nobbler* may have a father and mother, both of the criminal class (this is the worst cross one can fancy), and *The Nobbler* has grown up in a perfect knowledge of all the shifts and dodges of his trade. We have known the species, *Nobbler*, in every stage of development, from the little boy, the baby, we may say, in his own peculiar trade,

to his final resting place, the Condemned Cell ; and we know that when he is reared in crime it is very hard, indeed, to "get anything out of him." Now, we have seen members of *The Nobbler* family who have gone through every phase of rascality and scoundrelism, from picking pockets to burglary, and from assaulting the police to dancing on the unfortunate, forlorn women who live with them, and yet we have seen these ruffians though sentenced to transportation, let loose upon the community in England, at the expiration of a fixed period of the sentence ; why ? Because the Law willed it, and because they had good Prison characters !

The reader will understand we are writing now of the prison characters around which *Punch* and Dickens, tumble, and mouth, and grin, and they are quite justified by facts, to tumble, and mouth and grin, if they can fill pages, and gain pence, by laughing at what should be laughed at—the prisoner who has *only* the Chaplain's character ; but the prisoner who has a character from the public works can be made, if the right system be adopted, a man of an entirely different stamp ; and it will be recollected that we are still, even with *all* these characters, keeping our ideal, he is really, one of half a dozen facts, *The Nobbler* in view.

Well, *The Nobbler* has had his separate confinement ; he has got on some public work, and his time has come round for "The Ticket : " the chaplain tries to procure employment for him ; suppose his place of conviction to have been Liverpool, the chaplain, at *The Nobbler's* suggestion, tries there. Now, suppose employment is, or is not, procured, out *The Nobbler* goes at a certain time. He, rascal as he is, has, as he would say, "gone in to win," and he has tried to please everybody : he is a "handy man ;" he turns himself to anything : he makes as much money as he can by prison earnings, and in a new "fit" of clothes, he goes off at the appointed time to the railway station, accompanied by an officer ; his fare is paid, he gets his post-office order, for the first instalment of his earnings, on the office of the place to which he goes, and the charming innocent starts upon his new road of life. He arrives ; "the active and intelligent constable," Brown, has not been informed, as he should have been, that his old friend, *The Nobbler*, has gone back, after a four or six years' sojourn in prison and on public works ; but Brown "spots" *The Nobbler*, and he tells Robinson to look out, for *The Nobbler* has come back. The two constables, Brown and Robinson, do look particularly

sharp after *The Nobbler*. They may look too sharp, and deprive him of work ; or they may see him going about with *Downy Jim* or the *Larky Boy*, and they may know that he has no honest means of support, and they may have full and legal proof that he is rearing a whole new army of little *Nobblers* and *Nobbleresses*, with a code of moral laws like that set down in Sir E. B. Lytton's *Paul Clifford*—"Never steal when any one is looking at you." Brown and Robinson may know, and *do know* that all scoundrelism is going on and progressing, but the police authorities appear to be communistic. We cannot see the difference, practically, between Prudhon and Sir Richard Mayne except in this, that Prudhon knows his business, and Richard Mayne, K.C.B., admits that he is quite ignorant of his business, and directs his officers to do that which the law says they should *not* do.

Colonel Jebb, R.E.C.B., receives *The Nobbler's* paper a month before *The Nobbler* is to be discharged: the chaplain sends in his enquiry papers: *The Nobbler* has, in addition, good marks from all the authorities, and the papers are sent to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who, by a wonderful fiction, is supposed to read them. Now, it *appears* from the evidence that the Secretary does sometimes read reports of the conduct of Ticket-of-leave men during the period over which the tickets extend, but he has always directed that the bird shall be allowed to "set" in a *new* offence before he is arrested, even though this course is, in all points, contrary to the system, and to the intention of the Legislature.

In fact the mischief here is, that a Secretary of State, in addition to all his other duties, is expected to discharge a particular office more than sufficient, if discharged with advantage to the public service, to engross the entire attention of a very able man,—namely, the overseeing and inspection of all Convicts entitled to discharge, and the examination of all their papers.

But there is no such person, and there is no such office, and, therefore, *The Nobbler* gets out, and he becomes honest or roguish just as the Fates and Police may please; for there is no Board to carry out the broad principles of Reformation, founded on Hope, as in Ireland.

These are great facts and worthy of notice from every man who calls himself a statesman or who believes himself a patriot. There is no such man but will acknowledge, first, that the action of government in the prevention and punishment of

crime is *paternal*; second, that the object of punishment is reformatory and not vengeful; third, that the law of reformation, in the State as in the family, is the law of kindness; fourth, that as criminals differ in age and experience as criminals, they should be treated accordingly; fifth, that prisons and gaols are not in their essence reformatory institutions, and only become so by means of circumstances not necessarily nor ordinarily acting—the prison being a battle-field between Vice and Virtue, with the odds of position and numbers on the side of Vice; and consequently and finally, that since prisons ordinarily can only exert a feeble moral influence on their inmates, and fail as reformatory institutions, on the whole, we ought to search for a new and different agency, and if we find one, put it in use. We have found an agency, Hope, which we can use, if we will, effectively. As the criminal staggers beneath the accumulated weight of his sin and its penalty, he should feel that the State is not only just in the language of its law, but merciful in its administration; that the government is in truth paternal. This feeling inspires confidence and hope, and without these there can be no reformation. And following this thought, we are led to say it is a sad and mischievous public delusion that the pardoning power is useless or pernicious. It is a *delusion*, for it is the only means by which the State mingles mercy with its justice; the means by which the better sentiments of the prison are marshalled in favour of order, of law, of progress. It is a *public delusion*, for it has infected not only the masses of society who know little of what is going on in courts and prisons, but its influence is observed upon the bench, and in the bar, especially among those who are accustomed to prosecute and try criminals. This is not strange, nor shall it be a subject of complaint: but we must not always look upon the prisoner as a criminal, and continually disregard his claims as a man. It is not often easy, nor always possible, to make the proper distinction between the *character* and *condition* of the prisoner. But the prison, strange as it may seem, follows the general law of life. It has its public sentiment, its classes, its leading minds, as well as the University or the State. It has its men of rank, either good or bad, as well as Congress or Parliament. As the family, the church, the school, is the reflection of the best face of society, so the prison is the reflection of the worst face of society. But it, nevertheless, is society, and follows its laws with as much fidelity as the world at large.

These things are known and admitted in this country ; it is for England to apply to herself in her own needs, the system which has worked so perfectly and so advantageously in Ireland. Theorists may be against the experiment ; prejudice may oppose it ; self-interest may endeavour to misrepresent it ; but above them all there rises truth ; truth backed by experience, and supported by the entire and unqualified testimony and support of the Press, and of all who have examined the whole working of the system ; a system as well designed as it is successful : a system as honourably and fairly carried out as any system ever formed by men of intellect, and experience, and self-devotion, whilst it is administered by men of honor and of zeal in the service of the commonwealth.

